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June 1-5, 1993 [1]

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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]

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- 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]
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- 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]
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CHRON S

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Clinton's New Form of Race-Norming

By LINDA S. GOTTFREDSON

President Clinton seems poised to jettison Lani Guinier, his nominee for assistant attorney general for civil rights, in his lurch back to the political center. Before moderates celebrate his return from the extreme left, however, they should take a close look at the latest draft of Mr. Clinton's education bill.

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 banned the practice of race-norming in employment testing (the racial curving of employment test scores). The Clinton administration tried to revive the illegal practice by smuggling it into its "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," the president's bill to raise skill levels among American students and workers. After getting caught, the administration withdrew the bill's race-norming language, but it didn't stop there. In its place, it has added language to the job-skills-standards section of the bill that not only would drive down standards, but would also make employers vulnerable to civil-rights litigation if they, in fact, do what the bill ostensibly seeks to do.

Disparate Impact

"Goals 2000" would create a National Skill Standards Board to develop a voluntary national system of occupational skill standards and certification procedures. Its stated purpose is to raise worker skill levels to ensure a "high skills, high quality, high performance workforce . . . that will result in increased productivity, economic growth and American economic competitiveness."

Raising standards, however, has disparate impact on less-skilled groups, principally blacks but also Hispanics. This is why the administration's original bill included a provision mandating that occupational certification tests be race-normed. Race-norming would have boosted the scores of individuals in less-skilled groups to avoid disparate impact while creating the appearance that all racial and ethnic groups are equally qualified.

The Clinton administration's revised bill would accomplish the same result in an even more pernicious way. Under the guise of raising skill levels, it would have the national board set low minimum skill standards for all workers in order to avoid disparate impact.

Employers generally want to distinguish among degrees of qualification above some minimum, because the more highly skilled and knowledgeable workers

are, the more productive they tend to be. The most effective employee-selection procedures are therefore ones that rank qualified applicants in order of skill and knowledge and then hire from the top of the list.

By contrast, Mr. Clinton's bill would have the national board develop standards that would determine only whether trainees and job applicants fall above or below some minimum level of competence. While setting floors on skill qualifications would allow employers to weed out incompetents, the marginally competent would be lumped together with the very best. Such minimum thresholds above which all job applicants are considered fungible are precisely what many civil-

rights advocates have long sought, because they minimize disparate impact.

In addition, unlike the original bill, the amended version explicitly subordinates the setting of skill standards to civil-rights laws, in the process apparently giving a nongovernmental body statutory authority to interpret ambiguous laws. For example, the national board would endorse certification standards "that are designed to achieve compliance with the civil rights laws," and would inform their users of the "requirements of relevant civil rights laws." The amended bill also expressly requires that the skill standards themselves ("the level of knowledge and skills required") not be "discriminatory with respect to race, color, gender . . . and national origin."

The legal debate on the requirements of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 has hardly begun, let alone been settled by the courts. At the same time, the procedures for determining job-skill requirements are very arcane and technical. Ignoring both of these difficulties, the bill establishes a highly partisan national board to develop the skill standards in the context of its own understanding of civil-rights law. Although it would gain the authority of something like the National Institute of Standards and Technology, the National Skill Standards Board would be made up almost entirely of Democratic appointees and be subject to a Clinton "diversity"

quota. The administration's amended bill would also require that the board contain at least one civil-rights advocate.

Such a board isn't likely to raise occupational skill levels at all. Rather, it can be expected to develop low minimum standards, which it will then offer to employers as a means for "achieving compliance with relevant civil rights laws."

Although the proposed skill-standards system is ostensibly voluntary, employers could ignore it only at their peril. Civil rights lawyers would be waiting in the wings to slap them with employment discrimination lawsuits if they set skill standards higher than the national board's.

Under current law, disparate impact in hiring creates a prima facie case of illegal discrimination that employers can rebut by showing the job-relatedness ("validity") of the selection procedure in question. If the plaintiff then presents an alternative selection procedure that is equally job-related but has less disparate impact, the employer loses the case. In recent years, employers have become increasingly able to demonstrate the job-relatedness of selection procedures with substantial disparate impact, while plaintiffs have been hard-pressed to point to equally valid "alternatives" with less disparate impact. National board skill standards would reverse that situation.

