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ANALYSIS OF *WALL STREET JOURNAL* CRITICISM OF PROFESSOR C. LANI GUINIER

The *Wall Street Journal* articles misrepresent Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights-designate, Lani Guinier's writings and positions in several significant ways. First, they fail to recognize her commitment to *improving democracy* so that it is fair not just for blacks and other minorities but for all Americans. Second, they fail to distinguish between her description of current litigation strategies and her views about these strategies. For example, she describes the three generations of voting rights problems as they have evolved over time, often questioning the present orthodoxy where it tends to foster polarization or isolation. Third, the *Wall Street Journal* takes bits and pieces of words and phrases completely out of context, distorting not only Lani Guinier's meaning, but her thoughtful criticism and constructive approaches to alternative solutions that promote cross-racial coalition building and consensus government.

I. DISTORTIONS IN THE *WALL STREET JOURNAL*'S CHARACTERIZATION OF PROF. GUINIER'S WRITINGS

1. The Wall Street Journal states:

She proposes a system of "proportionate representation" to "ensure" that blacks are elected in direct relation to their share of the population. Presumably this means that many of those white Southern Democrats now in the Senate would have to resign.¹

Prof. Guinier's actual statements are as follows (with the words quoted by the *Journal* italicized):

[E]ven in jurisdictions with *proportionate black representation*, black electoral success has neither mobilized the black community nor realized the promised community-based reforms.

* * * [an omission of almost two paragraphs]

Thus, although it *ensures* more representatives, district-based black electoral success may not necessarily result in more responsive government.²

The words "proportionate representation" and "ensure" appear on page 1080 of the Michigan Law Review article, in a discussion in which Guinier *criticizes* proportionate

¹Paul A. Gigot, "Hillary's Choice on Civil Rights," Wall St. Journal, May 7, 1993.

²89 Mich. L. Rev. at 1080.

representation. Not only are the quotation fragments taken out of context, but the context makes clear that Guinier's position is opposed to proportionate representation. Prof. Guinier has explicitly rejected proportionate representation, stating that her ideas are "not about electing members of the protected minority,"³ and are "not a system of electoral quotas."⁴ A major part of her scholarly writings is criticism and rejection of the black electoral success theory, which is defined as "the ability of black voters to elect black representatives in rough proportion to their presence in the population."⁵

2. The Wall Street Journal states:

Prof. Guinier argues that proportional legislative representation for minority groups, which the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is presently construed to guarantee, is not enough.⁶

Mr. Bolick apparently views the federal courts' current application of the Voting Rights Act as a system of "proportionate representation." This is an incorrect understanding of the meaning of the Voting Rights Act. On this point Mr. Bolick's disagreement is with the United States Supreme Court. In the leading case interpreting the meaning of the Voting Rights Act as applied to legislative districting, the Supreme Court ruled: "the lack of proportional representation alone does not establish a violation." *Thornburg v. Gingles*, 478 U.S. 30, 46 (1986). Members of Congress from both political parties filed a brief agreeing with the interpretation of the Voting Rights Act advanced by Prof. Guinier in the *Gingles* case. See Brief Amicus Curiae of Senator Dennis DiConcini, Senator Robert Dole, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Charles Grassley, Representative James Sensenbrenner, *et al.*, in *Thornburg v. Gingles*. In fact, as discussed above, a large portion of Prof. Guinier's extensive scholarly work is a *criticism* of the current application of the Voting Rights Act, which relies on the creation of a certain number of "safe" seats for minority voters. Even putting aside Mr. Bolick's misunderstanding of the federal courts' application of the Voting Rights Act, it is inaccurate to say that current doctrine "is not enough" for Prof. Guinier. Prof. Guinier does not propose to *supplement* current remedies with an additional remedy for the same violation. Instead, as discussed below, Prof. Guinier suggests *replacing* divisive single-member districting remedies with less polarizing alternative remedies.

³77 Va. L. Rev. at 1497.

⁴"Voting Rights and Democratic Theory: Where Do We Go From Here?", in B. Grofman and C. Davidson, *Controversies in Minority Voting*, 291 (1992).

⁵89 Mich. L. Rev. at 1099, 1101-1134.

⁶Clint Bolick, "Clinton's Quota Queens," Wall St. Journal, April 30, 1993.

3. The Wall Street Journal states:

[S]he ... calls for racial quotas in judicial appointments.⁷

Prof. Guinier's actual statements are as follows:

The Congress can play an important role in encouraging diversity in the appointment process by withholding its advice and consent until enough nominations have been made to establish a pattern of "affirmative recruitment." For example, the Senate Judiciary Committee should begin evaluating federal judicial nominations with reference to specific goals for increasing non-white nominees.⁸

Prof. Guinier's view that Presidential appointments should use "affirmative recruitment" and "goals" to attain diversity is identical to the position of President Clinton. While she thus endorses an effective outreach program to identify other qualified minority or women candidates and the use of benchmark goals to assess the effectiveness of such a program, Guinier has never urged that there be a quota system for the bench. Indeed, that would be wholly inconsistent with her express aversion to any quota system approach to the election of minority officials, in the voting rights context.

4. The Wall Street Journal states:

[S]he decries "fundamental flaws" in our democracy.⁹

Prof. Guinier's actual statements are as follows:

But Bush should, at the least, endorse and coordinate support for those legislative initiatives which address fundamental flaws in our democracy. For example, the new administration and both political parties should fight for the Universal Voter Registration Act that has been introduced in the 101st Congress.¹⁰

It is clear from the context that when Guinier referred to "fundamental flaws" in our democracy, she meant that there are some areas where its functioning can be substantially improved, such as easy access to registration. The recommendation of increased voter

⁷Clint Bolick, "Clinton's Quota Queens," Wall St. Journal, April 30, 1993.

⁸24 Harv. Civ. Rts - Civ. Lib. L. Rev at 432.

⁹Clint Bolick, "Clinton's Quota Queens," Wall St. Journal, April 30, 1993.

¹⁰24 Harv. Civ. Rts. at 433 (footnote omitted).

registration is hardly radical. It is universally recognized that the failure of roughly half of our eligible population to register and vote is a flaw in our democratic system. Congress just this week passed, and President Clinton will soon sign, the Universal Voter Registration Act (the so-called Motor Voter legislation) that Prof. Guinier supported as a remedy for this flaw.

5. The Wall Street Journal states:

[Guinier] urg[es] that "certain social goods -- health care, day care, job training, housing -- must be recognized as basic entitlements."¹¹

Prof. Guinier's actual text is as follows:

See, e.g., C. Hamilton, Foreword, The New Black Politics (1982) (political agenda must include resource allocation that suggests certain social goods -- health care, day care, job training, housing -- must be recognized as basic entitlements); see also Cavanaugh, supra note 173.

Mr. Bolick states that Prof. Guinier "urg[es]" that certain benefits be treated as basic entitlements. In fact, Prof. Guinier's reference is in a parenthetical description following a citation to the work of another author, C. Hamilton. The suggestion that increased political participation by black citizens might result in attainment of this "political agenda" is not surprising.

6. The Wall Street Journal states:

Ms. Guinier would graft onto the existing system a complex racial spoils system that would further polarize an already divided nation.¹²

Perhaps the most unfair attack on Prof. Guinier is the claim that she seeks to exacerbate racial polarization or create racial spoils. The overarching theme of all of her work is the search for solutions that will overcome racial divisions and bring people together. Thus, she has written: "[I]n the end democracy is not about ... arbitrarily separating groups to create separate majorities in order to increase their share."¹³ Instead, Guinier advocates

¹¹Clint Bolick, "Clinton's Quota Queens," Wall St. Journal, April 30, 1993.

¹²Clint Bolick, "Clinton's Quota Queens," Wall St. Journal, April 30, 1993.

¹³"Second Proms and Second Primaries: The Limits of Majority Rule," *Boston Review*, September/October, 1992 at 34.

"a system of like minds, not like bodies,"¹⁴ that will encourage "cross-racial coalitions,"¹⁵ promote "a more cooperative political style of deliberation,"¹⁶ and "reduce racial polarization."¹⁷ Guinier has devoted her academic life to promoting dialogue and understanding among persons with different political perspectives. As one of her students described her teaching: "[She] fosters understanding between people" and "always tries to find common ground."¹⁸

7. The Wall Street Journal states:

The aim of [Guinier's] legal activism is what she calls a "meaningful vote" to elect "authentic blacks." ... "Authenticity refers to a cultural and psychological view of group solidarity," she wrote in a 1991 Michigan Law Review article. ... "Black representatives are not just physically black."¹⁹

Additional statements by Prof. Guinier on this subject are as follows:

Black electoral success theory ... contains ... the authenticity assumption I conclude that the black electoral success empowerment model fails to establish a realistic enforcement mechanism for establishing leadership accountability within the black community or representational effectiveness within the legislative deliberation and coalition-building process.

Authentic black representation, or "descriptive representation," is the first important building block for black electoral success theory. Authenticity refers to community-based and culturally rooted leadership. The concept also distinguishes between minority-sponsored and white-sponsored candidates.

Authentic representatives need not be black as long as the source of their authority, legitimacy, and power base is the black community.

¹⁴"Voting Rights and Democratic Theory: Where Do We Go From Here?", in B. Grofman and C. Davidson, *Controversies in Minority Voting*, at 291 n.17.

¹⁵*Boston Review*, Sept./Oct. 1992 at 34.

¹⁶*Controversies in Minority Voting*, at 291.

¹⁷77 Va. L. Rev. at 1491.

¹⁸Ari Burstein, Class of 1994, University of Pennsylvania School of Law, National Co-President of National Jewish Law Students Association.

¹⁹Paul A. Gigot, "Hillary's Choice on Civil Rights," Wall St. Journal, May 7, 1993.

Black electoral success theory suggests that black elected officials, who are physically and culturally similar to their constituents, fulfill the black community's need for self-affirmation through "role models."²⁰

Prof. Guinier's discussion of authentic representatives is in a section of her scholarship in which she first defines and then rejects the black electoral success theory. The *Wall St. Journal* fails to distinguish between Prof. Guinier's description of the views of other scholars and her own ideas. Prof. Guinier's scholarship about authentic representatives is descriptive, rather than activist or even argumentative. The assertion that the election of "authentic blacks" is "the aim of her legal activism" misses the point entirely and ignores the fact that she ultimately rejects the theoretical model which includes the "authenticity assumption."

8. The Wall Street Journal states:

So even Virginia's African-American governor, Douglas Wilder, isn't "authentic," she says, because he was elected with votes of the white majority. He therefore must pursue a mainstream agenda that isn't "important to the black community."²¹

Prof. Guinier's actual statements are as follows (with the words quoted by the *Journal* italicized):

In Virginia, where Douglas Wilder is the first black elected Governor since Reconstruction, some commentators have interpreted his victory as a "new black politics." But cf. Ayres, Virginia Governor Baffles Democrats With Crusade for "New Mainstream," N.Y. Times, Oct. 14, 1990, at A22, col. 1 Others see Wilder's win as the triumph of a single-issue constituency in the wake of recent Supreme Court decisions on abortion. In either case, given the narrow margin of victory, Wilder's ability to govern on other issues *important to the black community* is considerably vitiated.²²

[A] representative's incumbency may so insulate her from electoral pressures that she feels little need to respond to constituent demands. Id. Cf. Barnes, Into the Mainstream, 22 Nat'l J. 262 (1990) (Virginia black governor Wilder "may become less accessible and less accountable politically to blacks whose demands for attention

²⁰89 Mich. L. Rev. at 1101-1103 & n. 115; 1104.

²¹Paul A. Gigot, "Hillary's Choice on Civil Rights," Wall St. Journal, May 7, 1993.

²²89 Mich. L. Rev. at 1109 n.151.

will be competing against those of Virginia's white-majority constituency -- and those of Wilder's large campaign contributors.)²³

"The Doug Wilder phenomenon of the black candidate being elected in an overwhelmingly white constituency has yet to be replicated widely and remains the exception, if a promising exception, rather than the rule."

Julian Bond, address to the Harvard Civil Rights/Civil Liberties Conference 2 (March 3, 1990)(unpublished manuscript). Douglas Wilder became the nation's first elected black governor in 1990, when he was elected Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia by an overwhelmingly white electorate.²⁴

Prof. Guinier simply never said anything like what the Wall St. Journal claims. Among other egregious misrepresentations, Mr. Gigot claims that Prof. Guinier stated that Governor Wilder is not "authentic." Prof. Guinier does not use the word "authentic" in relation to Governor Wilder.

9. The Wall Street Journal states:

The federal Voting Rights Act has already been turned on its head to ensure that racial and ethnic minorities win legislative seats in jigsaw puzzle districts; the same forces have now trained their sights on the bench. ... Last month, for example, a federal circuit panel in California found against a plan that fails to produce a sufficient number of judges of Hispanic ethnicity. ... Some of these cases involve state appellate bodies, but even where the focus is only on trial judges, the impact will be felt outside the courtrooms of those newly elected to the bench. Trial court panels usually play a major role in selecting grand juries, which are in turn an integral part of the prosecutorial apparatus in a county. * * * Ms. Guinier ... can only be assumed to represent a Clintonite quest to ration America's top posts by circumstance of birth.²⁵

"The Last Frontier" is a ten-paragraph essay, of which nine paragraphs are devoted to an argument against coverage by the Voting Rights Act of elections for judicial office. The Voting Rights Act's coverage of judicial elections has been upheld by the Supreme Court and was supported by the Bush Administration. The Supreme Court ruled in *Chisom v. Roemer*, 501 U.S. ___, 115 L.Ed. 2d 348 (1991), that "state judicial elections are included within the ambit of § 2 [of the Voting Rights Act] as amended." This decision was written

²³89 Mich. L. Rev. at 1108-1109 n.149.

²⁴77 Va. L. Rev. at 1429 n.55.

²⁵REVIEW & OUTLOOK, "The Last Frontier," Wall St. Journal, May 3, 1993 at A16.

by Justice Stevens, joined by Justices White, Marshall, Blackmun, O'Connor and Souter. In a Supreme Court brief, the Bush Justice Department argued: "The results test of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 applies to the election of state court judges." Brief for the United States as Amicus Curiae Supporting Reversal, *Houston Lawyers' Ass'n v. The Attorney General of Texas*, Nos. 90-813 and 90-974 (filed March, 1991). While the Wall St. Journal may disagree with the United States Supreme Court and with the Bush Administration's top lawyers, it seems completely frivolous to attack Prof. Guinier for agreeing with Supreme Court doctrine (including four Justices appointed by Republican Presidents) and Bush Administration policy.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE MERITS OF CRITICISM OF PROF. GUINIER'S IDEAS

Prof. Guinier labels her substantive proposals for improving Voting Rights Act remedies "proportionate interest representation." Despite its semantic closeness to the theory of "proportional representation," which she criticizes and rejects, "proportionate interest representation" is an entirely different concept. Contrary to the claims of critics, who may have misunderstood the label, Prof. Guinier's "proportionate interest representation" theory does not suggest use of "quotas," or of proportionate representation of black-sponsored candidates.

Under the label "proportionate interest representation," Prof. Guinier actually discusses remedies at two different levels of political -- the electoral level and the legislative decisionmaking level. Her conclusions about remedies at each level are discussed below.

1. Cumulative Voting as an Alternative Remedy at the Electoral Level.

At the electoral level, Prof. Guinier advocates consideration of cumulative voting as an alternative to the current remedial model's use of single-member districts. She identifies several negative side-effects of single-member districts, including the problem of submerging cohesive segments of the white population, such as Jewish voters.

Cumulative voting, while relatively new in the context of the Voting Rights Act, has a long history. Many corporations currently use this method to elect boards of directors; in some political settings in other countries, it is also in use. Moreover several local governments have voluntarily adopted this approach and initial studies suggest it is working smoothly. Some political scientists and voting rights scholars have advocated this approach for years. See, e.g., *The New Republic* (March 1, 1993).

Cumulative voting does not involve the race-conscious drawing of "safe" minority districts. It does not exacerbate tensions between minority groups by pitting them against each other. Nor does cumulative voting frame existing electoral structures into subdistricts.

Prof. Guinier's writings highlight potentially attractive features that cumulative voting offers for enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. She argues that, as with other remedies under the Act, minority voters with cohesive interests can protect those interests by concentrating their votes on particular candidates. But she notes that this system gives all voters, not just racial or ethnic minorities, the opportunity to protect their most intense interests. Moreover, voters voluntarily define their own interests and the voting affiliations that best promote them. As Prof. Guinier has written, cumulative voting "avoids the polarizing debate about affirmative action, for example, because it does not create or impose external preferences for interests based on presumptions about group solidarity or injury." In short, cumulative voting appears to be a less polarizing way of pursuing the goals of the Voting Rights Act.

2. Application of Voting Rights Theory to Discrimination in Legislative Bodies.

The second major contribution of Prof. Guinier's scholarship is her consideration of situations, such as the facts of *Presley v. Etowah County*, 502 U.S. ___, 117 L.Ed.2d 51 (1992), where, once a black is elected to the city council, the rules governing legislative decisionmaking are changed. For example, where it used to require one member of a school board to put an item on the agenda, the election of one minority member immediately produces a change; now two votes are required to set the agenda. For each success of the Voting Rights Act in eliminating political discrimination, the most recalcitrant officials devise new schemes to evade the Act. Prof. Guinier traces the progression of efforts of local officials to thwart black political effectiveness.²⁶ Devices of this sort are inconsistent with the spirit and goals of the Voting Rights Act.

Prof. Guinier's writings on this topic were developed at a time when this issue was being litigated in the lower federal courts. In these egregious situations, Prof. Guinier suggested that "legislative decisional rules" might be changed to insure that discriminatory practices do not deny minority interests full and equal political participation. For example, the Framers created a binumeral legislature to protect the interests of smaller states, and the Senate filibuster rules protect the interests of intense minorities. In similar fashion, a school board that previously had a one-vote rule for setting the agenda might be required to maintain that rule, until a rule change could be shown to be non-discriminatory. For example, after judicial findings that the city council of Mobile, Alabama was in violation of the Act, the council voluntarily agreed to require more than bare majority support

²⁶The Senate Report on the 1982 Amendments to the Voting Rights Act summarized some of this history: "Following a dramatic rise in registration, a broad array of dilution schemes were employed to cancel the impact of the new black vote. Elective posts were made appointive; election boundaries were gerrymandered; majority runoffs were instituted to prevent victories under a prior plurality system; at-large elections were substituted for election by single-member districts, or combined with other sophisticated rules to prevent an effective minority vote. The ingenuity of such schemes seems endless." S. Rep. No. 417, 97th Cong., 2d Sess. 6 (1982).

before acting (five votes out of seven are now required). The goal was to foster the kind of broader consensus and fuller deliberation that takes minority interests into account.

Prof. Guinier's scholarship on this point has been attacked as an anti-democratic abandonment of majority rule. This is not true. As conservative columnist George Will wrote in a recent article defending Republicans' right to filibuster in the Senate, democracy is not about "simple majority rule." Prof. Guinier's proposals to soften pure majority rule also are nothing new in Voting Rights Act jurisprudence. In fact, the entire thrust of the Voting Rights Act has been an effort to address "election systems or practices which operate ... to minimize or cancel out the voting strength and political effectiveness of minority groups."²⁷ The most common type of case under the Voting Rights Act -- the invalidation of an at-large election scheme and its replacement with single-member districts -- involves a remedy that deviates from the winner-take-all feature of pure majority rule. Whereas the majority previously controlled all of the seats, the Voting Rights Act has repeatedly been applied to require implementation of a single-member districting scheme so that the majority controls only a majority of the seats and not all of the seats.

Congress has explicitly recognized that pure majority rule is not always consistent with the Voting Rights Act.²⁸ For example, the Senate Report on the 1982 Amendments to the Voting Rights Act found: "majority runoffs were instituted to prevent victories under a prior plurality system." "The ingenuity of such schemes seems endless." S. Rep. No. 417, 97th Cong., 2d Sess. 6 (1982).²⁹

Remedies that soften the impact of pure majority rule have been consistently supported by the Department of Justice in both Democratic and Republican Administrations. During the Reagan and Bush Administrations, the Department of Justice entered Section 5 objections to majority vote requirements in numerous instances. This was the third most common type of objection interposed by the Reagan and Bush Administrations.³⁰

²⁷S. Rep. No. 417, 97th Cong., 2d Sess. 28 (1982).

²⁸The 1982 Senate Report concluded: "Sophisticated rules regarding elections may seem part of the everyday rough-and-tumble of American politics -- tactics used traditionally by the "ins" against the "outs." Viewed in context, however, the schemes reported here are clearly the last in a direct line of repeated efforts to perpetuate the results of past voting discrimination and to undermine the gains won under other sections of the Voting Rights Act." S. Rep. No. 417, at 12.