Many judges would defer to the national board's judgment on skill standards, even in the absence of evidence that its standards are appropriate—just as courts continue to defer to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's onerous technical requirements for defending the legality of employment tests even though those requirements conflict with accepted professional practice. Thus, the national board's skill standards would become the "alternative" against which all selection procedures would be judged.

Employers who set higher standards than the board's would be vulnerable to discrimination lawsuits because more demanding standards tend to have more adverse impact. Moreover, such employers certainly would have been aware of the

national board's putative "alternative," and so would be guilty of intentionally ignoring it in favor of a more "discriminatory" one. (Worse yet, losing a suit alleging intentional discrimination, as opposed to disparate impact, carries the risk of punitive damages.) The national board's voluntary floor would thus become the legal ceiling for skill standards.

It's unclear how low the board would set skill standards. But the standards would have to be quite low to eliminate adverse impact, because current skills gaps among different racial-ethnic groups, for whatever reason, are quite large.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which is conducted for the Department of Education by the Educational Testing Service, has documented large gaps on specific skills and knowledge among high-school students. Throughout the 1980s, for example, black 17-year-olds (excluding dropouts) had proficiency levels in math, reading, science and other subjects that were more comparable to white 13-year-olds than white 17-year-olds.

Huge Gaps in Skills

A 1987 NAEP report found similarly large gaps in the functional literacy of young adults age 21 to 25. The average black college graduate could comprehend and use everyday reading materials, such as news articles, menus, forms, labels, street maps and bus schedules, only about as well as the average white high-school graduate with no college. In turn, black high-school graduates functioned, on the average, only about as well as whites with no more than eight years of schooling.

The pervasiveness of such huge gaps in current skills and knowledge explains why employment tests typically have disparate impact, especially in mid-to-high-level jobs. Mr. Clinton's original bill would have eliminated disparate impact by boosting the scores of less skilled groups to meet a higher common standard. By contrast, his amended bill would slide the common standard down to where the least skilled groups could meet it. In effect, the administration has simply replaced a mandate for "double-standards race-norming" with one for "no-standards race-norming."

Ms. Gottfredson is a professor in the department of educational studies of the University of Delaware.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-4-93

Majority in Poll Back Ban on Handguns

By FELICITY BARRINGER

WASHINGTON, June 3 — Americans watching the increase in gunshot injuries and deaths among the country's children are beginning to see gun control as a question of public health rather than just a matter of crime prevention, according to a new survey made public today.

The survey, by Louis Harris of LH Research Inc., showed that one adult in five knows a child who had been shot by another child, and another 12 percent know a child who shot himself by accident. The study, done under a grant from the Chicago-based Joyce Foundation for the Harvard School of Public Health, found that three-quarters of adults surveyed believed "young people's safety is endangered by there being so many guns around these days."

9 Out of 10 Back Bill

As a result, the new poll found, public opinion is rapidly swinging in favor of more stringent gun control measures.

More than half of those surveyed, including more than 60 percent of the women polled, said they would favor a

Gun-related deaths are called a U.S. epidemic.

Federal ban on handguns, with exceptions granted only by a court.

The survey also found that nearly 9 out of 10 Americans supported the Brady bill, a relatively unrestrictive proposal that would require a five-day waiting period before a handgun may be purchased, and that would allow the local authorities to check the background of the buyer. The measure is named after James S. Brady, the White House press secretary who was shot in the head in a 1981 attempt to assassinate President Ronald Reagan.

That bill, which has never been enacted into law, was reintroduced this spring, but has not yet been scheduled for committee consideration in either the House or the Senate.

According to the new poll, more than four in five adults surveyed felt that the easy availability of guns and the sheer number of weapons contributed

to an atmosphere of violence that endangers children.

"Take all the ordinary childhood events — playing, an argument, whatever — and add a handgun and it's suddenly deadly," said Dr. Katherine Kaufer Christoffel, a pediatrician whose research on pediatric firearms injuries led the American Academy of Pediatrics to adopt as a goal the removal of handguns from private homes.

Shootings as National Epidemic

"This is an epidemic," Dr. Christoffel said today of gun-related deaths. "If in 1952, the peak year of the polio epidemic, there were 3,000 Americans dead and 20,000 paralytics, then compare the 1990 numbers: 37,000 dead of injuries from handguns," she said.

"If polio was an epidemic this is certainly an epidemic. It's going to be a while before the number of deaths are going to go down, but these poll numbers are very, very hopeful numbers," she added. "It shows that people are responding to their experience."

By a ratio of 52 to 43, the 1,250 adults polled supported a ban on the possession of handguns, unless a court has granted an exception. Among women, 61 percent favored a handgun ban, while the comparable figure among men was 42 percent.

Mr. Harris said today that he believed the new poll was the first to show that a majority of Americans favored such a ban. A 1991 Gallup poll showed about 41 percent of Americans favoring such a ban.

The survey also found that the number of households reporting gun ownership had declined to 42 percent, from 45 percent in 1989. Mr. Harris said that was the first such decline in nearly two decades. The poll, conducted by telephone in April, had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

The number of young people killed by guns rose sharply in the late 1980's. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, just under 5,000 people under the age of 19 were killed by firearms, intentionally or accidentally, in 1990. From 1985 to 1990, the numbers of gun-related deaths among 15- to 19-year-olds jumped to 23.5 per 100,000 from 13.3 per 100,000 people, an unusually large increase in a statistical field where gains and losses are normally measured in small fractions.

A spokesman for the National Rifle Association argued that the new poll failed to give respondents the chance to address larger issues of crime control. "In our view, the Harris poll is a side-show detracting from what we believe are the real issues, of not only criminal justice reform, but from real solutions that are going to resolve what Mr. Harris proposed as problems," said Bill McIntyre, speaking for the association.

"You know and I know that more and more often weapons, whether guns, knives or anything else, are a byproduct of gang affiliation and drug trafficking," he said. "It is quite usual that older drug lieutenants use the youth as a means to enforce their territory, as a means to protect their illicit trade. They know that youngsters are immune or virtually immune from prosecution."

At a news conference today, Mr. Harris contended that the public's attitude toward gun control had undergone a "sea change."

Susan Whitmore, a spokeswoman for Handgun Control Inc., a lobby group based in Washington, said today that she believed that there was enough Congressional support to pass the Brady bill if it got out of committee and onto the floor. President Clinton has said he would sign the Brady bill.

"This poll shows we desperately need to lay this cornerstone of a national gun-control policy," Ms. Whitmore said. "We think we have the votes. But you can never count the N.R.A. out."

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We really need to push Brady + look at automatic weapons issue

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-4-93

THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1993

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Mulroney Offering Troops to Help Blockade Haiti

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 — Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada told President Clinton today that his country was ready to send troops to enforce a blockade around Haiti, but Mr. Clinton committed himself to no more than a thorough review of United States options.

Administration officials said later that Washington was not prepared to move beyond far less aggressive measures to isolate the Haitian leadership, like freezing assets.

Mr. Mulroney, speaking to reporters after his farewell visit with Mr. Clinton,

called the situation in Haiti "this travesty." He said that Canada was "ready to commit military assets" in the region and that "we're hoping to persuade our allies of that, should other things fail."

Addressing another foreign crisis that has dogged Mr. Clinton, Mr. Mulroney pressed the President to send ground troops to the Balkans. Noting that "Canadians, the British, the French and the Spaniards are in there in a significant way as peacekeepers," he said, "It wouldn't do any harm at all if the U.S. did precisely that." He specifically suggested that the United States send troops to Macedonia.

The two leaders met for more than an hour as Mr. Mulroney prepares to leave office this month after nine years in power. Aides said the meeting was largely personal, with both men reflecting on their political situations. Besides discussing Bosnia and, to a lesser extent, Haiti, the two leaders agreed on the need for a North American Free Trade Agreement.

While Mr. Clinton did not go as far as calling for using troops to isolate the military and restore Haiti's elected President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Administration officials said the White House might announce plans in the next several days to freeze the

assets and revoke the visas of Haitian officials and supporters of the military-backed Government, moves that critics say would be largely symbolic.

"It's time to re-examine our options, and consider some others," Mr. Clinton said as he posed for photographers with Mr. Mulroney before their meeting. "And I expect the United States will do that."

Referring to the Haitian military's rejection last month of an American-backed United Nations plan to deploy an international peace force there, Mr. Clinton acknowledged that his policy had failed. "We thought we had an agreement on Haiti, and of course it didn't work out, and I'm very disappointed," he said.