²⁹See also *id.* at 29 (one of the factors to be considered in the "totality of circumstances" test is "the extent to which the state or political subdivision has used ... majority vote requirements ... that may enhance the opportunity for discrimination against the minority group.")

³⁰This was also true in earlier years. "Among the types of changes that have been objected to most frequently in the period from 1975-1980 are annexations; the use of at-large elections; majority vote requirements, or numbered posts; and the redistricting of boundary lines." S. Rep. No. 417, at 10.

JD Also during the Bush Administration, the Justice Department sued the State of Georgia to invalidate that State's majority vote requirement. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights John Dunne stated that majority-vote requirements are the equivalent of "electoral steroids for white voters."

Clearly, Prof. Guinier's ideas for tempering the absolute control exercised by racially discriminatory majorities are well within the mainstream of voting rights doctrine. Prof. Guinier's advancement of the dialogue on this issue is her consideration of how racially-motivated abuses at the legislative level might be dealt with by the Voting Rights Act. Although Prof. Guinier's suggestion that the Voting Rights Act applies at the legislative level was rejected by the Supreme Court in the *Presley* case, this does not mean that Prof. Guinier's position is out of the mainstream. In fact, Congress has already introduced legislation to overturn the *Presley* decision and Attorney General Janet Reno has announced the Administration's support for this legislative effort. The proper time for debating the precise details of Prof. Guinier's and the Administration's proposals on this issue is during Congress' consideration of the *Presley* legislation.

May 13, 1993

Ms. Amity Shlaes
Editorial Department
The Wall Street Journal
200 Liberty Street
New York, New York 10281

Dear Ms. Shlaes:

In recent days, the editorial pages of the Wall Street Journal have criticized the scholarship of Professor Lani Guinier, whom President Clinton has nominated to head the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. This criticism focuses on Professor Guinier's work in the complex field of voting rights. As specialists who struggle with these difficult issues, we are familiar with Professor Guinier's detailed academic writings. We do not recognize her own ideas in the soundbites to which they have so far been reduced. We write to untangle some of the confusion about her scholarship and the voting-rights field.

1. Professor Guinier's work defies easy categorization. She is an experienced voting-rights litigator, yet her work questions the orthodox position of the major voting-rights organizations. The current remedy for Voting Rights Act violations is the creation of "safe minority electoral districts." Based on her experience, Professor Guinier believes this remedy can sometimes be racially and ethnically divisive as well as ineffective; she has done as much as any scholar to suggest alternative approaches. Far from being ideological, her work shows independence, creativity, and an evolution over time. Nor, to our knowledge, has she ever argued that the Act guarantees minorities a number of electoral seats equal to their proportion of the overall population. On the contrary, she has specifically advanced ways to enhance the responsiveness of democratic bodies to minority interests of many types -- racial, religious, ethnic, or political -- without the use of "racial quotas."

2. Some of what has been offered as criticism of Professor Guinier is, in fact, criticism of the Voting Rights Act itself. For example, the Wall Street Journal (May 3, 1993) editorialized against applying the Act to racially discriminatory electoral structures used to elect judges. Whatever one thinks of this criticism, the Congress that wrote the statute and the Supreme Court (and lower courts) that interpreted it are its proper audience. Disagreements over the policies reflected in the statute should not be used to raise questions about the qualifications of Professor Guinier.

3. Ironically, many of the problems her critics charge Professor Guinier with ignoring are ones she has addressed extensively. Her writing is distinguished from some of her critics by two elements. First, she remains committed to the Act's goals. Second, she has moved from criticism to proposals for constructive reform. She has worked to

discover new means for realizing these goals in ways that reduce current conflicts and tensions.

The statute condemns electoral structures and procedures that, in the context of racially-polarized voting, deny minorities an equal opportunity to participate in the political process. As the statute has developed, the principal remedy for violations has become the creation of "safe" electoral districts for minority voters. These new "single-membered districts" concentrate minority voters in one district, which increases the likelihood that they will be able to elect one representative of their choice. Critics label this "racial gerrymandering;" supporters view it as counteracting racial discrimination in electoral politics. James Madison viewed this as the central problem in designing democratic institutions: ensuring adequate protection of minority interests in the face of hostile, potentially overbearing majorities.

With respect to the current approach of the Voting Rights Act, consider this list of problems that have emerged:

- "Districting provides no clear theoretical justification for resolving -- and may instead exacerbate -- conflict between the interests of competing minority groups;"

- "subdistricting may set off a 'political land grab' in which each minority group has a legitimate but potentially unfulfilled claim to representation;"

- "in order to create majority-black districts, racially homogeneous white districts are also created on the assumption that white voters are a racially undifferentiated mass" (describing the Supreme Court decision in United Jewish Organizations v. Carey);

- "districting decisions may simply reflect the arbitrary preferences of incumbent politicians who prefer packed, safe districts to ensure their reelection;"

- the current system ignores "the existence of intra-group differences as well as the importance of individual choice in choosing group affiliation."

These words come from the pen of Professor Guinier, not her critics. Surely they belie the notion that she has an uncritical or ideological approach to implementation of the Voting Rights Act.

4. Much criticism has focused on Professor Guinier's exploration of "cumulative voting" as a different approach to remedying violations of the Act. We do not read Professor Guinier as arguing that the Act mandates cumulative voting. Rather, she discusses cumulative voting as one of a series of remedies courts and legislators should consider once a violation of the Act has been proven.

Cumulative voting, while relatively new in the context of the Voting Rights Act, has a long history. Many corporations currently use this method to elect boards of directors; in some political settings in other countries, it is also in use. Moreover, several local governments have voluntarily adopted this approach and initial studies suggest it is working smoothly. Some political scientists have advocated this approach for years, and one of us has written at length in The New Republic to explain cumulative voting (March 1, 1993).

Cumulative voting does not involve the racially-conscious drawing of "safe" minority

districts. It does not exacerbate tensions between minority groups by pitting them against each other. Nor does cumulative voting fragment existing electoral structures into smaller subdistricts. Instead, in cumulative voting systems each voter has as many votes to cast as there are electoral seats to fill; for a five-member city council, each voter would have five votes. Voters are permitted to distribute these votes in any way they choose among the candidates. Voters who have strong desires to see one candidate elected can "plump" all their votes for that candidate.

Professor Guinier's writings highlight potentially attractive features that cumulative voting offers for enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. She argues that, as with other remedies under the Act, minority voters with cohesive interests can protect those interests by concentrating their votes on particular candidates. But she notes that this system gives all voters, not just racial or ethnic minorities, the opportunity to protect their most intense interests. Moreover, voters voluntarily define their own interests and the voting affiliations that best promote them. As Professor Guinier has written, cumulative voting "avoids the polarizing debate about affirmative action, for example, because it does not create or impose external preferences for interests based on presumptions about group solidarity or injury." In short, cumulative voting appears to be a way of pursuing the goals of the Voting Rights Act within the framework of political liberalism. Whether cumulative voting would, on balance, improve upon the current "safe districting" approach requires more detailed legislative study. But rather than being criticized for being too "innovative," Professor Guinier should be credited for having put forward for discussion new approaches to difficult problems.

5. Professor Guinier has been attacked for "demanding equal legislative outcomes" and for wanting to abandon majority rule itself. The first is hard to square with her own careful language; as she clearly states, her concern is "legislative decisional rules, not decisional outcomes."

With respect to the second charge, this is the concern to which Professor Guinier's arguments are a response. In many places, once the Voting Right Act enables minorities to get into public office, the rules of the game suddenly change. Where it used to require one member of a school board to put an item on the agenda, the election of one minority member immediately produces a change; now two votes are required to set the agenda. For each success of the Voting Rights Act in eliminating political discrimination, the most recalcitrant public officials devise new schemes to evade the Act.

Most people, we believe, would agree that devices of this sort are inconsistent with the spirit and goals of the Voting Rights Act. Yet how legislation and judicial decisions ought to deal with them is enormously difficult. Congress is now, appropriately, considering the question. In these situations, Professor Guinier has suggested that "legislative decisional rules" might be changed to insure that discriminatory practices do not deny minority interests full and equal political participation. For example, the Framers created a bicameral legislature to protect the interests of smaller states, and the Senate filibuster rules protect the interests of intense minorities. In a similar fashion, political bodies that are violating the Act might be required to use non-discriminatory procedures and rules of decision. A school board that previously had a one-vote rule for setting the

agenda might be required to maintain that rule, until a rule change could be shown to be non-discriminatory. For example, after judicial findings that the city council in Mobile, Alabama was in violation of the Act, the council voluntarily agreed to require more than bare majority support before acting (five votes out of seven are now required). The goal was to foster the kind of broader consensus and fuller deliberation that takes minority interests into account. Based on the reports of experts we have consulted, this system has worked well so far in enhancing the democratic legitimacy and effectiveness of the city council.

One might well disagree as to how these issues ought to be addressed. But the problems are serious, and Professor Guinier has offered meaningful ideas for dealing with them. The complexity of the problems and the seriousness of her scholarship have been lost in the caricatures of her views we have read.

.....
Professor Guinier has produced a carefully researched, extensive body of scholarly material rich with suggestions for improving the implementation of the Voting Rights Act. We do not agree with all her suggestions, nor do we agree between ourselves on these vexing issues. All her writing, though, has been explicitly motivated by a search for consensus-building strategies conducive to inter-racial coalitions that avoid racial stereotypes or quotas. As scholars, we feel obligated to resist partisan rhetoric that reduces complex issues to simple labels. Neither public debate nor Professor Guinier are done a service when this happens.

Sincerely,

T. Alexander Aleinkoff	Richard H. Pildes
Professor of Law	Professor of Law
University of Michigan Law School	

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/25/93

NOTE FOR: BRUCE REED

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

May 21, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Bruce Reed and Jose Cerda updating the status of your plans to put 100,000 new cops on the street.

Note that the Safe Schools program is listed as adding 100 police at a cost of \$235 million -- which would be an extremely high cost per officer. In fact, that \$235 million is intended to cover other security measures, such as installation of metal detectors, and would not be spent entirely on police.

(Altogether, the Safe Schools program calls for spending \$475 million over five years, half for anti-drug and violence education, half for security measures like police and metal detectors.)

John Podesta
Todd Stern 703

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1993

93 MAY 20 PM: 22

*His Lordship
Heil Gerd out stay
close to Daves*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
JOSE CERDA III, SENIOR POLICY ANALYST

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON 100,000 NEW POLICE

Carol Rasco passed along your request for an update on the status of the Administration's plans to put 100,000 cops on the street. We have been working with the Justice Department and OMB on a credible proposal to meet your campaign promise.

Although funds are tight, we believe the Administration can claim credit for up to 100,000 new law enforcement personnel from the following sources:

Crime Bill	-50,000	— \$3-5 billion over 5 years
Jobs Package	-10,000	— \$200 million over 2 years
Enterprise Zones	-15,000	— \$500 million over 2 years
HUD's Compac	- 5,000	— \$750 million over 5 years
ED's Safe Schools	- 100	— \$235 million over 5 years
National Service	- 20,000	— no set amount
Troops to Cops	-	to be determined

Total Cops 100,100

I. Revised Crime Bill -- Community Policing/Cop on the Beat

The Domestic Policy Council and the Justice Department recommend that our main vehicle for putting more cops on the street should be a modified version of last year's crime bill, with a new Administration-backed title on community policing. There is widespread support on the Hill for more cops. Senator Biden is working with the state attorneys general on habeas corpus reform, the main sticking point from last year. The rest of last year's conference report would remain largely unchanged. The Brady Bill would still be included.

✓ ~~Senator Biden is concerned that we work this out quickly because he believes that Gramm and the GOP could introduce their own crime bill any day. He would like the Senate to take up this issue in June, before the July 4th recess. We will be ready to proceed as soon as the economic plan clears the House.~~

The linchpin of the 100,000 new police proposal should be a single grant program administered by the Justice Department that helps states and localities put police on the street by providing a source of direct funding.

TOTAL NEW POLICE -- 50,000

II. Jobs Package -- Re-Hire/New Hire Proposal

Per your request, the new jobs bill now contains \$200 million to re-hire or hire additional police officers, perhaps as many as 10,000. These funds could also be used to redeploy police officers onto the streets in community policing roles.

If passed, DOJ would have to spend \$44 million of this money in FY 1993 through its current discretionary authority. The Attorney General has considerable flexibility in awarding these funds. Hopefully, if we move quickly on a crime bill, the remainder of the funds could be spent under the authorizing language to be included in the Biden/Brooks crime bill.

TOTAL NEW POLICE -- 10,000

III. Empowerment Zones -- Community Investment Program

The Empowerment Zone legislation authorizes \$250 million in FY 1994 (already appropriated) and \$250 million in FY 1995 for community policing grants to these 110 areas selected by the Enterprise Board. The Attorney General has broad discretion to make these grants: they can be made under the general language in the legislation; they can be made under current Justice programs; or they can be made under authorizing language passed in a new crime bill.

TOTAL NEW POLICE -- 15,000

IV. Department of Housing and Urban Development -- COMPAC

To help housing authorities fight against crime, HUD has proposed restructuring its current Drug Elimination Grant Program into a considerably more flexible Community Partnership Against Crime (COMPAC). The program is budgeted for \$265 million next year,

and \$1.5 billion over the next five years. HUD expects that about \$150 million of these funds per year will be spent on law enforcement or security personnel, including community-based policing efforts that would increase police presence on public housing complexes.

TOTAL NEW POLICE -- 5,000

V. Department of Education -- Safe Schools

We have amended the Department of Education's draft of Safe Schools legislation to allow the program's monies to be used for "sworn" police officers, not only professional security personnel. While hiring "sworn" police personnel may prove too expensive to use them in the same round-the-clock manner as security guards, they can be used more cost-effectively in community policing roles, including schools as part of their "beat".

TOTAL NEW POLICE -- 100

VI. National Service -- National Service Officers

The National Service Trust Fund estimates that some 20,000 of its participants will serve in law enforcement/public safety roles. These "national service officers" could be used to assist police departments in the broad areas of community policing and crime prevention. They could take reports, staff telephone crime reporting units and administer citizen crime prevention surveys. Relieving officers from these time-consuming duties would potentially free more police officers to become cops "on the beat", and the support work will make officers more effective in their crime-fighting. With direct funding available for most of the new police, we believe it is credible to use National Service members serving in public safety/law enforcement roles in our 100,000 count.

TOTAL NEW NSOs -- 20,000

VII. Military/Labor -- Troops to Cops Demonstration Programs

We are working with the Labor and Defense Departments to define these proposals. However, substantial funds are not available from these sources.

* [As we understand it, monies available under Senator Nunn's "Troop to Teachers" initiative are not available for a "Troops to Cops" initiative without new authorizing language. Currently, this DoD account has about \$65 million in it, \$20 million of which could probably be used for a cops initiative.

Perhaps as much as \$75 million may be available through the Department of Labor if we develop appropriate demonstration projects under amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act. Authority to undertake such projects was enacted in the 1991 Defense Department Authorization.

TOTAL NEW POLICE -- TO BE DETERMINED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/25/93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY

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: Leon Panetta

5.25.93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

93 MAY 25 A8:52

May 25, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY *MMcL*
RE: Linder's Proposed Cuts

In the attached one-and-a-half page memo, you will find a few comments and a brief overview on the proposed spending cuts in the list prepared by Congressman Linder. A more detailed, item-by-item review of the proposed cuts is being prepared by Gene Sperling of the National Economic Council. Gene, who received the list last night, is working with OMB on the details and expects to have his review to you by the end of the day tomorrow (Wednesday).

*I have gone back
and forth called
soon we need analysis on—
B.*

May 24, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO MACK McLARTY

FROM: Bill Burton

RE: Proposed Spending Cuts from Rep. Linder

Congressman Linder, a freshman Georgia Republican, proposes 120 spending cuts -- all out of the discretionary spending budget -- which together total \$348 billion. And he does so WITHOUT listing the two obvious big-ticket items, Space Station Freedom and the Superconducting Super Collider (note, however, that he serves on the Science, Space, and Technology Committee).

The fact that the cuts are discretionary, as opposed to entitlement, spending is problematic at this stage of the game. Discretionary spending cuts implicate jurisdiction of committees other than the committees dealing with reconciliation. One possibility, however, is to allow the tax-writing committees to lower the discretionary spending caps (and have the actual cuts made later). Good politics might advise that in such an instance, the cuts should be named now, to avoid the smoke-and-mirrors argument that would be made against "cuts to be named later."

Nature of Proposed Cuts

Some of the cuts are simply different ways of stating what we have already proposed as cuts. For example, Linder #55, which accounts for \$18.35 billion, is a lowering by 3% of federal agencies' overhead costs; we've proposed something very similar. Likewise, Linder proposes cuts regarding Stafford loans and other student loan changes that may be unnecessary after our student loan reform is in place.

Many, many of the cuts are simply against our philosophy of government: \$1.15 billion cuts in math and science education; 50% cut for legal services for the poor; eliminate library construction funding; tighter standards on FmHA single-family housing loans.

Some of the cuts directly contradict positions we campaigned on, such as the elimination of the Seawolf submarine or repeal of Davis-Bacon.

Some of the cuts are probably smoke and mirrors, such as the proposed \$27 billion cut from prohibiting illegal aliens from receiving entitlements. The CBO says this proposal only nets \$7 billion; some at OMB think the figure may be as low as \$2 billion.

winning CBO's -
can we get anything from

Some of the cuts are politically impossible, or go much further than we have been able to go: eliminate REA; terminate all highway demonstration projects; cut farm supports; eliminate dairy subsidies; eliminate wool and mohair subsidies.

I suppose the bottom line is that most of these cuts are fine if your philosophy is that of a freshman Republican from Georgia who believes the federal government's role is a much more limited one than we believe it is.

Gene Sperling is visiting with OMB and will be developing a detailed, item-by-item analysis of these proposed spending cuts.

THE LINDER LIST
OF
PROPOSED CUTS AND SAVINGS
(savings are in millions over 5 years)

1. Continue partial civilian hiring freeze for D.O.D. thru 1997 \$8,850
2. Eliminate below-cost timber sales from national forests \$230
3. Lower target prices for subsidized crops by 3% annually \$11,200
4. Eliminate price support for wool and mohair \$760
5. Eliminate the honey program \$60
6. Eliminate the Market Promotion program \$900
7. End the Federal Crop Insurance Program and replace with standing authority for disaster assistance \$2,410
8. Limit federal highway spending to the amount brought in by motor vehicle fuel taxes \$8,850
9. Repeal the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act \$5,700
10. Reduce by 50 percent funding for Legal Services Corporation \$900
11. Extend the current law eliminating the statute of limitations on collecting defaulted student loans \$266
12. ^{1/3 vs.} Terminate most federal commissions \$1,167
13. Fully implement H.R. 1080 to prohibit direct federal benefits and unemployment benefits to illegal aliens ~~\$97,000~~ *ans*
14. Eliminate the tobacco price-support program \$665
15. Consolidate the Office of Bureau of Indian Affairs \$53
16. Close 20 under-utilized black lung offices \$3
17. Bring Government Printing Office wages in line with federal government counterparts \$63
18. Allow private sector investment in the Space Shuttle \$1,522 *Real*
19. Eliminate Farmer's Home Administration (FmHA) duplication with small business administration \$913
20. Eliminate the Rural Electrification Administration \$660
21. Terminate all highway "demonstration projects" \$4,300

Partic

43. Eliminate 430 projects identified by the Pork-busters coalition (Porkbusters) \$1,400
45. Eliminate the Seawolf Submarine (SSN-21) \$1,161
46. Eliminate the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration and trade promotion activities of the International Trade Administration \$820
47. Close the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences \$330
48. Reduce EXIMBANK credits \$620
49. End Funding for the Economic Development Administration \$870
50. Target Community Development Block Grants \$4,730
51. Repeal the Service Contract Act. \$2,000 *write in*
52. Eliminate education programs that have largely achieved their purpose
- public library construction \$65
 - law related education \$25
 - law school clinical experience \$40
53. Eliminate untargeted funding for math and science \$1,150
54. Reduce lenders' yields for Stafford loans *dis. by stat. in prop* \$1,500
55. Lower by 3 percent per year the projected growth rate of overhead costs of non-postal civilian agencies (such as transportation and rental costs, phone & utility costs, printing, supplies, and equipment). \$18,350
56. Replace guaranteed student loans with direct loans \$6,700
57. Increase productivity in civilian non-defense agencies while holding the total increases of personnel costs at the inflation rate. Allow greater flexibility for managers. \$11,900
58. Eliminate the 0/92 and 50/92 programs for participants in USDA commodity programs \$1,450
59. Restrict eligibility for benefits from price support programs and reduce the payment limit
- Limit payments to \$40,000 per person \$1,250
 - Disqualify people whose gross revenues from commodity sales exceed \$500,000 \$680
60. Reduce loan guarantees under the USDA's export credit programs and eliminate loans to especially risky borrowers \$1,600
61. Eliminate the dairy subsidy program \$1,050

- 82. Sell the Naval Petroleum Reserves to the private sector \$2,400
- 83. Delay oil fill for the Strategic Petroleum Reserves \$1,100
- 84. Recover in full, through user fees, the Army Corps of Engineers' costs of operations and maintenance of inland waterway systems \$1,800
- 85. End all new Bureau of Reclamation water projects and investigations of future projects. Begin to shift operations and maintenance of existing projects to the private sector. Eliminate federal water subsidies. \$7,440
- 86. Change the revenue-sharing formula from a gross to a net receipt basis for commercial activity on federal lands \$1,200
- 87. Increase the diligence requirement from \$100 to \$1,000 for hardrock mining claims \$250
- 88. Place a 3-year moratorium on new Department of Interior and National Forest Service land acquisitions \$1,500
- 89. Eliminate the Conservation Reserve Farm Subsidy Program \$9,200
- 90. Eliminate National Coastal Zone Management Grants and the Sea Grant College program \$345
- 91. Impose user fees for special weather services \$250
- 92. Privatize the NOAA research fleet \$500
- 93. Eliminate funding for NOAA programs that are either state or local concerns or that benefit only small, specific groups \$500
- 94. Merge the Agricultural Research Service, the Cooperative State Research Service, and the Extension Service, then reduce total funding by 50 percent \$3,950
- 95. Reduce FHA program losses through improved underwriting, monitoring, and enforcement efforts to increase recoveries from corrupt HUD contractors in the multi-family and single-family housing programs. Allow increased sales of defaulted property \$4,780
- 96. Phase out over five years the Government National Mortgage Association (GNMA), letting the private sector assume insurance needs \$2,000
- 97. Eliminate airport grants-in-aid \$8,900
- 98. Tighten standards on new FmHA single family loans, and speed collections on delinquent loans \$1,500
- 99. Recover 100 percent of the costs for Coast Guard services provided to commercial and pleasure boats \$3,900

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 118. Tighten occupancy standards under the Performance Funding System for federal operating subsidies to local housing authorities. | \$325 |
| 119. Replace new public housing construction with vouchers. | \$2,500 |
| 120. Partially replace new construction for the elderly (Section 202) with vouchers. | \$800 |

Total	<u>\$348,195,950,000.00</u>
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/25/93

MACK MCLARTY
BOB RUBIN

NOTE FOR: LEEANN INADOMI

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

Information ☒

Action ☒

LEEANN -- Please prepare a Presidential
response. Thanks.

Thank you.

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

cc:



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

WILLIAM H. ORTON
THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
UTAH

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

May 19, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President,

It was an honor to see and visit with you at the Democratic Caucus this morning. After the meeting, you asked me to send you some specific details on my recommendations for lowering taxes on the middle class.

Before election to the House of Representatives in 1990, I spent eleven years with the Internal Revenue Service and ten years as a tax attorney. I will not burden you with all of the complex background, legal analysis, or specific provisions of my proposals unless you request more detail. Below is a basic encapsulation of the concept which I would be happy to expand and explain to you or staff at your convenience.

REDUCE FICA TAX BURDEN:

As you are aware, over the past decade the tax burden that increased most significantly is the FICA tax. Most lower and middle income Americans pay a higher social security tax than income tax. Since this tax is only imposed on "earned income" beginning with the first dollar and capped currently at \$57,600, it is also the most regressive tax imposed by the federal government.

I favor Senator Moynihan's proposal to reduce the FICA tax rate across the board and only raise the amount of tax necessary to pay for the current benefits to recipients. The \$70 Billion annual surplus generated from the FICA tax does not insure the future safety of the trust fund, but rather masks the true size of the current deficit and cruelly imposes an additional burden on lower income working Americans to pay a disproportionate share of our nation's taxes. However, I am a pragmatist and I understand why that is probably not possible in today's political environment since the bottom line result would be to increase the already intolerable annual deficit.

Mark / ce Port Nelson
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interesting - North Union
of this new approach

It is possible, however, to reduce the FICA tax burden on lower and middle income Americans and continue to raise the same tax revenue. There is no justifiable policy basis for requiring only "working" Americans to carry the entire economic burden of our Social Security System.

I recommend that all income, both earned and unearned income, be subject to the FICA tax, and that the income cap be removed. As a result, the FICA tax rate could be reduced and continue to generate the same FICA revenue. Although CBO has not yet scored this proposal, our initial projections indicate that the tax rate (currently at 6.2% on employees and 6.2% matching tax on employers) could be reduced down to approximately 4.5% on each. This would result in a tax cut of \$500 to \$600 annually for a worker earning \$30,000, and a similar \$500 to \$600 per employee tax cut for business. Such a tax cut would be more than double the tax increase you have proposed in the BTU tax.

The obvious opponents of such a proposal reside on Wall Street. It will be argued that imposing another tax on investment and savings is the opposite direction from which we should be moving. I tend to agree, but spreading the FICA burden across the entire American public and not just workers has tremendous appeal and would have insignificant economic impact on savings. Also, there are numerous changes in our tax and banking laws which could encourage savings, investment, capital growth, and credit markets which would more than offset any potential impact from realigning the FICA tax burden.

ELIMINATE THE BTU ENERGY TAX:

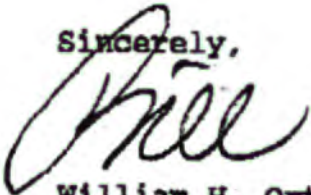
I will not recite here all of the reasons to eliminate the energy tax, but would be happy to respond if you would like a comprehensive list. The most compelling reason is the promise not to raise taxes on the middle class.

The energy tax raises slightly over \$70 Billion in five years. The tax losses from the Investment Tax Credit, Earned Income Tax Credit, Food Stamp increase, and increase in Low-income Energy Assistance Program equal the amount of new revenue raised by the BTU tax. If the BTU tax were eliminated, the offsetting increases in programs to help lower income persons pay for the tax (EITC, LEAP, and Food Stamps) would be unnecessary. The net loss in revenue without the BTU tax would then be approximately \$40 - \$50 Billion over 5 years, and could be offset with other cuts. I have specific recommendations which Congressmen Penny, Stenholm, McCurdy, myself and others have developed. However, if our cuts are not acceptable, spread ratably over the jurisdiction of the various committees, each committee would only have to find less than \$500 Million annually to reach this level of cuts. Politically, this would be much easier than the energy tax, which is an ugly puppy very difficult to sell.

As another option, the increase in Earned Income Tax Credit, which is extremely important to you, could be deferred and included as part of comprehensive Welfare Reform. This would be a perfect fit since the EITC is designed to help low-income working people avoid the welfare trap. In addition, the EITC has numerous problems (such as eligibility of non-resident aliens) which should be amended, and would reduce the total cost of the program.

I want you and your program for America to succeed. I believe that the majority of the public will support the majority of your program. However, I believe that we can disarm our opponents by taking affirmative action on key "pocketbook" issues which we can win and are consistent with your economic plan. If you or staff would like me to expand on any of these topics, my office telephone is [D.C. 225-7751; Utah (801)379-2500] and my home telephone is [D.C. 547-7665; Utah (801)226-7866].

Sincerely,



William H. Orton,
Member of Congress



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/25/93



TO: LEEANN INADOMI

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

For your appropriate
handling.



ELTON GALLEGLY

2380 27th ST, CALIFORNIA

2451 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0523
(202) 425-0811

300 ESPANADE DRIVE
SUITE 1800
OXNARD, CA 93030-1262
(805) 485-2300
(805) 423-0023

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0523

May 18, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

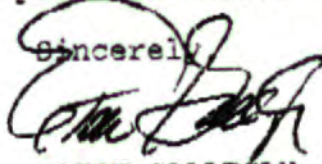
It is with consternation that I write to you because of recent reports that the United States will not be represented at a U.N. Security Council meeting of foreign ministers on peacekeeping, specifically the war in Bosnia.

Although I understand the Administration's position that bilateral talks should occur before a Security Council meeting and that the U.S. is not prepared to help implement a peace plan that the Bosnian Serbs have overwhelmingly rejected, I question turning our backs on any attempt for a possible settlement of this crisis. Without the United States' participation, we are doing little more than delaying an end to the ongoing bloodshed in Bosnia. It is absolutely critical that we work constantly with members of NATO and the United Nations, to vigorously pursue any plan to end the war in Bosnia.

Mr. President, how can we find a solution if we are not willing to participate in every bilateral as well as multilateral diplomatic means to end the crisis? The Administration must redouble its efforts to find a diplomatic, not a military solution to this tragic war.

I sympathize with the multifaceted problems inherent in the conflict in the Balkans. However, I urge that you, insure that the United States does not turn its back on any opportunity to cooperate and to negotiate a peaceful settlement to this war.

Sincerely,



ELTON GALLEGLY
Member of Congress

EG/lb

COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
SUBCOMMITTEES
ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL LAW
INTERNATIONAL LAW
IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEES
EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST
WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS
NATURAL RESOURCES
SUBCOMMITTEES
INSULAR AND
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
RANKING
MINORITY MEMBER

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

NOTE FOR: *Alexis Herma*

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

Information

☒

Action

☐

*no call made
see attached letter*

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
May 20, 1993

*The President
was unable to
call due to
some
constraints*

93 MAY 20

P6:40

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: **Rev. Leon Sullivan, noted African American Minister and founder of OICs of America. Phone Number -- 602-951-9389 (before his 2pm departure).**

DATE: **May 21, 1993**

RECOMMENDED BY: **Alexis Herman**

PURPOSE: **To discuss Rev. Sullivan's recent initiatives in Africa and specifically, his 2nd African-African American Summit commencing on May 24, 1993.**

BACKGROUND: **In recent years, Rev. Sullivan has focused his attentions on African development including support programs for Africa using U.S. professionals. Recently, he has conducted an African-African American Summit in an African country focusing on economic development, education, agriculture and health issues. This year's event is in Libreville, Gabon. These events have included U.S. luminaries and African heads of State. Ambassador George Moose will attend this year's event. Rev. Sullivan has met with European heads of state and has requested a meeting with you as well. We will be unable to accommodate his request. Therefore, I recommend a brief call expressing support for his efforts.**

CONTACT PERSON: **Alexis Herman x6455**

DATE OF SUBMISSION: **May 20, 1993**

ACTION: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1993

Dear Reverend Sullivan:

As you prepare to depart for Libreville for the Second African-African American Summit Meeting, I wanted to express to you my personal support for your efforts and my best wishes for a productive meeting. From every indication that I have received, it promises to be a resounding success.

Your work continues to be instrumental in increasing contacts and understanding between Africans and African-Americans. While my Administration attaches great importance to fostering democracy and development in Africa, the success of such efforts will depend in no small measure on what you have been able to achieve.

I hope you will extend my warmest regards to the African heads of state that are in attendance and to all the other participants as well. While I regret that I am unable to join you in Gabon, I will be sending an official delegation to ensure that the United States Government is well represented.

You have my best wishes for a successful meeting, and I look forward to hearing about it when you return.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton ^A

The Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, (D.D.)
Chairman and Convener
The African-African American Summit
5040 East Shea Boulevard, Suite 260
Phoenix, Arizona 85254-4610

93-520

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

NOTE FOR: *Secretary BABAT*

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

May 20, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is an information memo from Katie McGinty reporting on the status of work being done by the Forest Conference working groups. She notes that drafts of their reports will be available for staff review by June 2.

We have circulated information copies of this memo to relevant senior staff.

TDS
Todd Stern

CC: BBabette

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON 93 MAY 19

MAY 19, 1993

P6:57

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT
FROM KATIE MCGINTY ^{DC}
SUBJECT FOREST CONFERENCE

This memo summarizes for you the status of Forest Conference working group reports and the substantive content of the reports. By the end of the week, I will send both of you a more comprehensive update on Forest Conference follow-up activities.

At the Forest Conference, you directed the Cabinet Secretaries to prepare reports containing options for breaking the gridlock surrounding this issue. You asked that they present the reports to you within 60 days. Teams of scientists, economists, forest managers, community development and labor assistance experts are feverishly preparing those reports. Drafts will be available for staff to review by June 2.

Since the Conference, teams of Administration officials have met with numerous Members of Congress, their staff, and a diversity of interest group representatives. They have generally taken obvious positions. Many worry that they have misplaced their expectations in the Administration's ability to find a balanced solution. "Balance" implies very different things to different sides of this issue.

1. Forest Management

Our instructions to the Forest Ecosystem Assessment Team were to prepare a series of options which 1) were ecosystem based; 2) met legal standards of existing environmental laws; and 3) maximized social and economic benefits within the first two constraints. The Team is developing seven options for the management of Federal lands. The options range from current National Forest and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) plans (incorporating conservation of northern spotted owls) to options which provide extensive old growth reserves and little timber harvest on public lands.

The amount of harvest, protection of old growth forest, riparian zones, and timber management practices on non-reserved lands varies in each. Under each of the scenarios, timber harvests on public lands will range from approximately 0.8 to 1.5 billion board feet (bbf) compared to the 1980 to 1989 average of 4.7 bbf. Harvest reductions will not be spread equally across the three states. The Olympic Peninsula and southwestern Oregon

will experience the largest reductions largely because these areas have spotted owls, marbled murrelets, and salmon streams. We will be working with Congressional and community leaders to mitigate the economic impacts there.

The options represent attempts to build on previous work by the forest scientists. Some are based primarily on protecting old-growth forest ecosystems. Others are the result of providing adequate protection for the numerous species of concern -- already designated endangered and threatened species plus others which are declining. When the scientists overlay conservation measures necessary for the species, the result generally resembles protection based on protecting old-growth ecosystems. The net result with regard to timber availability depends more on the amount of conservation one chooses than whether you use an ecosystem or multi-species approach.

In addition to options for Federal land management, the proposal will include opportunities to use existing flexibility in the Endangered Species Act (ESA) to reduce burdens on private landowners. We anticipate easing the process to develop joint-state-private Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs) for most areas. Several timber companies have already begun collecting and analyzing data for these plans. We are exploring a seldom used section (4d) of the ESA which will enable us to lift "owl conservation circles" on private lands if we are assured that public lands are providing adequate conservation for the species.

2. Labor and Community Assistance

The options paper prepared by the National Economic Council (NEC) presents comprehensive strategies for both immediate relief and adjustment and intermediate-term development and diversification. The various programs must be linked and coordinated. They require targeting funds from the Departments of Commerce, Labor, and Agriculture to the region. Most of the programs build upon existing policies and planned Administration initiatives. However, some will require legislation to assure adequate authority and flexibility.

We envision programs which will provide assistance to:

- **workers and families** by increasing employment retraining, job search, relocation assistance, and enhancing the national service and conservation corps;
- **businesses** by 1) increasing access to capital through revolving loan funds, 2) expanding technical assistance, and 3) expanding domestic processing by eliminating tax incentives for log exports;

- **communities** by providing fiscal support to local governments, strengthening community planning efforts, and building infrastructure in rural communities.

We also propose a package of investments to restore the Pacific Northwest ecosystem. These activities will provide immediate employment in the forests to enhance streams, correct poor road systems, construct trails, and enhance facility maintenance.

We present three options regarding funding amounts and sources:

- 1) **Reprogram** baseline funds in agencies. Current baseline for Pacifica northwest is approximately \$90 million. Reprogramming in existing agency budgets could add \$46 million. Total would be \$136 million.
- 2) **Reprogram** baseline funds **plus target** investment funds. Agencies could target \$109 million from the Administration investment package. Total would be \$244 million.
- 3) **Seek a regional stimulus package.** The Administration would seek \$47 million as an emergency supplement for FY93 for immediate ecosystem restoration.

3. Agency Coordination

The agency coordination group is considering several changes in the way federal agencies relate to each other, to states, and to other affected parties. The changes fall into two main categories:

- 1) The ESA requires Fish and Wildlife Service and National Marine Fisheries Service to consult with agencies regarding impacts of proposed actions on endangered/threatened species. We are examining ways to involve FWS and NMFS with ESA early in land management planning.
- 2) We propose to develop the ecosystem approach to Federal land management throughout watersheds which cross agency boundaries as well as state and private lands. Watershed-based plans would be developed with input from Federal and state land management and water regulatory agencies, tribes, and private landowners.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

NOTE FOR: *Leos Paretta*

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

See note on pg 2

Thank you.

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

cc:



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

C.C. The Vice Pres

Mack
Robin
PASTER

93 MAY 6 P5:14

May 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Leon E. Panetta 
SUBJECT: OMB Activities

This is your weekly memorandum to summarize OMB's activities and provide a running overview of progress on the administration's major policy initiatives.

Legislation reviewed and sent to the Congress includes National Service, student direct lending, and empowerment zones.

Investments: I have met with Chairman Natcher and all of the Subcommittee Chairmen of the House Appropriations Committee to begin the process of funding the Administration's investment priorities. I communicated the priority programs that you chose, totalling \$3.5 billion for FY 1994; after the \$0.5 billion by which the non-investment recommendations fall below the spending cap, these priorities will require \$3.0 billion of additional discretionary cuts. I informed the Committee and Subcommittee Chairmen that the Administration stood ready to provide specific recommendations as to where savings could be found to finance the investments, or that we would work with them to make those choices, at their option. I delivered the same message to Chairman Byrd. The agreement with both Chairmen is that we will work with them and the key subcommittee Chairmen to make room for the prioritized investments. We expect that the Administration must follow the appropriations process on a Subcommittee-by-Subcommittee basis for the duration to achieve our investment objectives. One complication in this process is that seven investment programs require new authorizing language; if funds are appropriated to other programs before those authorizations are passed, it will be very difficult to reclaim those funds for use in the new investments. As you know, other investments in the revenue and entitlement areas (such as immunizations, food stamps and a portion of empowerment zones) will be addressed in the reconciliation process.

Jobs supplemental: We continue to work on formulating a jobs supplemental package to replace the stimulus supplemental. The new package probably will not require legislative drafting by the Administration; rather, a letter from you to the Appropriations Committees making reference to the existing

supplemental language and specifying your current priorities should suffice. Our recommendation is that Governors be allowed to ask for waivers on behalf of cities to extend upward the maximum age for youth summer jobs, to address the issue of unemployed young men raised by Rep. Maxine Waters. We anticipate that the package will be largely paid for through across-the-board reductions of FY 1993 discretionary programs, with discretion for each agency to achieve the savings. This letter must be sent early next week.

Deficit reduction fund: OMB has drafted legislative language to implement the budget process reforms that you recommended in the February 17 proposal. These include extension of the discretionary caps through 1998 to accommodate investments for 1996, 1997 and 1998; a sequester mechanism without the maximum deficit amount (MDA) sequester that was counterproductive under Gramm-Rudman; a ten-year pay-as-you-go scoring requirement, to head off out-year budget time bombs like George Bush's proposed capital gains tax cuts; and a deficit reduction fund. This last item will take pay-as-you-go savings from reconciliation and any other bills that are so designated in the future, and remove them from the pay-as-you-go scorecard -- so that they cannot be spent in subsequent legislation. We believe that this trust fund will make apparent to the American people the deficit reduction that your plan achieves. We plan to have this legislation with an announcement letter for your signature next week.

Reconciliation Update: Generally the House committees are moving positively toward the May 14 deadline for submission of reconciliation legislation. The following is a brief summary of activities this week.

Agriculture

o The Committee is likely to reach its reconciliation targets with a combination of spending reduction proposals, including reductions through triple basing and a freeze in the market promotion program. It is likely that the committee will not eliminate the subsidy to honey producers.

o update: The Committee has been walking through options this week.

Armed Services

o Instead of reducing COLAs for retirees under 62 (not in the administration's budget, but proposed by the Congress), the Committee may propose providing COLAs every fifteen months, instead of every twelve months, for all military retirees.

Can't do for Bill & in for Curhan

o update: The Senate Armed Services Committee is having a hearing on the pay issue on May 11. The House Armed Services Committee is planning to mark-up on the 12th, after the hearing. A variety of alternatives to the Administration's pay and retirement proposals are being considered.

Banking

o To achieve the required level of deficit reduction the Committee was asked by the budget resolution to consider various bank fee proposals, GNMA reforms and an IRS income verification proposal related to Federal housing programs.

o update: Alternatives to the bank fees proposed by the administration are being considered.

Education and Labor

o The direct student loan proposal is being criticized on many fronts and attempts may be made to alter it during committee consideration. We will have to watch the deliberations on this issue carefully.

o update: Contact must be made with Rep. Gordon, who has a proposal which substantially alters the direct student loan initiative.