A spokesman for the Canadian Embassy said Mr. Mulroney had been pressing for using the military in co-

operation with the United Nations for a naval blockade to cut off supplies to the Haitian Government.

"People are going to have to decide whether we allow this travesty to take place in our own back yard," Mr. Mulroney said, "or whether we deploy some assets to make certain that the duly elected President of Haiti is restored and that a constitutional democracy is allowed to survive and not be extinguished on an island, a little poor island off our own shores."

Mr. Clinton's Haitian policy is still unclear. Even as Secretary of State Warren Christopher prepares to give a speech in Vienna late this month extolling Administration progress on human rights, Mr. Clinton has continued the Bush Administration policy of forceable repatriation of Haitians seeking political asylum in the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/5

NOTE FOR:

Tim Flynn

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:



Tim FLYNN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/4/93

ASICS TIGER CORP. 10540 TALBERT AVE., FOUNTAIN VALLEY, CA 92708 USA PHONE: (714) 962-7654 ORDER FAX: 968-0495

To: President Clinton
The White House

N- I need
Three to sign

From: Nancy Larsen
Manager Public Relations and Consumer Relations
ASICS TIGER Corporation

Date: May 26, 1993

Re: ASICS GT-II shoes

Dear President Clinton:

On behalf of ASICS TIGER Corporation, I am pleased to be able to forward, for your personal use, two pairs of ASICS GT-II running shoes, size 12. According to Gary Smith, general manager of the Sport Stop in Little Rock, this is your shoe of choice! I understand that the political climate may not currently support your use of the GT-II, but ASICS would like you to accept these shoes with our compliments.

If the 12 is not your correct size, please feel free to have someone contact me at 714-962-7654 ext. 632 so that something else can be forwarded.

By the way, should you need some ammunition regarding your use of the GT-II, feel free to remind people that ASICS United States headquarters is the fastest growing arm of our international company. Currently employing 250 individuals of diverse ethnic backgrounds in Orange County, CA, ASICS is looking toward a bright, growing future that includes creating many new jobs within its U.S. operations. ASICS generates its own footwear designs for this market, as well as international use. In addition, our marketing and advertising campaigns are developed entirely within the U.S., therefore utilizing many readily available resources within this country.

Thank you for your interest in ASICS and best wishes for two healthy terms in the White House!

Sincerely,

Nancy Larsen
Manager Public Relations and
Consumer Relations
ASICS TIGER Corporation

ASICS TIGER Corporation



Nancy Larsen
Public Relations

Head Office
10540 Talbert Avenue, West Building
Fountain Valley, CA 92708, U.S.A.
Phone: 714-962-7654 Ext. 632
Fax: 714-968-0495

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/5

NOTE FOR: *Dan Oreyer*

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
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Thank you.

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

cc:

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON
SATURDAY RADIO ADDRESS

June 5, 1993

Good morning.

**On February 17, I presented to our country
my national economic strategy to create jobs and
increase growth. ^{weaker than I in our future, bring Def. down.} Our plan is tough, and it
requires real contributions from everyone ~~to get~~
~~the deficit down.~~**

**It was written to improve our economy long-
term, but I believed when I offered the plan it
could produce positive short-term results.**

Once it became clear that
It already has. ~~Once the financial markets~~
~~we used take responsibility for being let down,~~
~~knew we were serious, ready to step up to the~~
~~plate and make real progress on deficit~~
~~reduction,~~ interest rates started coming down.

Analysts say that if we can keep interest rates
down at this level for a year, we will put \$100
billion back into this economy; ~~and think of how much~~
~~the 100b can do for the economy, bus. profs~~
~~the 100b can do for the economy, bus. profs~~
~~jobs, profits, consumer confidence and consumer~~
~~spending will come storming back with that~~
~~infusion of capital.~~

It's working.

Yesterday, ~~we learned that~~ unemployment
fell below 7 percent for the first time in a year
and a half. In just the last four months, the
economy has added 755,000 jobs. And last
month, as new home sales reached a seven year
high, mortgage rates hit a twenty year low,

Now more Americans can realize the dream of home ownership. ~~By buying homes, these~~
^{building}
~~families build the bonds~~ of strong neighborhoods and strong communities, and make our country a better place to live.