Energy and Commerce

o The budget resolution assumed the committee would adopt a spectrum auction proposal and a variety of specific Medicaid and Medicare spending cut proposals.

✓ o update: The health subcommittee continues to mark-up Medicare and Medicaid proposals, and it is certain that it will approve a scaled-down immunization program. Mark-up on the spectrum auction proposal is expected today.

Foreign Affairs

o The Committee is looking at options for achieving savings in the retirement programs for Foreign Service employees.

Judiciary

o update: Subcommittee mark-up on extension of the patent and trademark fee was completed Wednesday.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries

- o The Committee will likely extend the tonnage fees, a proposal assumed in the administration's budget.

Natural Resources

- o A variety of fee increases for programs administered by the Agriculture and Interior Departments and the Corps of Engineers are expected to be adopted by the committee to fulfill their reconciliation requirements.

- o update: We have checked with the staff director and while not all the administration proposals will be adopted the committee will meet its targets with a variety of fees and collections.

Post Office and Civil Service

- o There are a number of controversial proposals being considered by the Committee related to Federal pay and retirement benefits. We have been working with the Committee to ensure that the deficit reduction levels are achieved, although there may be some changes to proposals made in the administration's budget.

- o update: The personnel subcommittee plans to push additional FTE reductions and administrative cuts instead of the pay proposals advanced by the administration. It is unlikely that the full committee will endorse these ideas.

Public Works and Transportation

- o The Committee is likely to approve the aviation fees proposed in the administration's budget.

Veterans Affairs

- o While there may be some changes in our budget's specific proposals we expect the Committee to fully comply with their reconciliation directive.

Ways and Means

- o The Health Subcommittee marked up its reconciliation legislation last week and met its targets through freezes in various payments to providers. In the Human Resources Subcommittee the Family Preservation bill was adopted along with various savings proposals, and an extension of GATT fast track authority was reported by the Trade Subcommittee.

o update: the full Committee completed a relatively trouble free "walk through" of health, trade and human resources issues on Tuesday and Wednesday. Today they are reviewing tax proposals.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

NOTE FOR: *MAGGIE WILLIAMS*

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:

BARBARA J. BALDIZAR, District 12
State Senate



State of New Hampshire
State House, Concord
03301-4951

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

*BoHoc
important to respond
to her - she was on P.O. Bill!
R.*

President Bill Clinton



THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN 5/24

The Senate of the State of New Hampshire

State House, Concord, 03301-4951

BARBARA J. BALDIZAR
District 12

Office 271-2117

TTY/TDD
225-4033

Dear Hillary,

4-23-93

It is wonderful to write this letter to you and address you as the "First Lady". I remember primary night in New Hampshire. I asked you how you felt and you said, "vindicated". I'll never forget it. You must find yourself busier now than you ever imagined. I am confident that the American people will be well served.

Please let me extend my sincere and deepest sympathy to you on the loss of you father. My own father died 25 years ago, 6 months before Bob and I were married. I still think of him almost daily, and of course I miss him time does heal the pain and I am grateful his pain is gone.

I am writing to request an appointment to the National Commission on Children or The National Commission to Prevent Infancy Mortality.

I am also writing to urge you to discuss the possibility with the President of establishing a commission on Domestic Violence, which I believe leads to child abuse and neglect and the decline of the family structure in our country.

As you know, I am currently serving my first term as a N.H. State Senator. I was previously elected to three terms in the N.H. House of Representatives.

I have been involved in children's issues as an elected official for 7 years. I have taken the lead in many instances to bring issues that relate to the well being of our youth to the forefront. For example, in 1987 I sponsored legislation to prohibit video stores from renting X and R rated videos to persons under 17 years of age. I believed then as I do now that the recent rise in crime among our youth is directly related to the influence of violence in the media.



The Senate of the State of New Hampshire
State House, Concord, 03301-4951

BARBARA J. BALDIZAR
District 12

Office 271-2117

TTY/TDD
225-4033

In 1992 I sponsored HB-1339, a bill which requires an aggressive approach to collecting overdue child support payments. This became known as the, "Dead Beat Dads Bill". The idea for this came from a conversation I had with then, "Governor" Clinton. We were discussing a similar bill he had just signed into law in Arkansas. In 1990 I sponsored HB-1281 establishing a study committee to identify women at risk for drug and alcohol abuse during pregnancy. I have enclosed a copy of a report that I wrote on the subject.

Also in 1992 I sponsored legislation to continue and expand the work of this committee, HB-1374 established a state wide task force to continue this very important and timely subject. The task force will hold it's second annual conference in May, (see brochure), to continue to identify and treat women who are at risk. These are a few examples of my efforts on behalf of our youth. My commitment to the health and well being of our children is unwavering.

I was recently appointed by Judge Edwin W. Kelly, administrative Justice of the District and Municipal Court, to serve on a Domestic Violence Protocol Advisory Committee for New Hampshire.

I have a sincere interest and would consider it an honor to participate on a National Commission that relates to the well being of our nations children. I know you are inundated with requests. If you need any further information, I will be happy to supply it.

As always, best regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Barbara Baldizar".

Barbara Baldizar

Senator, District 12

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1993

TONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

Do you think it would be better to say to the Majority Leader that "we are now focusing" on his high priority areas, rather than "we are not focusing" on his high priority areas! Just a suggestion.

John Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1993

93 MAY 25 P5: 57

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT:

Response to Memo from Congressman Gephardt

Purpose

To respond to a memo from Majority Leader Gephardt.

Background

Majority Leader Gephardt sent you a trip report concerning the Congressional delegation he recently led to Russia and Ukraine. He also forwarded a confidential memorandum with his personal observations on the trip. We have drafted a response thanking Gephardt and indicating that you have forwarded his memos to Strobe Talbott and Toby Gati for follow-up.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the response at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Reply
Tab B Incoming

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.25.93
cc Pearce
for

23rd May 1993

TO: The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
Via Fax #202-456-2397

FROM: Thomas Caplan

Dear Mr. President,

In New York on Wednesday I happened to run into George Plimpton, who told me that he had attended your speech at the Cooper Union the week before and thought very highly of it, having been especially affected (as I was) by the passages on 'faith'. He had the feeling, he told me, that 'Clinton is my kind of cat'.

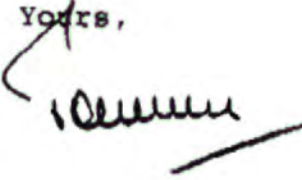
In the course of conversation, over dinner, he wondered about the possibility of his following you for a day, or some part of one, as he had followed President Bush, then writing of the experience either for his column in ESQUIRE, HARPER'S, or some other magazine. I promised to ask.

* What occurred to me - and I mentioned this to him - is that a perfect time might begin with the evening of our reunion dance and extend through the mass at Arlington in remembrance of Robert Kennedy and the dinner at Hickory Hill on Sunday. He and I will be attending the latter events in any case and I suspect he could uniquely tie together present and past, having been roughly our present age in 1968 and, of course, beside Bobby when he was shot.

George Plimpton is an awfully pleasant fellow. He seems genuinely alert to the emotional echoes which fill the years and distance between your agenda and Robert Kennedy's and altogether sympathetic to you. In this connection, it seems worth noting that his bona fides are demonstrably more literary (n.b. he founded The PARIS REVIEW) and journalistic than theatrical.

Would you let me know your thoughts?

With fine wishes.

Yours,


Copy: George Stephanopoulos

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

TO: Bruce Lindsey

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

Sims is the
African-American computer
exec with an enviro
background I mentioned
to you

05-24-93 02:36 PM FROM D. E. C. GVT RELATIONS

P02

Digital Equipment Corporation
146 Main Street
Maynard, Massachusetts 01754-2571
508.493.5111

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION**digital**

JOHN L. SIMS
VICE PRESIDENT, STRATEGIC RESOURCES

JOHN L. SIMS, 58, vice president, Strategic Resources, Digital Equipment Corporation, has overall responsibility for Digital's worldwide Personnel, Administration, Purchasing, Digital's Information Systems, Corporate Consulting, and Environmental Health & Safety and Waste Management and Secretariat. He is a member of the Executive Committee, the senior operating committee of the corporation.

Sims joined Digital in 1974 as Corporate manager of Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action. In 1975, he was promoted to director of Manufacturing Personnel. He was promoted to corporate staff manager in 1981 and to vice president of Personnel in 1984. He became a member of the Executive Committee in 1986 and vice president of Strategic Resources in 1987.

Prior to joining Digital, Sims held a succession of management positions at Champion International Corporation and E.I. Du Pont de Nemours Company, Inc.

Sims received a bachelor's degree in chemistry from Delaware State College, with graduate work in organic chemistry at Ohio State University. He attended management training courses at Columbia University.

-more-

05-24-93 02:36 PM FROM D. E. C. SVT RELATIONS

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Digital Equipment Corporation

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

John Sims

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Among his professional affiliations, Sims holds memberships on the boards of directors of the Boston Bank of Commerce, Museum of World Art and Freedom House, where he also serves as chairman. He serves on the SBI Roundtable at Florida A&M, and the board of governors of the American Society of Training and Development. He is a member on the governing board of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and is on the board of overseers for the Regional Laboratory. He holds memberships on the Oversight Committee of Project REACH, the NAACP, MassFEP, New England Tech Association, Central Massachusetts Association, The Boston Private Industry Council, Northeast Human Resource Association, and the Executive Leadership Council. In addition, he serves on the board of trustees of the National Urban League, and The Meharry Medical College.

A native of Wilmington, Delaware, Sims resides in Sudbury, Massachusetts with his family.

* * * *

July 1992

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D. E. C. GVT RELATIONS

PC4

**DIGITAL EQUIPMENT CORPORATION
A WORLDWIDE POLICY OF ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY
1993 REPORT**

Digital Equipment Corporation, headquartered in Maynard, Massachusetts, is the leading worldwide supplier of networked computer systems, software and services. Digital pioneered and leads the industry in interactive, distributed and multivendor computing. Digital and its business partners deliver the power to use the best integrated solutions -- from desktop to data center -- in open information environments. An international company, Digital has operations in 97 countries and does more than half its business outside the United States.

INTERNAL CORPORATE COMMITMENT

Digital has a long-standing commitment to the protection of the world environment. As early as 1974, our founder, Kenneth H. Olsen, declared the environment an area of key corporate responsibility.

In 1990, Digital issued a company-wide, worldwide policy of environmental responsibility, called "Earth Vision." The policy calls for the company's leadership -- through employees and management -- to solve local and global environmental problems.

By providing a corporate context for sustainable development, the policy commits Digital to conduct its business in a manner that conserves the environment and protects the safety and health of its employees, customers and the community. Digital's environmental policy goes much further by calling for innovation, preventive approaches, public activism and a risk-based approach that considers full compliance with the law as being the minimum acceptable standard.

Implementation of the policy is an ongoing activity involving environmental, health and safety professionals, business managers and each employee.

In support of the Earth Vision commitment, Digital has formally endorsed the International Chamber of Commerce's "Business Charter for Sustainable Development - Principles of Environmental Management."

-more-

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D. E. C. GVT RELATIONS

P05

Environmental Responsibility

Page 2

Digital recognizes the commitment and creativity of its employees through an annual Environmental Excellence Award program. The 1992 award winning activities are detailed in the attached description of the program.

KEY WORLDWIDE ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

Digital has continued to support the goal of sustainable development through strong environmental, health and safety management practices and through the pursuit of innovative, creative approaches to environmental protection. Digital's environmental, health and safety programs are founded on management commitment, integration of environmental management into business decisions and operations, and accurate and effective program evaluation. Four key areas of the environmental protection programs are ozone layer protection, waste management, risk and risk control assessment, and the application of information technology to the solution of local, national, and global environmental problems.

Ozone Layer Protection

- In 1988, Digital established its CFC policies and commitment. In 1990, the company set a goal to eliminate CFCs from all manufacturing operations by the end of 1994. Today, Digital's semiconductor operations are CFC-free. Overall, the company has reduced its use of ozone depleting materials in its manufacturing processes, services and products by 78% worldwide.
- Digital's European Services & Supply Center (ESSC) in Nijmegen, Holland is now CFC free. The CFC elimination was a part of the ESSC's on-going "environmental campaign" for which they were co-winner of the corporate Environmental Excellence Award.
- Digital's manufacturing plant in Kaufburen, Germany no longer uses CFCs in production or cleaning processes. Kaufburen's CFC elimination program began in 1987 with emission reduction measures. Phase two of the plan involved development of alternative cleaning methods. In the third and final phase a new, pollution-free facility was specified and integrated into the production process. The program eliminated CFC emissions totaling more than 25,752 pounds annually.

-more-

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D. E. C. GVT RELATIONS

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Environmental Responsibility

Page 3

- Digital has launched a program to encourage its vendors to rapidly phase out their use of ozone depleting materials.
- In the fall of 1989, Digital became a founding member of the Industry Cooperative for Ozone Layer Protection (ICOLP). ICOLP is a joint venture between the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and several large manufacturers. Its purpose is to exchange information and technology for the worldwide reduction of CFC usage in the electronics industry.
- Through ICOLP, Digital made its aqueous cleaning technology, which enables the elimination of CFCs in cleaning printed circuit boards, available free of charge to other manufacturers worldwide. Hundreds of vendors have received information on the cleaning process, developed at Digital's Augusta, Maine manufacturing facility -- an example of environmental entrepreneurship at Digital.

Strategic Waste Management and Energy Conservation

- Digital and its employees are committed to providing world-class leadership in developing solutions for the responsible management of waste. Established in July 1989, Digital's formal Strategic Waste Management Program is developing new and innovative ways to meet the company's goal of a 50 percent reduction of disposal volumes with five years.
- Digital's aggressive corporate-wide waste management program continues to develop unprecedented solutions to current waste problems. The Point Solutions program successfully introduced a Cathode-Ray Tube (CRT)/Monitor Recycling program. Partnering with Corning-Ashai, Inc. and Envirocycle, Inc., Digital pioneered a process for cleaning CRTs and using the reclaimed glass in new applications.
- A pilot program to recycle generic computer components removed from scrapped circuit boards has been successful. As a part of this program a new, environmentally efficient component removal machine has been developed and is in use at the Digital property disposition center.
- In Germany and Switzerland, Digital takes back end-of-life products from customers at no charge.

-more-

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D. E. C. GVT RELATIONS

P07

Environmental Responsibility

Page 4

- Digital's Product Life Cycle program is working to ensure that Digital's products are environmentally-sound from the design phase through end-of-life. In Europe, the Fraunhofer Institute was commissioned to explore possibilities and make recommendations on how we can design product for disassembly further increasing the ability to recycle and reuse components.
- Digital's board shop in San German, Puerto Rico instituted a "Zero Discharge" project to replace its conventional waste water treatment systems. The project has reduced water consumption by approximately 50,000 gallons per day, reduced sludge generation by 50% and greatly reduced the volume of chemicals used. San German was a co-winner of the corporate Environmental Excellence Award.
- Digital has commissioned research by the Fraunhofer Institute to review six of our product packaging specifications and to make recommendations regarding design and materials.
- Digital's packaging reduction programs have resulted in an 88% reduction in the volume of packaging for compact discs and a 31% reduction in packaging for large cabinets.
- Digital Germany has installed a network of more than 40 sites which take back Digital packaging materials. One third of these sites are in the former East Germany.
- Rolling metal pallets and reusable metal containers for movement of materials and parts between Digital's European facilities.
- Digital is a charter member of the USEPA Green Lights program. Digital has achieved significant energy savings through the years both through its own efforts and by working closely with its power suppliers. Digital has recently formed an alliance with New England Electric Systems to capitalize on the energy conservation and environmental work done by both companies and to share energy saving technologies with customers and other companies. This project has been recognized in the Green Lights Update.
- In May 1992, Digital became a charter member of the USEPA Energy Star Computer Program.

-more-

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D. E. C. CVT RELATIONS

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Environmental Responsibility

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Risk and Risk Control Assessment

- Digital has continued the environmental, health and safety audit program begun in 1983. The scope of the audit includes environmental affairs (pollution control), health services (medical), hazardous materials transportation, industrial hygiene (exposure monitoring and control), occupational safety and waste management.
- Since 1983, more than 100 audits have occurred. In 1992, eleven facility audits were conducted. Action plans were required from each audited facility and more than 90% of all audit findings had been resolved as of June 1992.
- A review of the overall 1991 results shows that the number of significant audit findings has decreased substantially; there has been a decrease in the total number of findings per audit and a general improvement in environmental, health and safety management systems.

Information Technology

- Digital products and information technology are increasingly being used to support the search for exemplary solutions to local, national and global environmental problems.
- Digital's environmental business encompasses a wide range of solutions and projects related to water quality and protection. Among them are a monitoring system on the Po River; a pollution monitoring and alarm system on the Rhine River; pollution modeling systems on the Danube River and the Yellow River and a mapping of the Nile River for erosion management. In addition, Digital provided an equipment grant to support water quality monitoring in the Cork Harbour in Ireland.
- Digital-based computing networks around the world continue to gather and analyze vital information for global warming and ozone depletion studies, improved meteorological forecasting, radiation detection systems, and the protection and re-use of water supplies, among many critical environmental applications.
- Digital provided a \$1.5 million grant of a massively parallel supercomputer and research funds to support a collaborative land management research program across Western Australia. The program is a joint effort between Curtin University, the CSIRO division of mathematics and the Western Australian government. It will gauge dieback disease in the jarrah forest and heathlands, defoliating insect attacks and the extent and condition of the remaining native vegetation across the state.

-more-

05-13-93 09 07 AM FROM D.E.C. GVT RELATIONS

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Environmental Responsibility

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- The Geographic Environmental Modeling System (GEMS) is a project of the Atmospheric Modeling group at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. GEMS, directed by Gregory J. McRae, professor of chemical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Armistead G. Russell, professor of mechanical engineering at Carnegie Mellon University will develop advanced air quality models and apply them to critical issues in public policy. The GEMS project is supported by a grant from Digital and has involved Digital engineers and applications scientists.
- Digital continues to support Project Sequoia 2000, a consortium of researchers and scientists at four University of California campuses, and the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, with equipment, financial and engineering resources. Sequoia 2000 proposes to build a huge information storage and retrieval system that can hold the equivalent of 150,000 hard disks, and develop methods for rapid data retrieval.

A TRADITION OF RECOGNIZED ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERSHIP

Digital continues to be committed to providing strong leadership to achieve the goal of sustainable development. We believe that through example, cooperation, environmental education, and technology, we can positively impact local, national, and world progress in protecting and restoring environmental quality.

In recognition of its global commitment to environmental excellence, Digital was the only American company to receive the distinguished "Award for Earth Environment". The award, cosponsored by the World Wildlife Fund for Nature and the Japan Industrial Journal and the Sankei Group cited companies for their significant contributions in the area of mutual coexistence of economic growth and environmental protection.

- Digital continues to play an active role in the Industry Cooperative for Ozone Layer Protection (ICOLP).
- Digital has assumed a leadership role in the Global Environmental Management Initiative (GEMI), founded in 1990 to foster environmental excellence by businesses worldwide. Digital's representative currently chairs the Stakeholders Communications Workgroup and is vice-chair of GEMI.

-more-

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D.E.C. GVT RELATIONS

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Environmental Responsibility

Page 7

- Digital has continued to underwrite the cost of printing the "Atlas of Massachusetts River Systems." Profits from the sales of this book are placed in a trust and used for environmental education programs for children.
- Digital worked with the Association of Science-Technology Centers and the National Center for Atmospheric Research to develop "Climate Modeling By Computer" an interactive video museum exhibit. The exhibit is currently touring science centers as part of the ASTC's Greenhouse Earth exhibition.
- Digital is one of the ten permanent founders of the Stockholm Water Prize, which is awarded annually by the Stockholm Water Foundation for outstanding achievements in protecting the world's water resources.
- Digital provided a registration and Messaging service for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), or Earth Summit. The Earth Summit Information System allowed the 12,000 attendees to exchange electronic mail and access information. The system also included Videotext services and a visitor's inquiry function. Information available on the system included a schedule of daily events; press releases; NGO activities, and documents such as the Agenda-21 database. Access was provided from the Rio Centro Convention complex and multiple area hotels. During the two week conference almost 3/4 of a million pages of information were accessed by participants.

SUMMARY

Digital continues to be committed to providing leadership in the area of environmental excellence and continues to act upon that commitment. Digital believes that the "Business Charter for Sustainable Development" and our own "Earth Vision" policy provide a framework to ensure that our own operations and activities are meeting the highest of standards. We are striving meet the challenge of protecting our planet and invite others to join us.

05-13-93 09:07 AM FROM D. E. C. GVT RELATIONS

P11

**ENVIRONMENTAL, HEALTH & SAFETY
External Awards**

1990	Stratospheric Ozone Protection Award	U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
1991	Gelderland Environmental Award	Gelderland, Netherlands (European Services & Supply Center)
1991	Special Environment Award of Merit	Associated Industries of Massachusetts
1991	Singapore Waste Management Excellence Award	Singapore Environment Agency (Singapore plant)
1992	Award for Earth Environment	World Wildlife Fund, Japan Industrial Journal, Sankei Group
1993	Environmental Supplier Award	British Telecom
1993	America's Corporate Conscience Awards - Environmental Stewardship Award	Council on Economic Priorities

Democrats Drop \$15,000-a-Pair Clinton Session

BY GWENIEILL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 24 — The Democratic Party must have figured it had come up with an offer no lobbyist could refuse. In invitations faxed and mailed all over the city last week, the party offered a big breakfast with President Clinton, intimate briefings with senior White House officials and a gala dinner party.

The price: \$15,000 a couple. Political action committees and deep-pocket corporate contributors were especially welcome.

But after discussions with the White House — already smarting from a bad run of disclosures about allegations of cronyism and misusing the perquisites of office — the party canceled the breakfast with the President today after a reporter's call asking about Mr. Clinton's participation.

Mimics G.O.P. Tactics

A party spokeswoman said the breakfast was abandoned to avoid any appearance of impropriety.

Some White House officials said they were not even aware of the Democrats' plan to have the President attend the breakfast before it was brought to their attention.

The fund-raising scheme, which mimics an approach made popular by Republican Administrations, offers potential donors the chance to participate

in a weekend of activity that includes a buffet dinner with Thomas F. McLarty 3d, the White House chief of staff, the breakfast with Mr. Clinton and several briefings with senior Administration officials. The events would be capped by a huge gala at the Washington Convention Center.

"I don't think that in any way shape or form that we are selling access to this President or this Administration at all," said Catherine Moore, the spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee. "We're a political party that has to raise funds. We're doing all we can to increase our small donor base and broaden our donor base across the country."

Ms. Moore said senior officials would still participate because "there's a difference between access and briefings."

Still, invitations to the June fund-raising "retreat" have been raising the eyebrows of lobbyists and prominent Democrats here at a time when the Administration's initiative on campaign finance is headed for the Senate floor.

The idea of allowing contributors side up to the President and his chief policy makers in less than formal ways is not new. The Bush Administration was criticized for offering special "issues briefings" for a fee.

And Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, while a Senator from Texas and chairman of the Senate Finance committee, offered 200 Washington lobbyists and directors of political action

committees the chance to have breakfast with him once a month if they contributed \$10,000 each to his re-election campaign. He later canceled the practice after admitting that it was a "doozy" of a mistake.

But Clinton Administration officials have said they would set a higher moral tone. Mr. Clinton pointedly refused contributions from political action committees during his campaign, and he has frequently spoken of the need for political reform in Washington. The campaign finance overhaul measure now before the Senate has been presented as a drastic change from business-as-usual political fund-raising that will level the playing field for candidates.

Yet Mr. Clinton helped raise more than \$3.5 million for his party at a star-studded dinner at Lincoln Center in New York earlier this month. And by specifically soliciting corporate contributions in the invitation to the June retreat, the party is leaving the door open for the kind of unrestricted donations that fuel political parties but would be outlawed if the proposed rules are enacted.

'Selling Access' to Clinton

"They shouldn't be doing it," said Fred Wertheimer, the president of Common Cause. "It's the same thing the Republicans did with Bush. You're holding up the notion that you're selling access to the President and the Cabinet and officials, depending on how much money you're prepared to give."

Mr. Wertheimer said that Common Cause, the public interest lobby, would

push the Senate to amend the campaign finance bill submitted by the President to specifically bar the solicitation of money based on access to Federal officials.

White House officials said they were aware of the President's dinner, scheduled for June 28, but not about the events surrounding it. The money raised goes to the Democratic Party and its candidates around the country, not just to the President.

The President's Dinner, used by both parties as a staple of their money-raising activities, has been the target of criticism before. Although individuals can buy a ticket to the event for \$1,500, many corporations and other groups in the past have bought several tables, using loopholes in campaign finance law to evade limits.

One common technique is for corporations to solicit contributions from employees, bundle them together and buy blocks of tickets. One of the chairmen of the dinner Republicans held last year was James R. Elliott, an Illinois businessman who was sued by an employee who charged that he had been forced to buy tickets.

White House officials have said that they will continue to abide by the rules as they now stand.

"We are working day and night to change the campaign finance system," one Administration official said. "The President has proposed soft-money reforms that will take literally tens of millions of dollars out of the party's coffers and restrict his own ability to raise money."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-25-93

Mail

This is Awful
and should have
been cleared w/ us
before even considering

B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

TO: MACK

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

Are you following up
with BARRAM? Should
Rubin do so?

John

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.13.93

93 APR 12 P7:21

~~April 12, 1993~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/24

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CHRISTINE A. VARNEY *CV*
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.

Wally

Worth mentioning
again — Wally
to fix the defense issue
in Seattle —

B.

Barram stressed how
personally we supported
changing the way we
win without really
defend —

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 SC 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 the 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

DATE: 5/25

TO: MACK; Bernice Nussbaum

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

Tom Hasser, who handled Iraqgate
for Pat Leahy, on the Ag Comm.
& staffed the campaign on the
issue, just signed on
to help Ruth Harkin at OPR
(I think Bruce/Emerson just
cleared this) He's knowledgeable
& could be helpful in handling
this issue. JDP

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Iraqgate Giveaway

WASHINGTON

If the Department of Justice wins a case to be tried in Atlanta this fall, then the U.S. taxpayer may be forced to cough up over \$380 million to a corrupted Italian bank.

Whose side is the Department of Justice on?

Iraqgate buffs will recall how the Atlanta branch of Italy's state-owned Lavoro bank helped finance Saddam Hussein's military buildup with billions in loans guaranteed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Ostensibly to promote grain sales, the guarantees were James Baker's method of providing backdoor financing to Iraq, to which Congress was not about to give foreign aid.

When the flow of U.S. money to Iraq was disrupted by a tipoff to the F.B.I., Italy — our go-between — stood to lose billions. If it turned out that the bank's officers in Rome knew about the corrupt loans, then the Department of Agriculture need not make good when Iraq defaulted.

Italy's Ambassador, Rinaldo Petrignani (now with the law firm of Rogers & Wells), was cabled by Rome to "raise the case to a political level." He met with Attorney General Dick Thornburgh at the White House; our chief law officer, who happened to get a memo briefing him on the case in detail just three days before, said he did not remember the meeting.

The Bush Justice Department — perhaps Mr. Thornburgh himself — denied a request to send investigators to Rome. A couple of long years later, the local Atlanta manager was indicted; Justice's theory is that he alone is guilty and the bank headquarters in Rome is innocent. But the local fall guy changed his mind about taking the fall, withdrew his plea of guilty and charged the C.I.A. knew of Rome's involvement in the Iraqi financing; documents forced out of the C.I.A. by the Senate corroborate that.

So here we are with the Clinton Justice Department going to trial to prove Rome's bankers innocent, when Italian and American investigators know the opposite is true. That smells fairly fishy, and nobody at Agriculture or Justice wants to take the responsibility.

In an act of *faccia tosta* (that's *chutzpah* in Italian), Lavoro sued for its U.S.-guaranteed loan money in Federal claims court. Last week, Justice asked that a decision to pay be dismissed or deferred pending the outcome of the trial of Christopher Drogoul, Lavoro's Atlanta manager.

That covers posteriors at Justice and Agriculture. If Drogoul is convicted in Atlanta and bank headquarters is absolved, the American taxpayer will have to make good on Jim Baker's backdoor financing of Saddam — but our bureaucrats can say, "The claims court made us do it."

Iraqgate — the secret, unlawful American-British-Italian buildup of Saddam — marches on. In London, another front-organization case collapsed when it came out that British intelligence was running Matrix-Churchill, the outfit that supplied Saddam's advanced technology. Paul Henderson, the purported spy heading the front, told me he could say nothing because he was writing a

Baker's bills
still coming in.

book. A British independent counsel, looking into that end of the global scandal, will presumably buy a copy.

Meanwhile, after a two-year delay by an assistant U.S. Attorney in Miami, Justice is finally moving against Carlos Cardoen, the merchant of cluster bombs to Saddam. According to Alan Friedman of The Financial Times, the arms dealer says this was also with the Bush Administration's guilty knowledge.

Ironically, when Representative Charles Ford of the House Agriculture Committee brought in a witness to brief the new Attorney General on a facet of Iraqgate, they were shunted off to Janet Reno's new assistant from Miami, Richard Scruggs — the same guy who failed to aggressively pursue the Cardoen case.

Catch the pattern: Justice's Public Integrity Section chief, Michael Shepard, last month declined to prosecute the Commerce official who misled Congress on 68 export licenses to Iraq; he was just named U.S. Attorney in Chicago.

Ms. Reno, who spoke up for the Independent Counsel Act before Congress, has no idea how many career officials in her headless Criminal Division fear being called before a grand jury by an Iraqgate special prosecutor. She'll get the necessary new law; let's hope she resists the manipulations of her new colleagues. □

Maell/B...
the...
Ad...
W

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

NOTE FOR: *MARSHA Scott, Jenny McLarty*

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

93 MAY 25 All: 04

May 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MARSHA SCOTT *MS*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCEFROM: *JM* JENNY MCCARTHY
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF AGENCY LIAISONSUBJECT: CASEWORK BROUGHT TO THE PRESIDENT'S ATTENTION DURING
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA TRIP: MECHELE ABDULLAH

Attached is a copy of a letter from Mechele Abdullah which the President viewed during his trip to Southern California. Mechele's three children were forcibly removed from her home by Los Angeles County's child welfare department. The state director of child welfare, who looked into this case per your request, reported back that "in all his years, he has never seen such an apparently arbitrary decision." He is sending down to L.A. a team of his staff, and hopes to have Mechele's children returned to her as soon as possible. He added that Mechele, who is African American, is alleging racial discrimination; on the basis of what he's found so far, he says she may be right. He agreed to keep me informed. We are also in contact with Mechele.

As soon as this case is resolved, I'll write up a fuller report.

*Joey
Sanctus*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Mechele Abdullah to POTUS (4 pages)	05/19/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 474

FOLDER TITLE:

May 23-31, 1993 [2]

2018-0662-S

rs3051

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/25

TO: *Jack Garabons*

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

fyi

John

Gun Crazy

Last October a 16-year-old Japanese exchange student named Yoshihiro Hattori adopted an old American custom and got all dressed up for Halloween. He put on a white tux, a lot of jewelry and presto! he was Tony Manero, the swivel-hipped protagonist of "Saturday Night Fever." A few hours later he was dead — because of another old American custom.

Yoshi and a friend were looking for a party in Central, a suburb of Baton Rouge, La., and rang the wrong doorbell. On opening the front door and seeing a stranger, Bonnie Peairs was scared witless. "I wish I could have thought," she said later. "If I could have just thought."

Mrs. Peairs's husband wasn't guilty of thought either. When she yelled for him to get his gun, he ran to the back room for his revolver, then raced to the carport door. When Yoshi, whose English was scant, misunderstood an order to "Freeze" and kept on coming, he shot him. Pow! Right in the chest.

To Lewis Ungleby, the lawyer whose spirited

defense got Mr. Peairs acquitted of manslaughter on Sunday, his client's actions were logical. "In your house, if you want to do it," he said, "you have the legal right to answer everybody that comes to your door with a gun."

Hear that? In his book, the youngster selling Girl Scout cookies, the kid collecting for the Red Cross, the local minister — and, like Yoshi Hattori, anyone who's lost his way — can expect a bullet if he dares ring your bell. Hey, they asked for it!

Mr. and Mrs. Peairs had alternatives. They could have locked the doors, pulled the shades, called the police. They didn't because in this country reaching for a revolver is as easy as one-two-three. "We Japanese don't understand the gun society of America," a Japanese reporter said.

Actually, it's easy. Just think stupidity, intolerance, a warped interpretation of the "right to bear arms" and a refusal to learn anything from the deaths of several famous Americans, countless ordinary ones and, now, Yoshihiro Hattori.

First Things First in Macedonia

As part of the latest allied plan for containing Serbian aggression in the Balkans, the United States is now considering stationing American ground troops in the Republic of Macedonia. Such a preventive deployment outside the immediate war zone might be a good way for the U.S. to contribute to international peacekeeping efforts without thrusting American ground troops into combat. And it would back up U.S. warnings dating back to the Bush Administration that Belgrade should keep its hands off Macedonia.

But there's an embarrassing catch. In deference to the wishes of Greek-Americans and the Athens Government, Washington refuses to officially recognize Macedonia's independent existence.

How can America guarantee the security of a country it doesn't recognize? How can U.S. troops be sent into a country with no U.S. diplomatic presence? The solution is not to drop the troops idea, but to clean up the recognition issue. Macedonia's differences with Greece, though emotional, are not substantive. Like so many Balkan quarrels, they are about history — recent and ancient.

Greeks remember their civil war of the 1940's, when Yugoslav-backed Communists tried to detach part of northern Greece, a region also called Macedonia. But blame for that rests with Marshal Tito,

Yugoslavia's former Communist strongman, not with Macedonia's new, non-Communist Government. Having virtually no armed forces, Macedonia poses no military threat to NATO Greece.

Greek pride also bristles at the idea of a non-Greek nation using the name Macedonia, which harks back to the Hellenistic Age and Alexander the Great. But misplaced pride should not be allowed to take precedence over contemporary danger.

Serbian nationalists, who regard much of Macedonia as part of "Greater Serbia," have been emboldened by the West's successive retreats on Bosnia. The continued delay in recognition is an open invitation to Serbia to press its own historic claims. That could bring disastrous results, drawing Albania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey directly into the Balkan conflict.

Greece's international efforts to block the recognition of Macedonia are beginning to crumble. Last month the United Nations admitted Macedonia under a compromise name. Shortly afterward, all but one of Greece's European Community partners also extended recognition. The U.S., France and Greece are the main remaining holdouts. With Washington's Balkan policy now limited to efforts to contain further Serbian aggression, it's surely time to recognize reality and recognize Macedonia.

Play Taps for Nuclear Tests

The nuclear arms race has run its course, but the nuclear laboratories and the Pentagon don't seem to know it. They want to resume testing this year. Test blasts may have made sense when it was important to deter a Soviet attack. But in today's changed climate they would set a terrible example for would-be proliferators.

A group of 23 Democratic senators recognize this dangerous anachronism. They've urged President Clinton to announce that the U.S. will not be the first to break the current moratorium on tests that is now being observed as well by Russia and France. Resumption would discourage negotiation of a truly comprehensive ban on nuclear tests to replace the moratorium.

Last year Congress instructed the President not to resume testing until July 1, and then only after he submitted plans for negotiating a comprehensive test ban by 1996. The bomb-builders want to conduct 15 more tests between now and 1996. They would also trifle with the law by negotiating a treaty that would permit one-kiloton underground testing forever. That's not what Congress meant by a comprehensive test ban.

Those who want to resume testing say they'll oppose ratification of a comprehensive test ban. But what exactly would 15 more tests accomplish? The

labs say the tests are needed to make nuclear warheads reliable and safe. But the U.S. has other ways to assure that its warheads work, including computer simulations. And why test new, supposedly safer warheads that the Navy and Air Force say they have no intention of acquiring?

Rattling windows in Nevada to warn the world that Washington still has the Bomb seems particularly perverse when the U.S. is trying to persuade nuclear have-nots to stay out of the bomb-making business. True, banning tests won't guarantee that proliferation can be prevented. States like Pakistan have developed nuclear arms without testing them. But a test ban will help stigmatize the Bomb.

It will also help muster international support for strengthening the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty when it comes up for extension in 1995. Nuclear have-nots like Mexico say they'll oppose a long-term extension of the treaty and won't tighten trade in components and materials unless nuclear nations stop testing.

The 23 senators have the right idea; a no-first-test declaration by President Clinton will prolong the moratorium on testing by others and clear the air for speedy negotiation of a comprehensive test ban. And that will help mobilize political support for stopping the spread of nuclear arms.

5/25
Tony/Sandy
Armat
Cory
Pete
Alvin
B

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
BRUSSELS, BELGIUM
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

HUNTON & WILLIAMS
RIVERFRONT PLAZA, EAST TOWER
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TELEPHONE (804) 788-8200
FACSIMILE (804) 788-8218

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/25

NEW YORK, NEW YORK
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 21, 1993

Memorandum to the President

FROM: Gerald L. Bailes

RE: Last Friday's Conversation - The New Clinton Doctrine

I enjoyed having the chance to get together with you in the Oval Office last Friday. Thank you for inviting me - and for the kind words about me and the New American Schools Development Corporation.

I also appreciate your appointing me to chair the National Commission to Ensure a Strong Competitive Airline Industry (National Airline Commission). We have a somewhat daunting challenge to meet in an impossibly short period of time, but we can do it and we have the right people to get the job done.

As we discussed, my plan is to avoid having the Commission spend all of its time reviewing individual items, but rather to keep in mind the true purpose of air transportation - movement of people and goods to destinations and markets around the world. My goal is to have people looking at the recommendations as part of a strategic approach to making our air transportation system, and those who use it, globally competitive - not as a list of seemingly unrelated policy initiatives designed to save this or that segment of the industry. Which brings me to the real purpose of this memo.

Much has been written lately about "focus," as if it were some magic bullet cure-all that would turn a government trying to solve many problems at once into a government zeroing in on one problem - whatever that may be. But Presidents don't have that luxury - they never have and they never will. To think otherwise would be to deny the essential challenge of the job - and your essential nature as a politician and as a leader.

HUNTON & WILLIAMS

The problem with the whole focus discussion is that it implies you will "focus" on an issue that everyone will see as being their top concern. But that is impossible if issues, policies and problems are all seen as being separate and distinct from one another. If your focus is health care, does that leave out those with adequate coverage, not to mention those with disagreements about the approach you adopt? If your focus is deficit reduction, where does that leave those whose ox will be gored to achieve that goal? If your focus is education, where does that leave people without children in school? If your focus is infrastructure, where does that leave people living in districts receiving fewer highway dollars?

The President's main job, it seems to me, is to communicate a sense of national purpose, a national policy into which all of his initiatives fit. Your program, therefore, must be more than a list of issues, it must have a coherent purpose. By gaining consensus on that purpose, then, you - as President - need only show that your individual policy actions advance the achievement of that purpose into which individual programs and initiatives can fit.

Your challenge, and your opportunity, stems from the fact that, for the first time in nearly half a century, we are without an agreed-upon national policy. You are the first president since Truman to have to devise and articulate a national policy framework. Indeed, only a handful of Presidents in history have been faced with this momentous task.

Of course, Truman had a relatively easier task. Having defeated the Axis powers in World War II, we found ourselves confronted with a clear-cut enemy, personified by a particularly odious figure (Stalin). It is always easier to rally Americans to defend our way of life against an aggressive enemy - it is often in those situations that Americans are at their best (World War II) or at their worst (Smoot-Hawley).

This is how I have explained what I believe we face (and I believe it could work for you):

"For the past forty years, the defining concept of our approach to the world has been the containment of Communism. It was a national policy. It drove our budgets, it spawned new initiatives, it affected our thinking. Here in the U.S., in Europe and in Japan.

"The beauty of the containment policy was that it provided an easy guide to the policy makers. It told them

HUNTON & WILLIAMS

what was important and what was not; where to put resources, and where not.

"President Eisenhower persuaded Congress to build an interstate highway system, not for the stated purpose of creating easier travel across the nation, but for the military purpose of moving our tanks and troops in case of a military emergency created by Communists. It was the containment policy in action.

"Hundreds of thousands of students attended college in the '50s, '60s and '70s with the help of aid from something called the National Defense Student Loan Program. Programs in science education and physical fitness were also conceived as part of our containment strategy.

"Now, the containment imperative has vanished. Issues are discussed and debated as if they have little to do with one another; policy decisions are made in their own little vacuums. There is nothing to hold them together, no sense of a common purpose that unites our people and binds their efforts to a common goal.

"Unlike any time in the past half century, we are faced with the challenge of constructing and communicating a new framework, a new national policy which gives meaning to all of our public efforts. A policy which will allow us to see those efforts as more than isolated, special interests; to see them as part of a coherent whole which will have us focusing less on small, individual line items — though they make good news stories — and more on the big picture.

"Let me offer my idea on how to accomplish that.