America's on the right track. If we get our ^{private}
~~gov't~~ ~~house~~ in order, more people will be able to order houses. If we drive ~~deficits~~ and interest rates down, jobs and investment will keep going up.

Now that the U.S. House of Representatives has acted, courageously and decisively, in approving our economic growth plan, it is time for the Senate to do the right thing as well.

In our plan before the Senate, we cut \$500 billion from the federal deficit, the largest deficit reduction program ever proposed by a President.

The plan is balanced and fair. About half of the deficit reduction comes from spending cuts and restraints in federally-paid medical and retirement programs -- the so-called entitlements.

Included in the \$250 billion of spending cuts are reductions in more than 200 programs, and we raise some revenues too. But this time, we're doing it in a way that's fair. Seventy-five percent of the money we raise comes from people with incomes above \$100,000, *prop who can better afford it + whose tax revenues*
80s -

But middle class Americans, in families with incomes of \$40,000 a year, will pay energy taxes amounting to only one dollar a month in 1994; seven dollars a month in 1995; and no more than \$17 a month when our plan is fully in place.

> 30,000 > wrong well up

No one wants to pay additional taxes, and we're working hard to minimize the revenue increases and maximize the spending cuts.

Our plan requires very tough choices, but it's based on very simple truths. We have to be tough enough to bring down our deficit. And we have to be smart enough to invest in a growing modern economy.

Next week, the Senate will begin considering our plan for deficit reduction and economic growth. These are the principles that the Senate must honor when it considers our plan. Number one, we've got to cut the deficit at least \$500 billion.

Number two, there will be no increases in taxes before there are real cuts in spending -- with all the savings locked up in a trust fund for the five-year life of our plan.

Number three, because of what happened in the last 12 years, those who can pay more should pay more, and we should minimize the burden on the middle class.

Number four, we must preserve the incentives to move people from welfare to work.

And, number five, when we cut spending, we must leave some resources for education and training, for investment in technology, and incentives for businesses and private individuals to expand opportunity and create jobs.

These are the steps we must take to rebuild the American economy.

I think we can do it. Although the changes I am asking Congress to approve are difficult, even unprecedented, we know they must be made. Our living standards are at stake, and we must rise to the occasion.

This is the promise of America; a community that, working at its best, provides a growing measure of prosperity for everyone who participates. But our challenge is to fulfill that promise by ensuring, as we expand opportunity and economic growth, that everyone has a shot to earn their share.

No one in my lifetime addressed that challenge with greater courage or constancy than the late Robert F. Kennedy.

On Sunday, twenty five years after his passing, I will be joining the Kennedy family, their supporters and friends, in celebrating his short but exceptional life, as one of the most candid and unifying public servants this country has ever known.

At a time citizens felt disconnected from their leaders, Senator Kennedy had an uncommon feel for what people experienced in their lives.

As a Senator, he fought to expand economic opportunity for all Americans, and to remind our citizens that our rights are accompanied by responsibilities. He sought to close the chasm between working class whites and blacks, when others tried for political advantage in prying them apart.

Most of all, Robert Kennedy reminded us that, whatever our differences with our leaders and disagreements with their policies, we can -- and should -- love our country.

And that is why, even as we remember his life and mourn his loss, we must celebrate his spirit and follow his example today.

I will keep fighting for a society free of discrimination, and filled with opportunity for every American. This is what Bobby Kennedy fought for, and realizing these dreams would be the greatest tribute we could offer him.

Thanks for listening.

Idaho

The Associated Press

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writer's cramp and had a hard time keeping up with the interview and made some serious mistakes," Rau said on the 30th day of the murder-conspiracy trial of Randy Weaver and Kevin Harris.

The question of who fired first has become a crucial point of contention.

The defense forced the abrupt adjournment of the trial on May 21 so that they could

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HE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

'Charter schools' gain popularity

Unique setting gives problem students 2nd chance

The Associated Press

ST. PAUL, Minn. — He dropped out of school in his early teens, drifted from one dropout program to another and got into trouble with the law.

Then, in the fall, Jack Garcia's prospects took an upward path. At 18, he was admitted to a first-in-the-nation "charter school," operated by a panel of teachers and parents instead of a school district.

On Thursday, Garcia and nine other members of City Academy's first graduating class get their diplomas.