"If I could change one thing in American public policy, I would replace the old national policy of containment of Communism with a new national policy of competition. Think about it. We understand competition. It is a part of our fabric. It is buried in our psyche.

"I would say: "Ladies and gentlemen, for 40 years we have protected the world. That umbrella of protection has led over that time to a level of economic growth and prosperity unheard of in human history, creating new markets for our goods and making another world war unthinkable. Now, it is time to compete with the world — not against it, but within it."

HUNTON & WILLIAMS

"I would tap into the competitive instinct of American life. I would develop a policy of competition. I would create a tapestry — the threads of which would be the different programs that are so important to the present, as well as to the future, weaving foreign and domestic concerns into a single framework.

"I believe that we must make clear that investments in education and health care, infrastructure and research are not unrelated issues in a vacuum, separate concerns, each to be dealt with solely on their own merits.

"Expenditures for health and education must be understood as something more than the pursuit of some vague ideal of improvement in the human condition.

"Research and development must be understood as something more than support for a legion of impractical white-coats tinkering with futuristic gadgetry.

"Expenditures on infrastructure must be understood as something more than the repair of a crumbling bridge or the building of a new road. And certainly as something more than pork.

✓ "All these issues are linked to work — whether our people can work and at what standard — and whether America will work as a competitive, productive economy. We have to forge an understanding that health care and education are not simply matters of economic justice, but imperatives of economic strength. They are not just fuzzy social programs; they are the seed ground of our 21st Century economy.

"I believe that if we are to solve our economic growth problems in this country, we must begin to make that connection in the public mind — the connection between cause and effect, investment and return.

"That cannot happen until all of the separate programs sold as investments can be seen as part of a coherent whole; a national strategy. As long as infrastructure is seen as nothing more than a countercyclical device against recession, for example, discussion of its value as a public investment will take a back seat to partisan bickering over which district will receive the next highway dollar. As long as infrastructure is seen this way, the temptation will always be to focus on the "golden fleece" type of project to

HUNTON & WILLIAMS

the detriment of any true consideration of a strategic approach."

Enough of this for now.

The point is you don't have the luxury of dropping aid to Russia to concentrate on health care. You don't have the option of dropping NAFTA to focus on deficit reduction. You need to "focus" on all of these things. That is your job. What you must do is give people a way to see that all the issues relate, so that people will know that you are always focused on their concerns. You cannot simply raise an issue and just say it fits into a framework. You need to first sell the framework — then the issues will be much easier to handle.

If you can do this, people will marvel at your new-found focus. The American people will rally behind you. If not, people will become convinced that you are simply dealing with lists of unrelated issues — most of which have little to do with them personally.

This will require you to give the same speech over and over again, no matter what the topic. (You'd be surprised at how Truman worked containment into nearly all of his speeches.) You may get tired of hearing yourself talk. But, if you can get people to buy in, as I know you can, you will have solved your biggest problem.

I know you are receiving lots of unsolicited advice these days, and I do not want to add to your burden. But I truly believe that the answer lies less in narrowing the list of your concerns or shuffling the staff than it does in the development of a new framework — a new way for Americans to look at our purpose as a nation.

Good Luck!


G.L.B.

BCL-Fyt
cc: [unclear] p. 2

May 14, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

It was a pleasure to see you and Hillary at the Marine Barracks on Friday evening. It was my first opportunity to see the two of you since arriving from San Antonio and you both look great.

Please allow me this chance to express my sincere appreciation for your trust and confidence. Being named by you to serve as your Secretary of the Navy was the most significant event of my life, and I promise to serve you with all of my personal energies. I know that you had to consider many qualified people, most of whom knew you well and all of whom wanted this appointment. I am extremely pleased and proud that you selected me. I look forward to my confirmation and I am anxious to get to work.

You did a great job at the Barracks Friday evening. You clearly demonstrated to all in attendance that you are and will continue to be an outstanding Commander in Chief. I know that you will enjoy very much the experience of leading these proud professionals, and I know that they will follow you willingly. The Marines were extremely proud to have you as their guest of honor, and it was a very special occasion for all of them.

As you know, the military represents a very large constituency. Most Americans have either served on active duty or have close family members who have. Because of this fact, I am pleased that you have taken advantage of the opportunities to be seen in the public eye as a President who respects and admires the service of our military men and women. I strongly encourage you to continue that practice. The Sailors and Marines that I have talked to speak of you with great respect. You can count on their loyalty. They are not only the fighting men and women of their respective Services, but they are also a very important constituency, one which will serve you well. I look forward to recommending to you other opportunities to deepen your relationship with the Naval Service.

I am in the process of conducting interviews to fill the many civilian positions in the Department of the Navy, and I look forward to sending to you, through Secretary Aspin, a slate of men and women who will be responsive to your leadership and who will assist me in leading the Department of the Navy in the direction you are leading our country.

I have been working with the White House Personnel Office to ask for names of those who worked in your campaign. I am committed to hiring qualified people and my preference is that they all have some ties with you and that they contributed to the success of your campaign. It is important to me that I have people working for me who are focused on and are loyal to your agenda.

I hope that if there is anyway that I can be helpful to you, either within the Department of the Navy or elsewhere, that you will not hesitate to let me know. I will keep Howard Pastor apprised of things I learn on the Hill, and I will do my best to be for you another set of eyes and ears. I offer to you any advice and assistance that I can provide.

I recently learned that there is a good possibility I may be confirmed before Congress adjourns for the Memorial Day recess. That being the case, I plan to arrange for a formal swearing-in ceremony on the nineteenth of June at the Naval Academy. My family and I, and the Naval Service, would be extremely proud if you would officiate that ceremony.

As I said, I am very proud to have been named to be a part of your Administration, and I want you to know that I think the American people made a wise decision in choosing you to lead the country. I look forward to serving you in both successful terms. I stand ready to help in every way I can.

Respectfully yours,



John H. Dalton

Secret Service Agents Allege Racial Bias at Denny's

Six Blacks to File Lawsuit Saying They Were Denied Service at Annapolis Restaurant

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

The same day a federal court in California ordered Denny's restaurants to stop refusing service to blacks and otherwise discriminating against them, six black Secret Service agents ordered food at a Denny's in Annapolis that took so long to arrive, they say, that in effect they were denied service.

Today, the agents are to file a lawsuit claiming that the restaurant chain violated their civil rights during the April 1 incident. The Justice Department, whose lawsuit against Denny's resulted in the California court order, is demanding an explanation from Denny's officials.

Agent Robin D. Thompson, one of the six, said in an interview last week that he "felt humiliated" by the incident. The six agents were part of a uniformed 21-member Secret Service contingent that went to Denny's for breakfast before setting up security for President Clinton's speech at the U.S. Naval Academy. The six black agents sat together. Their supervisor, also black, sat among white agents.

All 21 agents, who had less than an hour to eat, ordered in rapid succession. When the six black agents realized that all the white agents and the supervisor had been served but they had not, they sent Thompson to ask the waitress about it. She said their meals were on the way. When Thompson asked to see the manager, she said he was on the phone. White agents have told the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, which is handling the agents' lawsuit, that the waitress rolled her eyes after turning to leave the black agents' table.

The agents saw several plates of food sitting for several minutes under heat lamps on a counter next to the kitchen and say that a small group of white customers entered the uncrowded restaurant after them, ordered and was served while they still waited.

After numerous complaints, and with most other agents finished eating and ready to go, the six black agents stood to leave. It was only then, the agents say, that a tray of food was offered to them. They refused it because there was no time to eat. "We had to go to Roy Rogers and eat in the van," said Alfonso M. Dyson, a black agent.

Thompson called the incident a "classic case of some kind of bias."

But Steve McManus, a senior vice president for TW Services Inc., Denny's parent company, said the delay in the black agents' service was caused by the size of their party—21 people—and the complexity of their orders, which caused a backlog in the kitchen. The six black agents were the only ones affected by the delay because their table was the last to order, said McManus, who questioned Denny's workers in Annapolis yesterday.

"It's a service issue, not a discriminatory issue," McManus said.

Despite the coincidence that the black agents' allegations and the settlement in the Justice Department's California lawsuit occurred on the same day, McManus said the two events are unrelated.

But Justice Department officials see it differently. The consent decree in the California case had not been officially entered when the Annapolis incident occurred, but James P. Turner, acting assistant attorney general for civil rights, said in a statement Friday that "... the conduct alleged, unless satisfactorily explained by corporate officials, violates the letter and spirit of the understanding we had with the corporation."

"We are demanding a complete explanation from the highest officials of the company," Turner said. "... We intend to use our authority to the fullest to ensure that incidents like this do not recur in any part of this company's activities."

Secret Service officials also have asked Denny's to explain the incident. And White House communications director George Stephanopoulos was told the Los Angeles Times that "the president is strongly against any discriminatory practices" and that "discrimination against black Secret Service agents would be a very serious problem."

The black agents' allegations are the latest in Denny's legal troubles. In California, the restaurant chain faces a civil suit from 32 African-American plaintiffs, many of whom

were involved in the allegedly discriminatory incidents that prompted the Justice Department lawsuit.

They maintain their civil rights were violated when Denny's denied them full service because of race. Their complaint, filed March 24 in U.S. District Court in northern California, describes cases in which a black child was denied a Denny's "Birthday Meal" unless the family could produce a birth certificate; waitresses refusing to take black customers' orders; blacks being forced to pay for their meals before being served; police being called to eject blacks, and a company policy of "black out" periods when managers would instruct employees to

start limiting the number of black patrons.

McManus would not comment on the ongoing litigation, but when many of these allegations were made by the Justice Department, Denny's officially denied discriminatory practices.

The instances allegedly occurred in five Denny's restaurants in San Diego, San Jose, Vallejo and Sacramento. Denny's operates 1,460 restaurants nationwide. TW Services, Denny's parent company, also includes 215 Quincy's Family Steak Houses, 200 El Pollo Loco restaurants, 530 Hardees restaurants, as well as concessions at Yankee Stadium, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, Yellowstone National Park and amusement parks.

Dyson, one of the black Secret Service agents, said he did not know of the restaurant's troubles elsewhere. But when he learned that others had made allegations similar to his, he was even angrier.

"You would never think it would happen to you, especially not in full uniform," he said. "I was definitely unprepared. I had let my guard down."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/25

Maell
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a letter to him on this
by Secret Service

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/25

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FREE-TRADE TREATY MAY WIDEN TRAFFIC IN DRUGS, U.S. SAYS

THE MEXICAN CONNECTION

Agents Say Dealers Are Setting Up Companies to Disguise Cocaine From Colombia

By TIM WEINER
with TIM GOLDEN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23 — Cocaine smugglers working with Colombian drug cartels are starting to set up factories, warehouses and trucking companies in Mexico to exploit the flood of cross-border commerce expected under the North American Free Trade Agreement, United States intelligence and law-enforcement officials say.

The Mexican smugglers are buying and setting up the companies "as fronts for drug trafficking," said a report written by an intelligence officer at the United States Embassy in Mexico City. The phenomenon was confirmed by a senior United States official who oversees enforcement of anti-drug laws and who spoke on condition that he not be named.

The cocaine traffickers "intend to maximize their legitimate business enterprises within the auspices of the new U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement," the report said. The report was released under the Freedom of Information Act to the National Security Archive, a private research group in Washington that seeks to declassify Government documents.

Taking Advantage of Advantage

The document said traffickers planned to invest in trucking and warehousing businesses in Mexico as conduits for drug shipments. They have also started to buy manufacturing and assembly plants known as maquiladoras as fronts for drug shipments, the senior United States official said.

Under a program established in 1965, the maquiladoras have special tariff exemptions, and the goods they

Continued on Page A2, Column 3

Trade Pact May Widen Drug Traffic, U.S. Says

Continued From Page A1

produce move in and out of the United States with minimal inspection.

"A lot of intelligence demonstrates the drug traffickers' ties to maquiladoras," the United States official said. "They are investing in these plants for shipments to the United States."

United States investigators said that they first noted the phenomenon 16 months ago and that the problem was growing; Mexican officials, who first heard of it six weeks ago from their United States counterparts, said they knew of only a few such cases.

The intelligence report, intended mainly as a warning, did not specify how widespread the problem was or which companies the smugglers were investing in. Law enforcement officials on both sides of the border said they did not know the scope of the threat.

"The free-trade agreement makes the United States more accessible and convenient for traffickers," said a United States official involved in fighting drug traffickers. "It gives these people better opportunities to smuggle drugs."

The trade agreement, which was signed in December by President Bush, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, awaits approval by Congress and by the legislatures of Mexico and Canada. Over the next 15 years, it would gradually eliminate tariffs on goods traded among the three nations and eventually allow Mexican truckers to drive their rigs anywhere in the United States and Canada.

A trade expert and two former United States trade negotiators said that while United States and Mexican officials had foreseen the possibility that drug traffickers would take advantage of the trade pact, the problem was not raised during the negotiations. In fact, the pact does not address law enforcement issues related to trade.

Why It Wasn't Talked About

"This was in the 'too hot to handle' category," said Gary Hufbauer, a senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics and co-author of a favorable book about the trade pact. "It's a painfully obvious problem. The huge increases in traffic will provide a huge cover for drug traffickers."

The challenges facing customs inspectors are already daunting. Mexican smugglers working with the Medellín and Cali drug cartels in Colombia already ship 50 percent to 70 percent of the cocaine consumed in the United States, hauling roughly 200 tons a year over the border and pocketing billions of dollars in profit.

The maquiladoras have grown over the past decade into Mexico's most important source of foreign exchange after oil. More than 2,100 maquiladoras employ half a million workers to make components or finished products from materials that are allowed into Mexico duty-free. The products, from furniture and television sets to auto parts, are shipped back by truck or train, with duty payments only on the value added in Mexico.

A senior Mexican law enforcement official, speaking on condition that he not be named, said the United States officials' warning could "definitely" be well founded.

He said officials were investigating a report of a cocaine shipment hidden in electronics components, although he had not confirmed that any specific maquiladora was being used to smuggle drugs.

Since Mexico deregulated its trucking industry in 1989, each maquiladora has been allowed to operate its own truck fleet and set up its own trucking company. That alone might make them attractive to smugglers.

"The issue of the maquilas is a new one," the Mexican official said. "There is no hard evidence, but these guys are not stupid, and the path is very clear."



The New York Times

Ciudad Juárez is an entry point to the U.S. for goods from Mexico.

A senior Mexican customs official who, following the policy of the Finance Secretariat, also spoke on the condition that he not be named, said maquiladora commerce was being treated deferentially on both sides of the border. He said that the United States Customs Service has the right to inspect the plants and their shipments, but that in practice such checks were rare.

"I think the controls will, naturally, get looser" under the free-trade pact, the Mexican customs official said. "Control will be reduced."

Thus free-trade pact is likely to complicate life for customs supervisors like Bill Lackey in El Paso.

At Mr. Lackey's post on Friday, a line of tractor-trailers spewing diesel fumes stretched for a quarter of a mile across the Bridge of the Americas into Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, waiting for inspections by the two officials on duty.

About 1,700 trucks cross the bridge over the Rio Grande each day, almost all from maquiladoras making textiles and electronic components. Inspections last as little as five minutes.

Conflicting Goals at Border

"We understand they have to get in and get out," Mr. Lackey said. "That is their living. We respect each other. The people coming across understand our problems and adapt to that."

Customs officials are torn between the goals of stopping contraband and supporting commerce. Today "most trucks that go through customs go through almost unimpeded," said Mike Lane, the deputy customs commissioner at El Paso.

But he said 300 new inspectors and new surveillance gear at the 22 customs posts between the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico would help ferret out the smugglers.

Others familiar with the cocaine trade express doubts.

"The passage of Nafta will clearly put additional strain on customs at the borders," said Assistant United States Attorney Glenn MacTaggart, who prosecuted members of the so-called Juárez cartel, one of the Mexican syndicates cited in the intelligence report.

The 21-Ton Cache

The Juárez cartel imported the biggest cocaine cache ever seized in the United States, a 21-ton supply found in 1989 in a warehouse near Los Angeles.

"If Nafta provides opportunity for legitimate businesses, it may clearly provide opportunities for illegitimate businessmen," Mr. MacTaggart said. "It's almost common sense."

Under the trade agreement, the export of Mexican products in Mexican trucks would vastly expand. Today, a tractor-trailer truck owned by a Mexican company cannot travel beyond a narrow commercial zone near the border, and trailers are transferred there to American haulers. If the pact is approved, a Mexican trucker will be able to travel to any point in California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas by 1997, and anywhere in the United States and Canada by 2001.

American law-enforcement officials said they believed the cocaine belonged to a businessman who owns one of the biggest trucking companies in Mexico.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/24

NOTE FOR:

Bruce Lindsey

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

Information



Action



*SEE THE PRESIDENT'S
NOTE*

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/27

Wednesday, May 5, 1993

Mack

93 MAY 19 P1: 59

RE: David Geffen and the Kennedy Center

Kennedy Center Chair Jim Wolfensohn came up with what may be a capital idea--have the President name Geffen to the one vacancy currently available on the Kennedy Center Board of Trustees. The vacancy is occasioned by the death of Mrs. Howard "Joy" Baker. The Board of Trustees is one step "above" the Advisory Committee co-chaired by Chesley Pruet and Susan Keenan.

Based on the NYT Sunday Magazine article this week, it struck me as a sound idea.

Jim Bailey

See note below re
Janet Blanchard

~~Mr. President~~ -

Sounds like this idea may have
merit. Your thoughts.

Patricia Zie

and Wilder
B

Bruce has seen
John

The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN
CHAIRMAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20566-0001
202 416-8010
FAX 202 416-8018

May 4, 1993

Mr. Thomas F. McLarty
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mack:

In advance of our meeting to discuss trustee and advisory committee appointments I would like to provide you with the following background information on our various boards.

The Kennedy Center Act provides for a governing body consisting of 45 members, 15 of whom are ex-officio and 30 of whom are appointed by the President of the United States for ten-year terms (a list of trustees with expiring terms is attached). Every two years, on September 1, there are six vacancies on the Board among the presidential appointees. The terms of the most recent appointees began on September 1, 1992, so the next automatic vacancies will occur on September 1, 1994. Other vacancies can, of course, occur from time to time when trustees resign or leave for other reasons. At this moment, due to the passing of Mrs. Joy Baker, there is one vacancy to be filled.

The Presidential appointees are crucial to the success of the Kennedy Center. We must raise over \$16,000,000 per year from private contributions and without committed and dedicated trustees, we cannot meet fund-raising goals. I hope that you will be open to suggestions and that we can discuss potential candidates before they are appointed. No other Washington institution leverages private funds in an amount similar to that of the Kennedy Center. In an increasingly difficult development environment, we must rely even more on our trustees to help with the fund-raising burden.

The Presidents Advisory Committee for the Arts is also a vehicle for helping us to raise funds throughout the United States. Representatives from each of the 50

Mack:

I would not mind working on this.

James Blanchard very much wants to be involved.

Jim Bailey
5/5

Mr. Thomas F. McLarty
May 4, 1993
Page 2

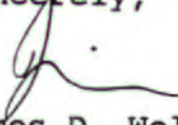
states are informed about the programs at the Kennedy Center and invited to participate in our activities. They become advocates in their state and help to pass the word, to invite their friends to Washington, to participate in Kennedy Center activities in their states and raise funds for a variety of projects and form the core of a national committee for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Since it takes time to bring this group together, organize and motivate them, the sooner appointments can be made the better this group will be able to assist us.

Attached for your information are copies of the Act and the By-Laws outlining the role of both the Board of Trustees and the Presidents Advisory Committee as well as a breakdown of the terms of office of each class of trustees.

In addition to these formally authorized groups, I have established a Community Board as a committee of the main Board. This group is highly diverse and represents the complete spectrum of the community. We also plan to establish another National Board comprises of those who have retired from the main Board, the PACA groups and some others who give special support to the Kennedy Center.

I look forward to meeting with you and with Bruce Lindsay as soon as possible to discuss how we can build an effective and energized Board of Trustees for the nation's Center for the Performing Arts.

Sincerely,



James D. Wolfensohn

cc: The Honorable Bruce Lindsay
Mr. Jim Bailey

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/24

NOTE FOR: *MAGGIE WILLIAMS*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

Will you handle?

JDP

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

The President

Mrs. Clinton

26422
Don't forget
what we're doing
for - need to
B. enjoy - meet ours
B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/24

5-22-93

Dear Mrs Clinton,

I am enclosing a photo of myself & my two sons for I believe that we more accurately reflect the average american family.

Single mom (self employed) two children and an annual income of less than \$10,000, and no health coverage.

Health & education are the most basic needs that we as parents & we as a country should be able to provide for our children.

I am so excited that you & President Clinton now occupy the White House. Never before have I been so hopeful of an administration to affect the

positive & long awaited changes this country needs.

Mrs. Clinton you are such a positive role model, not only for all other First Ladies to come, but to all women, especially working mothers. All eyes are toward you & the work you both will do for this country, but especially for us, the average working citizen.

Please help make it possible for our children to visit a dentist, to have a medical examination & to afford the medicine they need.

It is most obvious to all of us that you both are loving, caring parents to Chelsea. You know that as a parent nothing is as

painful as seeing your child
in need & being unable to
help.

I am a very strong &
determined woman but I am
unable to provide my
children @ the medical
attention that they deserve
for their most basic needs.

It is @ this concern in
mind that I ask you to
continue working toward affordable
health care & quality education
for our children & all
future generations.

Sincerely &
supportfully

Cynthia Van Wert

PO Box 1542
Portsmouth NH 03802



Tanner & Ian Van Nest
PO Box 1542
Portsmouth NH
03802

The Van Nest's
PO Box 1542
Portsmouth NH
03802

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/24

NOTE FOR: *IRA magazines*

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

Information

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Thank you.

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

cc:

Hand. parenting class - \$1.00 U.S.

Realities

PRESIDENT
CLINTON,

FOR THE 90's

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/2

FACTS drawn from
YOU ARE IN Diet for a New America by John Robbins
MY PRAYERS DAILY, and other sources

I KNOW YOUR TASK IS GREAT, BUT PLEASE
CONSIDER THIS AS PERHAPS ONE OF THE "CAUSES"
(I.E. HEALTH CARE) AND NOT JUST TREATING SYMPTOMS
(ALTHOUGH THAT'S GOOD TOO...)



EARTHSAVE
FOUNDATION

MARY
+
ALAN

PARMA
PEROGIES



MANY OF US ARE CONCERNED about the grave social and environmental problems we face at the global level, yet few of us know what to do about them. Fortunately there is a growing awareness of solutions to these problems—a new perspective based on understanding the interconnectedness of all things. When the unseen impacts of small, everyday decisions are viewed in a larger context where their global implications can be recognized, we begin to realize that both the root of our problems and the ability to solve them lie within each of us.

When we apply this perspective to the simple act of eating, we find that there are far-reaching effects to the fundamental shift among Western nations during this century from a diet based on plant foods to one based on animal foods.

For example, in 1985 North Americans were consuming half the grains and potatoes they did at the turn of the century, 33% more dairy products, 50% more beef, and 280% more poultry. This shift resulted in a diet with one-third more fat, one-fifth less carbohydrates, and levels of protein consumption far exceeding official recommendations.¹

The increased demand for animal products has resulted in a vast reallocation of resources, has promoted the degradation of global ecosystems and has disrupted and displaced indigenous cultures worldwide. The impact on human health has been equally devastating.

Tracing these problems back to their root in our personal dietary habits—our demand for meat, poultry and dairy products—we can begin to see that by changing our diets we can play an important role in helping to heal the Earth and creating a sustainable world for our children.

The following is based on currently available information. EarthSave continually updates Realities as new data becomes available.

Distribution of Food Resources & World Hunger

Amount of soy grown in United States consumed by livestock: **90%** ²

Amount of corn grown in United States consumed by livestock: **80%** ³

How frequently a child on Earth dies as a result of malnutrition and starvation: **Every 2.3 seconds** ⁴

Amount of total U.S. grain production consumed by livestock: **70%** ⁵

Amount of U.S. grain exports consumed by livestock: **66%** ⁶

Number of children who die as a result of malnutrition and starvation every day: **38,000** ⁷

Amount of world grain harvest consumed by livestock throughout the 1980s: **Half** ⁸

Number of people who will die as a result of malnutrition and starvation this year: **20,000,000** ⁹

Number of people who can be nourished with the nutritional value of the grain and soy used to produce the meat, poultry and

dairy products eaten by the average American each year: **7** ¹⁰

Number of people who could be fed using the land, water and energy that would be freed up from growing livestock feed if Americans reduced their intake of meat by 10%: **100,000,000** ¹¹



Global Population

Amount of increase in global cattle population during the last 40 years: **100%** ¹²

Amount of increase in global fowl population during the last 40 years: **200%** ¹³

Ratio of livestock to people on Earth: **Three to one** ¹⁴

Resource Utilization

By 1977, the amount of all raw materials (base products of farming, forestry and mining, including fossil fuels) consumed by the U.S., devoted to the production of livestock: **One-third** ¹⁵

Pounds of grain and soy used to produce 1 pound of food from:

Beef	16
Pork	6
Turkey	4
Chicken/Egg ¹⁶	16

Amount of nutrient wasted by cycling grain and soy through livestock:

Protein	90%
Carbohydrate	99%
Fiber	100% ¹⁷

Land Utilization

Amount of Earth's land mass grazed by livestock: **One-half** ¹⁸

Amount of U.S. cropland producing livestock feed: **64%** ¹⁹

Amount of U.S. cropland producing fruits and vegetables: **2%** ²⁰

Pounds of edible product that can be produced on an acre of prime land:

Cherries	5,000
Green beans	10,000
Apples	20,000
Carrots	30,000
Potatoes	40,000
Tomatoes	50,000
Celery	60,000
Beef	250 ²¹

Energy Consumption

Calories of fossil fuel expended to produce 1 calorie of protein from beef: **78** ²²

Calories of fossil fuel expended to produce 1 calorie of protein from soybeans: **2** ²³

Amount of total energy expended in American agriculture devoted to livestock production: **Almost half** ²⁴

Energy expended to produce one pound of grain-fed beef: **Equivalent to one gallon of gasoline** ²⁵

Water Consumption

Activity that accounts for more than half of all water consumed for all purposes in the United States: **Livestock production** ²⁶

In California, the number of gallons of water needed to produce 1 edible pound of:

Tomatoes	23
Lettuce	23
Potatoes	24
Wheat	25
Carrots	33
Apples	49
Oranges	65
Grapes	70
Milk	130
Eggs	544
Chicken	815
Pork	1630
Beef	5214 ²⁷





How long it takes a person to use 5200 gallons of water showering (at 5 showers per week, 5 minutes per shower, with a flow rate of 4 gallons per minute): **One year**

Government Subsidies

Total value of subsidized irrigation water used by animal feed growers in the U.S. annually: **\$500 million to \$1 billion**²⁸

Amount of money the World Bank lent to livestock projects in Latin America from 1963 to 1985: **\$1.5 billion**²⁹

Total value of government subsidies provided to animal farmers and feed growers in European industrial democracies during 1990: **\$120 billion**³⁰

Result of the dumping of heavily subsidized European surpluses at reduced prices to less developed nations: **local farmers unable to compete — rural economic and social structures damaged**³¹

Soil Erosion

Current annual topsoil loss on agricultural land in the U.S.: **Over 5 billion tons**³²

Amount of original U.S. cropland permanently removed from

production due to excessive soil erosion: **One-third**³³

Pounds of topsoil lost in the production of one pound of feedlot steak: **35**³⁴

Current annual topsoil loss on agricultural land worldwide: **26 billion tons**³⁵

Time required for nature to form one inch of topsoil: **200 to 1,000 years**

Direct and indirect costs of soil erosion and runoff in the U.S. annually: **\$44 billion**³⁶

Historic cause of demise of many great civilizations: **Topsoil depletion**³⁷

Desertification

Regions most affected by desertification: **All cattle-producing areas, including the western half of the United States, Central and South America, Australia and sub-Saharan Africa.**³⁸

Amount of Earth's land rendered unproductive by desertification annually: **52 million acres**³⁹

Percentage of Earth's land mass suffering desertification: **29%**⁴⁰

The five leading causes of desertification:

**Overgrazing of livestock
Over-cultivation of land
Improper irrigation techniques
Deforestation
Prevention of reforestation**⁴¹

Primary contributing factor in all cases: **Cattle production**⁴²



Rainforests

Estimated area of rainforest destroyed annually: **125,000 square miles**⁴³

Amount of meat imported in 1987 by U.S. from Central and South America: **300 million pounds**⁴⁴

Current rate of species extinction due to destruction of tropical rainforests and related habitats: **1,000/year**⁴⁵



Amount of medicines available today that have been derived from plants: **One-quarter**⁴⁶

Leading cause of rainforest destruction in Central America: **Cattle production**⁴⁷

Amount of Central American rainforests cleared to create pastureland for cattle: **25%**⁴⁸

Monetary value of 50 years' harvest from one hectare of naturally occurring rainforest produce: **\$6,330**⁴⁹

Monetary value of 50 years' production of cattle ranching from one hectare of cleared and burned rainforest: **\$2,960**⁵⁰

Carbon dioxide

Amount of global carbon dioxide emissions created by the burning of fossil fuels: **Two-thirds**

Amount of fossil fuels burned to produce the beef currently eaten annually by the average U.S. family of four: **200 gallons**⁵¹

Amount of carbon dioxide released in the atmosphere by burning 200 gallons of fossil fuels: **2 tons** ⁵²

Amount of carbon dioxide released in the atmosphere by the average American car in six months: **2.5 tons** ⁵³

Estimated atmospheric carbon dioxide released in the production of an average steak: **The same as a 25-mile drive in a typical American car.** ⁵⁴

Amount of global carbon dioxide emissions created by the burning of biomass: **One-third**

Amount of carbon dioxide released since 1970 from rainforest cleared and burned for cattle pasture: **1.4 billion tons** ⁵⁵

Methane

Amount of methane released by cattle for every 2 pounds of meat they yield: **One pound** ⁵⁶

Amount of methane emitted by world's cattle annually: **100 million tons** ⁵⁷

Amount of world's total methane emissions directly attributable to cattle: **20%** ⁵⁸



Water Pollution

Production of excrement by U.S. livestock: **230,000 pounds per second** ⁵⁹

Amount of waste created by 10,000-head feedlot: **Equal to a city of 110,000 people** ⁶⁰

Amount of wells and surface streams in the U.S. contaminated by agricultural pollutants: **Half** ⁶¹

Water pollution attributable to U.S. agriculture, including runoff of soil, pesticides and manure: **Greater than all municipal and industrial sources combined** ⁶²

Pesticides

Increase in overall pesticide use since 1945 (when petro-chemical based agriculture became popular): **3,300%** ⁶³

Increase in overall crop losses due to insects since 1945: **20%** ⁶⁴

Increase in the amount of pesticides applied per acre of corn since 1945: **100,000%** ⁶⁵

Increase in corn crop losses since 1945: **400%** ⁶⁶

Amount of total herbicides used that are applied to corn and soybeans (primarily feed crops): **61%** ⁶⁷

Health

Amount of Gross National Product used to treat illness: **12%** ⁶⁸

Amount of Gross National Product used to treat illness when lost economic productivity and premature death are accounted for: **18%** ⁶⁹

Amount of all diseases in the U.S. that are diet related: **68%** ⁷⁰

Diseases that can be commonly prevented, consistently improved, and sometimes cured by observing a low-fat diet free from animal products: ⁷¹

**Arthritis
Breast Cancer
Constipation
Diverticulosis
Heart Disease
Hypoglycemia
Kidney Disease
Osteoporosis
Prostate Cancer
Strokes**

**Asthma
Colon Cancer
Diabetes
Gallstones
Hypertension
Impotence
Obesity
Peptic Ulcers
Salmonellosis
Trichinosis**

Physicians' Training

Number of U.S. medical schools: **125** ⁷²

Number of U.S. medical schools with a required course in nutrition: **30** ⁷³



Average training in nutrition received during 4 years of medical school by U.S. physicians: **2.5 hours** ⁷⁴

Heart Disease

Amount spent annually in U.S. to treat cardiovascular disease: **\$135 billion** ⁷⁵

Most common cause of death in U.S.: **Heart disease** ⁷⁶

How frequently a heart attack strikes in U.S.: **Every 25 seconds** ⁷⁷

How frequently a heart attack kills in U.S.: **Every 45 seconds** ⁷⁸

Risk of death from heart attack for the average American man: **50%** ⁷⁹



Risk of death from heart attack for the average American man who consumes no meat: **15%**⁸⁰

Risk of death from heart attack for the average American man who consumes no meat, dairy products or eggs: **4%**⁸¹

Amount you reduce your risk of heart attack by reducing your consumption of meat, dairy products and eggs...

Reduction in Meat Consumption	Reduction in Risk of Heart Attack
10%:	9% ⁸²
50%:	45% ⁸³
100%:	90% ⁸⁴

Rise in blood cholesterol from consuming 1 egg per day: **12%**⁸⁵

Rise in heart attack risk from 12% rise in blood cholesterol: **24%**⁸⁶

Average cholesterol level of people eating a meat-centered diet: **210 mg/dl**⁸⁷

Chance of dying from heart disease if you are male and your blood cholesterol is 210 mg/dl: **Greater than 50%**⁸⁸



Dietary cholesterol intake needed to support human health: **None — the body makes its own**⁸⁹

Leading sources of saturated fat and cholesterol in American diets: **Meat, poultry and dairy products**⁹⁰

Amount of cholesterol in an average egg: **275 mg**⁹¹

Amount of cholesterol in chicken: **The same as beef, 25 mg per ounce**⁹²

Main location of cholesterol in animal flesh: **The lean portion**⁹³

Cholesterol found in all grains, legumes, fruits, vegetables, nuts, seeds: **None**⁹⁴

Chance of dying from heart disease if you do not consume cholesterol: **4%**⁹⁵

Cancer

Amount spent annually in U.S. to treat cancer: **\$70 billion**⁹⁶

Amount of all cancers in the U.S. that are diet related: **40%**⁹⁷

Increased risk of breast cancer for women who eat eggs daily compared to once a week: **2.8 times higher**⁹⁸

Increased risk of breast cancer for women who eat butter and cheese 2-4 times a week compared to once a week: **3.2 times higher**⁹⁹

Increased risk of breast cancer for women who eat meat daily compared to less than once a week: **3.8 times higher**¹⁰⁰

Increased risk of fatal prostate cancer for men who consume meats, dairy products and eggs daily as compared to sparingly: **3.6 times higher**¹⁰¹

Increased risk of fatal ovarian cancer for women who eat eggs 3 or more days a week compared to less than once a week: **3 times higher**¹⁰²



Protein Requirements

Recommendations of the amount of daily calories to be provided by protein according to:

World Health Organization of the United Nations: **4.5%**¹⁰³

Food and Nutrition Board of the USDA: **6%**¹⁰⁴

National Research Council: **8%**¹⁰⁵

Percent of calories as protein in:

Spinach	49%
Broccoli	47%
Mushrooms	38%
Lettuce	34%
Zucchini	28%
Tomatoes	18%
Peanuts	18%
Wheat	17%
Onions	16%
Oatmeal	16%
Walnuts	13%
Potatoes	11%
Brown Rice	8%

Period of most rapid human growth: **Infancy**

Natural food for human infants: **Mother's breast milk**

Amount of total calories provided by protein in human milk: **5%**¹⁰⁷

Person who popularized the concept of combining proteins: **Frances Moore Lappé**¹⁰⁸

Frances Moore Lappé's updated research on a healthy, varied vegetarian diet: **Protein combining is unnecessary** ¹⁰⁹

Health status of pure vegetarians from many populations of the world according to the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Academy of Sciences: **Excellent** ¹¹⁰



Animal Protein and Calcium Loss

Diseases linked to excess animal protein consumption: **Osteoporosis** ¹¹¹ and kidney disease ¹¹²

Number of cases of osteoporosis and kidney disease in the United States: **Tens of millions** ¹¹³

The average measurable bone loss of female meat-eaters at age 65: **35%** ¹¹⁴

The average measurable bone loss of female vegetarians at age 65: **18%** ¹¹⁵

Milk

Documented cases of calcium deficiency caused by an insufficient amount of calcium in the human diet: **None** ¹¹⁶

Natural food for any baby mammal: **The mother's breast milk**

The only mammal that consumes the milk of another species after being weaned: **Humans**

One of the enzymes necessary for digestion of cow's milk: **Lactase**

Condition caused by an absence of lactase: **Lactose intolerance which causes cramps, bloating and diarrhea when dairy products are consumed** ¹¹⁷

People who are naturally lactose intolerant: **20% of Caucasians and up to 90% of people of African and Asian descent** ¹¹⁸

Pesticides

Major source of pesticide residues in the western diet: **Meat, poultry and dairy products** ¹¹⁹

Food most likely to cause cancer from herbicide residue: **Beef** ¹²⁰

Number of slaughtered animals tested for toxic chemical residues: **One in every quarter million** ¹²¹



Amount of U.S. livestock and poultry receiving drugs during their lifetimes: **80%** ¹²⁸

Amount of FDA inspections that failed to verify the data on the safety of new drugs used on animals according to the General Accounting

Office: **54%** ¹²⁹

Effectiveness of the FDA data-review process: **Highly questionable as it is unable to detect fraud in reports on new drugs** ¹³⁰

Substances found in 63% to 86% of milk samples in 1991: **Sulfa drugs, tetracyclines and other antibiotics** ¹³¹

Potential cancer-causing substances detected in recent years in the meat supply: **chloramphenicol, cabadox, nitrofurazone, dimetridazole, and ipronidazole** ¹³²

Food Inspection

1985 National Academy of Sciences report: **Current federal inspection procedures are inadequate to protect the public from meat-related diseases.** ¹³³

Amount of U.S. non-vegetarian mothers' milk with significant levels of DDT: **99%** ¹²²

Amount of U.S. vegetarian mothers' milk with significant levels of DDT: **8%** ¹²³

Antibiotics, Hormones and Other Drugs

Amount of total antibiotics used in U.S. that are fed to livestock: **55%** ¹²⁴

Staphylococci infections resistant to penicillin in 1960: **13%** ¹²⁵

Staphylococci infections resistant to penicillin in 1988: **91%** ¹²⁶

Major contributing cause: **The breeding of antibiotic-resistant bacteria in factory farms due to routine feeding of antibiotics to livestock** ¹²⁷

Amount of all inspected chickens with salmonella bacteria: **One-third** ¹³⁴

Amount of federal poultry inspectors who said they would not eat chicken: **75%** ¹³⁵

Testimony from a former FDA official to a Senate investigating committee: **The risk of food poisoning from chicken is so great that package labels with consumer advice on handling should be mandatory.** ¹³⁶

Health of People Observing Vegetarian Diets

Anyone who may be skeptical about the strength, endurance and general health of people choosing to reduce or eliminate their consumption of animal products might consider these examples:

Only man to win Ironman Triathlon more than twice: **Dave Scott, 6-time winner**

World record – 24 hour triathlon; swim 4.8 miles, cycle 185 miles, run 52.5 miles: **Sixto Linares**

Other athletes observing vegetarian diets:

Paavo Nurmi: 20 World records in distance running, 9 Olympic medals

Robert Sweetgall: World's premier ultra-distance walker

Murray Rose: World records – 400 and 1500 meter freestyle

James and Jonathan de Donato: World records – distance butterfly stroke swimming

Bill Pickering: World record – swimming the English Channel

Estelle Gray and Cheryl Marek: World record – cross-country tandem cycling

Henry Aaron: All-time major league baseball home run champion

Robert Parish: Starting center for Boston Celtics, at age 36, 7'0", 240 lbs.

Stan Price: World record – bench press

Andreas Cahling: Mr.

International body building champion

Roy Hilligan: Mr. America body building champion

Ridgely Abele: 8 national championships in Karate, including U.S. Karate Association World Championship

Dan Millman: World champion gymnast



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10 By multiplying the annual per capita consumption of various products by Americans (column I), by the pounds of grain and soybeans needed to produce one pound of edible portion of each product (column II), we can determine the number of pounds of grain and soybeans needed to produce the meat, poultry and dairy products consumed by the average American each year (column III):

	I	II	III
Beef	73	16	1168
Pork	39	6	234
Turkey	15	4	60
Chicken	63	3	189
Eggs	34	3	102
Dairy Products	603	1	603
Total			2568

365 lbs (one pound per day) of grain, or a combination of grain and soy,

will adequately feed one person for a year. Dividing the total grain and soy required to provide the average American with meat, poultry and dairy products for one year (2568 pounds), by the grain and soy needed to adequately feed one person for a year (365 pounds), we find that 7 people could be fed by the equivalent of what one person consumes on the standard American meat-based diet (2568 / 365 = 7.04).

This scenario is based on the assumption that all livestock weight gain results from grain and soy feeding. A portion of the total tonnage of beef and dairy products is produced by grazing and the feeding of fodder crops, yet between 1979 and 1988 an average of 4680 pounds of grain and soy were fed to each grain-consuming animal unit (Ag. Stats. 1989; tables 74 and 75). While there is some level of livestock production that can be sustained on a purely grass-fed diet, the recent trend of feeding massive quantities of grain and soy to livestock inflicts unacceptable costs on the environment.