Garcia is juggling two scholarship offers.

"Now I've got all kinds of opportunities I didn't expect," he said. "It's like you struggle here and they help you out so you can keep going. You're not a failure."

Despite warnings that they drain the limited resources of existing public schools, publicly financed charter schools are becoming a serious option in the national debate over school choice, an experiment endorsed by several states.

City Academy got going in September 1992, another charter school followed in March and six more are set to open this fall in Minnesota. This year, the Legislature expanded the experiment to allow creation of 12 additional schools.

Under the system, state aid that ordinarily accompanies each student to a public school goes instead with the student to finance the charter school, which sets its own hours, can be open year-round and has more leeway in meeting state education standards.



CLASS CREDIT — Jesse Walt, a 14-year-old eighth-grader at City Academy, paints the wall of a house during participation in a Habitat for Humanity project in St. Paul, Minn. City Academy is the nation's first publicly financed "charter school," operated by a panel of teachers and parents, instead of by a school district.

New Mexico this year approved creation of up to 26 charter schools, California has endorsed transforming up to 100 existing schools and Georgia has approved experimenting with the idea, said Joe Nathan, director of the Center for School Change at the University of Minnesota.

President Clinton has endorsed the concept. A bill pending in Congress would provide \$50 million in federal grants next year and \$75 million in 1995 to provide start-up aid.

In Minnesota, a charter school first must gain approval from a sponsoring school district.

The big hurdle has been the

reluctance of public school officials to see a portion of their state aid shunted to charter schools.

City Academy caters to students who had been kicked out of traditional schools but still wanted a high school diploma.

In addition to traditional studies, the 30 or so students, racially mixed and from a wide economic background, help build houses for the Christian housing ministry Habitat for Humanity and work on conservation projects.

Teacher Milo Cutter said all 10 seniors are enrolled or waiting to be accepted into trade schools, technical colleges and universities.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-4-93

B. Reubens

A Deal on the Economic Plan

Three Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee — David Boren of Oklahoma, Kent Conrad of North Dakota and John Breaux of Louisiana — are threatening to hold President Clinton's economic plan hostage. Each insists that the Administration revise the plan's \$70 billion energy tax that accounts for nearly a third of the total revenue increase but which threatens oil producers, farmers and manufacturers. Unless each Democrat votes yes, the plan won't clear the committee.

The White House believes it knows how to win over Senators Conrad and Breaux: Shrink and restructure the B.T.U. tax, and offset that lost revenue with additional spending cuts. But Mr. Boren's threat — that he'll vote no unless the B.T.U. tax is dropped entirely — is more ominous. Still, the White House holds powerful cards. With Senators Conrad and Breaux on board, Mr. Boren is unlikely to scuttle the plan and thereby single-handedly smash an already wobbly President.

On the merits, the White House shouldn't have to give up any of the energy tax and thus force it to squeeze investment programs. But a compromise appears necessary and tolerable. Mr. Clinton seems prepared to knock, say, \$20 billion off the tax and restructure it to protect U.S. manufacturers. One way is to waive the tax on energy-intensive exports like petrochemicals and levy an offsetting tax on energy-intensive imports.

With these changes, the energy tax won't threaten U.S. businesses facing foreign competition. There are some technical problems with this solution, because export exemptions and import taxes are illegal under current trade law. If imposed

unilaterally, they could interfere with completing the current round of international trade talks. But Congress has ways to impose energy taxes that do not bump up against trade agreements.

The knottier problem is deciding how to cut spending to make up for the \$20 billion in lost revenues. The Finance Committee's easiest choice — to cut Medicare, which is under its jurisdiction — is the wrong choice. Premature pruning of Medicare would almost certainly interfere with the structure and financing of the President's health-care package, whose release is expected to be delayed until next month so that it won't get in the way of passing the budget.

The better place for the Senate to look for cuts is the President's list of discretionary programs — even though his plan doesn't accommodate many of the useful investment initiatives promised during the campaign and, contrary to widespread belief, holds non-defense discretionary spending nearly constant.

Yet there are specific proposals — like urban tree planting — that could be sacrificed. And after Tuesday's senatorial election in Texas, Senate Democrats could take a fresh look at the \$14 billion the Administration proposes spending on the superconducting supercollider and the space station.

Traveling to Wisconsin this week, the President heard from a generally supportive crowd the unsurprising message that voters want a smaller tax hike and the surprising one that they're willing to tolerate steeper spending cuts. The dual message provides the elbow room to meet Mr. Boren and friends halfway. Mr. Clinton can take the sting out of the energy tax without undermining his health-care initiative or backtracking on deficit reduction.

CHRON

Military Production Network

A national alliance of
organizations working to address
issues of nuclear weapons
production and waste clean-up

Stephen I. Schwartz
Washington, D.C. Representative

236 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Suite 500
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/5

TO: *Will Itoh*

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

*can you call
me about this
Thanks*

John

Military Production Network

A national alliance of organizations working to address
issues of nuclear weapons production and waste clean-up

June 3, 1993

93 JUN 4 AM 11:52

Mr. John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Podesta:

I enclose a series of recent editorials, articles and three congressional letters concerning nuclear testing and the President's forthcoming decision to either approve a limited number of tests or extend the current testing moratorium and negotiate a Comprehensive Test Ban or CTB. I hope that you will share these with the President.

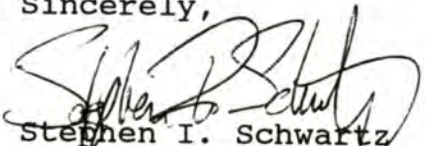
The Military Production Network is an alliance of 41 grassroots and national organizations representing communities in the shadows of U.S. nuclear weapons facilities and waste sites. **As you know, the president of one of our grassroots groups in Ohio, Ms. Lisa Crawford, was honored by the President during his inauguration as one of fifty "Faces of Hope."**

Now more than ever is the time for the United States to announce an end to nuclear testing. As the spate of editorials indicate, this decision makes sense politically, militarily, economically and environmentally. Yet, the President and his advisers waver.

June 10 marks the 30th anniversary of President Kennedy's speech calling for a CTB. That speech launched an effort which culminated less than two months later in the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, outlawing nuclear explosions above ground, underwater and in outer space. As this important anniversary nears, **we look to President Clinton to fulfill the legacy left by his boyhood hero by taking the bold and visionary step of announcing an end to all U.S. nuclear testing and a schedule for negotiating a CTB.**

Thank you for your prompt attention to this urgent matter.

Sincerely,



Stephen I. Schwartz
Washington Representative

cc: Mr. David R. Gergen, Counselor to the President

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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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.

In Nuclear Tests, We All Live Downwind

To the Editor:

While it was heartening to read your May 6 and May 25 editorials in favor of banning nuclear testing, it was inaccurate to state that "the last American nuclear test explosion sent radioactivity into the atmosphere in 1962" (May 6). Indeed, a partial test ban at that time sent tests underground into shafts and tunnels at the Nevada test site, but since then at least 100 of these explosions have sent radioactivity into inhabited areas, often in massive amounts.

The Department of Energy admits to leakage of radioactivity on- and off-site in its publication "Announced United States Nuclear Tests," although two of these publications in my possession (NVO-209, 4th Revision, 1984 and NVO-209, 12th Revision, 1992) are inconsistent in their listings of radioactivity detected.

This brings to mind the years of atmospheric testing in Nevada (1951-62) when the Atomic Energy Commission would issue press releases to assure an anxious public that "no radioactivity was detected east of the Mississippi." This was technically true, but only because the commission had no radiation monitors east of the Mississippi.

All of our cold war Presidents, unable to stand up against a rapacious Pentagon, yielded to its billion-dollar demands for nuclear experimentation on a citizenry ignorant of the hazards. Each nuclear explosion costs \$50 million to \$100 million, but the human cost has not yet been fully realized. In the Clinton era, we are again bartering nuclear testing, and human lives, for political gain.

During the decade I researched the health effects of nuclear testing in the Western states, it was not unusual to meet people downwind of the test site who had lost 16 relatives in their extended families to radiation-induced cancers. An Air Force colonel who flew radiation monitoring missions across the country and into Canada and Mexico told me, "There isn't anyone in the United States who isn't a downwinder." One explores the frontiers of the unreal when hearing the reasons for renewed testing: to be sure the devices are "safe."