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Aspin Moves to Ensure Fighting Readiness of Armed Forces

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Defense Secretary Les Aspin declared yesterday that there is "increasing and anecdotal evidence of softness" in the U.S. military's readiness to fight. He launched a high-profile effort to detect and correct "early warning signs" that the force might lose its decisive combat edge.

The campaign-style initiative, the only concrete expression of which yesterday was appointment of a task force of retired generals and admirals, reflected growing concerns among senior officers that fighting readiness will be harmed by budget cuts and by the introduction of women in combat roles and open homosexuals in uniform.

Measures of readiness include statistics on whether a unit is fully manned and has required stocks of basic equipment and spare parts. But it often takes on a broader meaning in U.S. military parlance, involving tradeoffs between the three main ways to spend money on defense: the size of the force, its equipment and the tempo at which it conducts operations and maintenance. The panel formed yesterday has a mandate to look at all those factors.

The initiative bore several trademarks of Aspin's emerging style at the helm of the Pentagon: close attention to symbolism and congressional politics, a thirst for measurable data and determination to increase the clout and coherence of civilian oversight. Most of all, according to working papers obtained by The Washington Post, it reflected Aspin's belief that President Clinton will be judged by his success or failure in maintaining quality while shedding bulk in the U.S. armed services.

At a staff meeting on April 28, according to minutes taken there, Deputy Secretary of Defense William J. Perry said the readiness panel "symbolically is a good way of expressing SecDef's [Aspin's] intent and commitment." But he also warned that Aspin "will be stuck with a 'report card' and the outcome of this initiative will be an obligation for strong remedial action."

Under pressure of world events and Clinton's campaign promises, Aspin's opening months have been dominated by agendas that the armed services dislike or regard as distractions: spending cuts, explosive social changes involving women and homosexuals and the increasing use of military assets for humanitarian missions in places like Somalia and the Balkans.

Yesterday's announcement was the second this week that aimed to reposition Aspin—inside the Pentagon and out—as protector of America's core military strength. Last Monday, he said he would add up to \$5 billion to the five-year defense budget to make up for shortfalls in President George Bush's long-range plan.

Yesterday, in calculated homage to uniformed sensibilities, Aspin appointed to head the task force retired Gen. Edward C. "Shy" Meyer, who issued a famous warning as Army chief of staff in 1980 that cuts in training and maintenance had left a "hollow Army."

But Aspin appeared to undercut his own peace offering to the Joint Chiefs of Staff by excluding them from preparation of the readiness initiative. Internal documents obtained by The Post show that the task force idea received high-level review—including Aspin, Perry, undersecretary for policy Frank G. Wisner and undersecretary for ac-



Aspin, right, listens as retired Gen. Edward C. "Shy" Meyer briefs reporters.

quisition John Deutch—starting in early April. Yet the announcement came as a surprise to the four service chiefs, who were testifying coincidentally before the Senate.

"The secretary of defense did not consult with me," Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan, the Army chief, said at a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Sullivan's fellow chiefs made similar remarks.

Some officials suggested yesterday that the services and regional commanders might regard the new panel as an infringement on their core responsibilities: to recruit, equip and train the force for war. But Aspin's aides, who express the hope that they can bring the kind of discipline and power to the civilian secretariat that recent years have brought to the uniformed Joint Staff, disagreed.

"If the institution can always take care of itself internally, and there are no fresh insights to be gained from the outside, then why did we get to be in such bad shape in the '70s?" said one political appointee.

Congressional politics also influenced the readiness drive, which goes by the internal slogan of "Forces Ready to Fight." Conservatives and moderates, including some in his party, are saying Clinton's defense cuts inevitably will hit heavily in "operations and maintenance" accounts—those traditionally associated most closely with readiness—because those accounts permit immediate cash savings.

Rep. Joseph M. McDade (R-Pa.), ranking minority member of the House Appropriations defense subcommittee, said in an interview yesterday that the Pentagon has spent

an estimated \$750 million in Somalia, \$100 million enforcing two "no-fly zones" in Iraq and an unknown amount airlifting food and medicine to Bosnia-Herzegovina. All of the money, McDade said, must come from accounts used otherwise for unglamorous but essential spending on training and depot maintenance.

"We're coming to a real crunch," he said.

Deputy assistant secretary Lou Finch, in an April 22 memorandum to Aspin, took note of congressional sentiment and said that Aspin needed to "demonstrate to outsiders the strength of [your] commitment" to readiness. "I understand that [Rep.] John [P.] Murtha [D-Pa.] talked to Frank Wisner on Thursday morning about touring American bases and finding several signs of growing hollowness. So we may be in for some hearings," he wrote. Murtha is chairman of the House Appropriations defense subcommittee.

Congressional concern has been fed by senior commanders in this year's round of budget testimony. The officers have cited, among other things, reductions in training for some units, growing maintenance backlogs, an aging fleet of C-141 transport planes, shortages of such basic supplies as Army tents and morale problems associated with a government-wide pay freeze.

In their testimony yesterday, the four military service chiefs echoed

those concerns. "We are, I think, at the ragged edge on readiness," said Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Frank B. Kelso II.

Sullivan, describing the Army as "at the razor's edge," said "readiness is not only flying hours and moving tracks around, it is the civilians who support the force, it is the base structure, ammunition to train with, and maintenance."

Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Carl E. Mundy, Jr. noted pointedly that the president's 1994 budget proposal would shrink the Marine Corps budget to its lowest point since "the days of hollow forces" in the '70s.

One senior officer with close ties to the Joint Staff said the timing of Aspin's readiness drive is especially advantageous, "because it's not too late for the new administration to blame [emerging problems] on the old administration."

Meyer, asked at a news conference about the absence of women on his eight-man task force, said he had "thought very carefully about it" and concluded there are no women "who in my judgment would contribute materially to this panel." Aspin aides said privately that the general should perhaps have thought some more. They said they expected one or more women to be invited to join.

Staff writer John Lancaster contributed to this report.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/24

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May 21, 1993

The Honorable Bill Clinton
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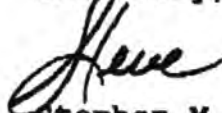
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Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
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JIMMY CARTER

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May 12, 1993

To: President Bill Clinton
From: Jimmy Carter
Subject: Trip report - Paraguay election

Bill- I've always
sent these personal
trip reports to Reagan
& Bush. You may
wish to glance
through it. With
our backing, Wasmosy
can be a successful
reformer. I hope you
meet with him soon -

Jimmy

I'm writing this report as we return from Asuncion, Paraguay, where we were once again involved in the monitoring of an election in an uncertain and troubled environment. This is a country in the center of South America that has been stigmatized by the military dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner, who was overthrown in a military coup in 1989 after 35 years in power. The coup leader, General Andres Rodriguez, was soon elected president and, after 5 years in office, has managed to forge procedures for a free election. If things continue to go well, this will be the first time in history that Paraguay will witness a peaceful transfer of power from one elected official to another.

As time for the election approached, increasing doubts were raised about its integrity and the prospects of success. The primary threat came from a commanding army general, Lino Oviedo, who violated the constitution by injecting himself directly into the political process. Some of his subordinates participated in these activities, on behalf of the Colorado party, which had been historically dominant both before and after Stroessner's time. Oviedo made provocative public statements, such as "The military and the Colorado party will rule Paraguay forever." This kind of activity would not be so serious in most countries, but in one like Paraguay, just emerging tenuously from military dictatorship, it was truly intimidating and threatening. For many years, membership in the ruling party was necessary to hold a public job, to attend college, to become a school teacher, or even to obtain a business license.

In the Colorado party primary, it is widely believed that the real winner of the popular vote was replaced by another candidate, who was more acceptable to President Rodriguez and Oviedo.

do. There were now two other major candidates seeking the presidency. All three of them, with the approval of the president, personally urged me to join the team of international observers who were already involved in monitoring the election process. Finally convinced that I might play a constructive role, I decided to go to Paraguay as head of our Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government and in partnership with the National Democratic Institute.

Immediately after delivering the graduation speech at Rice University in Houston on Saturday morning, May 8, I boarded a U.S. government plane and arrived in Asuncion late that evening. In briefings by the U.S. Ambassador and my fellow observers, it was made clear that an opposition candidate, leading in all the opinion polls, was likely to prevail over the Colorado nominee and the military might well make good on its threats to subvert the will of the Paraguayan people.

Early the next morning, Sunday, I began my visits to the mesas (tables) around the capital city to witness the voting procedure. I found the process to be orderly and extremely well organized. Materials were on hand, adequate polling officials and observers were present from all three major parties, voting began promptly at 7 a.m., and there was a large turnout.

I then accepted the invitation of President Rodriguez to have breakfast with him and his key associates. He was extremely proud of his potential legacy as the leader of the transition to a successful democracy. I questioned him strongly about the possibility of Oviedo's involving the military in the political process, and he assured me that Oviedo was a fine officer, perhaps overly zealous in his activities, but who would accept the outcome of the election. He was quite certain that the Colorado candidate would prevail.

The three candidates had suggested lunch with me, and they surprised me by agreeing to a common meeting. I would never have considered having a meal with my political opponents on election day. I found them to be relaxed, compatible with each other, and quite free with their comments about controversial issues of the campaign. Juan Wasmosy, a civil engineer and candidate of the ruling Colorado party, made it clear that his biggest post-election challenge would be dealing with the disparate and competitive forces within his own party. Guillermo Caballero Vargas, an attorney, was the acknowledged favorite from poll results and head of the relatively new Encuentro Nacional party. Domingo Laino, an economist and head of the established opposition Radical Liberal party, had a long time political antagonism against the government. He had been severely persecuted by Stroessner.

We had a long discussion and then, at our suggestion, they all agreed to a) reject any future military involvement in the political process; b) accept the results of the election no matter who might win; c) encourage their supporters to react calmly to the voting results; d) refrain from any premature claim of victory; and e) cooperate with each other during the transition period to insure maximum stability in the country. They then suggested that we have a press conference, that I announce these agreements, and that they would corroborate them. With news reporters packed around us, we carried out this plan before leaving the hotel.

We found all the candidates to be intelligent, attractive, and apparently well qualified to serve as president. When asked, "With which one would you rather spend a week on a trout stream," I thought for a few seconds and responded, "Wasmosy." I don't quite know why, but others alleged that it might be because we are both engineers.

During the day we also observed other polling sites and visited the 9-member Central Election Board, composed of six Colorado members and only three from all opposition parties combined). We were then shown the organization of SAKA, a Guaraní word for "transparency" or "glasnost." This was a superb organization, located in a small college, that was prepared to obtain a scientific quick count and also to do a parallel tabulation of the election results. Our observer teams were depending on SAKA to give us the independent results of the voting that are crucial to our making a confirmation of the integrity of any election. Their computer system was connected by modem to reporting stations around the country, using special dedicated telephone lines for transmission. This system had been carefully designed, installed, and thoroughly tested.

I was soon informed that SAKA had a serious problem. All the telephone lines had been cut, and the technicians were convinced that this was not an accident. Since the President had offered to give us any necessary help, I went directly to his home with SAKA's top technician and reported the problem. He immediately called the director of the telephone company (without having to look up the number), and soon came back to assure me that the phone lines were being immediately repaired or that alternate lines would be provided to meet SAKA's needs. Despite my subsequent attempts, the phone lines were never provided for this crucial purpose. The electronic system was, fortunately, backed up by 6,000 youthful volunteers who were trained to observe the vote counts and deliver by any possible means the data to SAKA. We also began receiving reports that in many places these young people were excluded from the mesas.

As the polls closed at 5 p.m., everything seemed orderly. Early and fragmented returns brought into our headquarters showed an uncertain result. The pre-election favorite, Caballero Vargas, was doing fairly well in Asuncion but not in outlying areas. The most liberal of the candidates, Domingo Laino, seemed to have surprising support in the rural polling sites. The Colorado candidate, Juan Wasmosy, was benefiting from the good organization, superior financing, and large numbers of government workers who are habitually available to the ruling party. Reporting of election results from the Central Board was non-existent, but Wasmosy supporters were soon claiming victory.

As SAKA's quick count returns accumulated, it became increasingly apparent that the Colorado party candidates were indeed gaining a clear plurality. The early polling favorite, Caballero Vargas, was trailing, with Laino in second place. These trends prevailed throughout the night, with the final results being Wasmosy 40%, Laino 33%, and Vargas 25%. Members elected to the two houses of parliament were in about the same proportion, as indicated by partial returns at the time of our departure from Paraguay.

There was little doubt that Wasmosy had won a legitimate victory, but we were all convinced that the Colorado party and its military allies were prepared to subvert the election if it had been extremely close -- within one or two percentage points. Also, there is not much doubt that the official advantages of the historically ruling party were significant, and that intimidation of the military made a difference.

Nevertheless, we were relieved that there was a clear decision and that the will of the people would be realized. The day after the election I first met with the two opposition candidates, who came together, acknowledged that Wasmosy was the apparent winner, emphasized that together they had received almost 60% of the votes and would have a majority in the parliament, and pledged to work with each other in seeking further reforms. I responded to an invitation to meet the President, and found him to be ebullient at the apparent success of the election process and the victory of his party. He was sobered when we expressed deep concern about the irregularities we had observed and, in particular, about the real threat of excessive military involvement in the civilian government. He was quite defensive and apologetic about the actions and statements of General Oviedo. Wasmosy then came to see us, was charming and generous in victory, reminded us that he had fulfilled his promises of yesterday, and responded positively to our admonitions about further reforms being necessary to perpetuate and enhance democracy in Paraguay.

At the time of our press conference, 5 p.m. Monday, the Election Board was still reporting less than 15% of the votes, but SAKA had enough data delivered manually to confirm within a

2% margin of error that Wasmosy would win with a margin of about 7% over his nearest opponent, Laino. We acknowledged the basic integrity of the election, refrained from reporting any results, but delineated all the major problems and emphasized the dangers from further military interference in the political process.

Although we international observers did not have to intervene in what turned out to be a satisfactory election, there is no doubt that our presence helped to stabilize the situation in moments of crisis and made it possible for all candidates to accept the results calmly and graciously. Also, we believe that our strong condemnation of military interference will have a beneficial effect.

In just a few years this country has truly come out of the dark ages of dictatorship and oppression into a new era of freedom, democracy, and respect for human rights. It is very important that the U.S. government and other influential official and private groups look with favor on Paraguay for assistance, support, investment, and tourist visits.

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 18, 1993

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE JIMMY CARTER

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION REGARDING TRIP REPORT OF JIMMY
CARTER DURING HIS VISIT IN ASUNCION, PARAGUAY
WHILE MONITORING THE PARAGUAY ELECTION

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
NANCY HERNREICH		ORG	93/05/18		
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

IG MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                      *                      *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL  *      OF SIGNER   *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED          *      CODE = A     *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED          *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                      *      OUTGOING    *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                      *                      *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                      *                      *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                      *                      *
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

SCANNED

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/24

cc: Betty CURRIE -

NOTE CALLS -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3 MAY 19 12:41

May 19, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Howard Paster HP

SUBJECT: Your involvement in reconciliation strategy

We are actively engaged in a coordinated campaign aimed at passage of reconciliation by the House on schedule next Thursday, May 27. Among the steps underway:

- 1) Legislative affairs, on its own and in conjunction with the House leadership, is working to cover all Democrats. In addition, we are targeting selected Republicans.
- 2) The Vice President yesterday participated in a well-attended press conference highlighting the breadth of support for your economic plan.
- 3) Your visit to the Democratic Caucus follows a series of staff visits with various organizations in the House. In addition you are meeting today with the Joint Democratic Leadership.
- 4) With Roy Neel's help we have made arrangements to invite an unusually large number of Members of Congress, including Republicans, and their guests to the Motor Voter bill signing tomorrow.
- 5) Each member of the Cabinet is being asked, in a memo from you, to contact 20 Democrats and five Republicans in the House directly.
- 6) Marcia offered us time to invite the Congressional Black Caucus executive committee to see you next week; time that may not work because several members of the committee will be abroad. But the invitation has been extended.
- 7) Rahm and Alexis are working to mobilize allies who have the ability to deal directly with Members of Congress.

BUT a successful strategy will require significant time commitments from you in the next week. To achieve maximum efficient use of your time we believe a great deal can be accomplished on the phone, but that some meetings will also be required. Here are our recommendations to date, although we urge that you set aside additional time should it be needed.

MEETINGS

1) You need to meet as soon as possible with Senator Boren, with Senator Breaux (who I understand is on the schedule) and with Senator Conrad. These should be priorities, and you need to convey in the strongest possible terms your expectation that they will cease and desist from public discussion of alternatives to the House bill. The single most serious problem we may face in the House is the belief that the Administration will make the House cast tough votes and promptly cut some deal on the Senate side to eliminate the BTU tax, or to impose entitlement caps, or some combination of those two items. Mr. President, it is my strongly held view that if anyone can claim you are discussing such possibilities on the Senate side you will not only place the House vote in great jeopardy, but will also alienate large numbers of Senators who are your friends and who have been supporting you. It is necessary for these three Finance Committee to understand very clearly that further public discussion on their part would be viewed as an unfriendly act by you.

2) You should invite all House Committee Chairs to the White House to thank them personally for the excellent job they did in acting on their parts of the reconciliation bill, and to urge them to mobilize their committee members for passage. The goal is to establish a separate "whip" team that will informally and effectively supplement the existing whip structure.

3) You should also invite to the White House the Whip Task Force organized by David Bonior and chaired by Butler Derrick and Barbara Kennelly. We believe a strong statement from you will make it easier for them to approach their colleagues successfully, as well as enhancing their own motivation.

Additional meetings may be required.

PHONE CALLS

We believe you can accomplish a great deal with explicit, strongly worded phone calls to key individuals, urging them to support reconciliation and especially pressing them to lobby their colleagues on behalf of passage. The important point here is that you need to be quite clear about your expectations, and specifically ask for commitments. By inviting them to let us know of folks committed to passage or about others who need more work we can encourage their follow-up to your call. We can prepare individual talking points as required. Here are some of the people we believe you should call:

CAUCUSES

Kweisi Mfume - It is important he be asked directly, since he ~~does not want it presumed~~ that doing a deal with the Blacks on the Ways and Means Committee means we have the entire caucus.

Joe Serrano - Cuban-American Day activities at the White House ~~have created~~ some tensions with the Hispanic Caucus and we need to ensure that we have their enthusiastic help.

Pat Schroeder and Olympia Snowe - Calling the co-chairs of the ~~caucus on Women's Issues~~ adds a Republican to your list, and enables you to talk about the family and children agenda in this bill, i.e. family preservation, immunization, EITC, food stamps, etc.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Charlie Stenholm - The Conservative Democratic Forum could well ~~be the place~~ where this is decided. We are working with Charlie, but you need to touch him personally.

Dave McCurdy - I spent more than two hours yesterday with the ~~Mainstream~~ Forum. Dave needs your personal touch, and it would not hurt to remind him that he is the lead-off witness at today's hearing on national service because of your intervention on his behalf.

Mike Synar - Mike chairs the Democratic Study Group, and while ~~our biggest~~ weakness appears to be on the right we make a terrible mistake if we take the left for granted.

Eva Clayton - A special appeal to the Class of 1992 is in order, ~~perhaps including~~ a meeting for you or the Vice President. I recommend asking her to do her own count of the first term Democrats.

REPUBLICANS

Chris Shays - He has been among the Republicans most willing to ~~work with us~~, and deserves a thank you for help on National Service.

Sherry Boehlert - He was one of three Republicans to vote for the ~~stimulus and thus~~ has demonstrated the willingness to step out of the pack.

OTHERS

Jack Murtha - A major opinion leader who can influence many colleagues and who is a big fan of yours.

Charlie Rose - He is already hard at work trying to demonstrate to some of the farm state members how entitlement caps can harm their crop price supports. He is looking for relief later this year on tobacco imports, and has worked hard to contain political erosion in tobacco growing regions of the country.

Charlie Rangel - He owes it to you to make a major effort to ensure unanimous support from the Black Caucus and New York Democrats.

Henry Waxman - He is a key voice among liberals, and enjoys working on the inside.

Bill Brewster - He said he could mobilize producing state Democrats if we moved the collection point; we now need those votes.

Chuck Schumer - An excellent inside player who received a real assist when your decision to support the deficit reduction trust fund became a New York announcement.

Mr. President, a disciplined use of your time in pursuit of this program, along with a hard sell on your part, can help make the difference on reconciliation. Marcia indicates you have a minimum of two hours available for this purpose each day, and more time Monday through Wednesday of next week.

We need a commitment to set other business aside and concentrate on this right away. Thank you.

The Vice President

cc: Mack McLarty
Roy Neel

MARCIA HALL

NANCY H.