The sad truth is that these bombs are far safer than we are. This na-

tion's dirty little secret is that for 50 years the only nation on which we have declared a nuclear war is the United States. More than 1,000 nuclear bombs have been exploded in Nevada. Declassified Atomic Energy Commission documents designated the citizens living under the fallout "a low-use segment of the population."

The Nevada test site is our own nuclear Auschwitz. The tragedy remains that when the Pentagon demands that we keep testing the primeval ovens, putting more innocents in peril, our Presidents are always ready to do so in the spirit of compromise.

CAROLE GALLAGHER

New York, May 25, 1993

The writer is the author of "American Ground Zero: The Secret Nuclear War" (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

Treaty in Peril

To the Editor:

Your May 15 report that President Clinton was expected to renew nuclear testing this year came as a shock. This would mean that the moratorium on testing by France, Russia,

allies want the treaty extended indefinitely or for a long period. The non-aligned countries have repeatedly insisted that an end to nuclear testing, which the treaty calls for, was a condition for any "significant" extension. As the nonaligned countries form more than two-thirds of the 157 parties to the Nonproliferation Treaty, they can decide how long it should be extended, which requires only a simple majority (79) of the parties.

The nonaligned countries have demanded that the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty (which permits nuclear powers to conduct only underground tests) must be converted into a total test ban treaty. The last review conference of the Nonproliferation Treaty in 1990 ended in failure because the United States would not negotiate a total test ban. The last negotiations for a ban were suspended in 1980, and the Reagan and Bush Administrations refused to resume them.

President Clinton agreed with President Boris N. Yeltsin at their Vancouver meeting last month to begin multilateral negotiations for a nuclear test ban. Instead, they are preparing to resume testing.

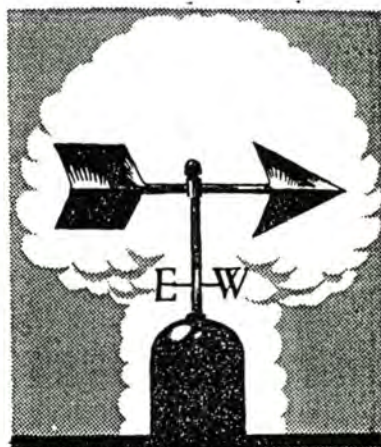
For President Clinton to allow the moratorium to end and to start testing again will send the wrong message to the parties to the Nonproliferation Treaty. The nonaligned parties are fed up with what they regard as the procrastination of the nuclear powers, who seem to want to preserve their monopoly of nuclear weapons, and some have said privately they will vote to extend the treaty for a short period until a total test ban treaty is signed. That would seriously undermine the treaty's credibility.

For reasons never explained, the legislation for a nine-month moratorium passed by Congress, and reluctantly signed by President Bush last October, permitted 15 more United States nuclear tests until they are finally ended in September 1996. Why not end them now, once and for all, and insure that in 1995 the Nonproliferation Treaty will get a long extension?

WILLIAM EPSTEIN

New York, May 19, 1993

The writer represented the United Nations Secretary General at talks for the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty and 1968 Nonproliferation Treaty.



Goran Delic

Britain and the United States would end and that all five declared nuclear powers (including China) would resume testing. This could have dire consequences for the future of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. That treaty's first 25-year term expires in March 1995, when a conference will decide how long to extend it.

The five nuclear powers and their

An End to Nuclear Testing

IT IS THE accepted wisdom that with the ending of the Cold War, nuclear nonproliferation has replaced strategic deterrence as the urgent center of American nuclear concern. The fear of weapons coming into more hands, and less responsible hands, has displaced the old apprehensions of Kremlin threat. But while nonproliferation as an idea is unchallenged, as a reality it is not yet fully knit into American policy. Nowhere is this truer, and potentially more mischievous, than in the matter of nuclear testing.

Congress imposed a nine-month testing moratorium on President Bush last year; it ends on July 1. The measure was part of a package that permitted the conduct of up to 15 more underground tests over the following three years while the American government sought to negotiate a worldwide ban. The immediate question before President Clinton is whether the United States should use some or all of those 15 permitted tests by 1996. The deeper question is whether it should then accept a total test cutoff. Within the executive branch powerful voices have argued for continued testing—to make sure old weapons are safe and reliable and to develop small new weapons. These

are the rationales for a proposal to permit small (up to one kiloton) tests on an indefinite basis after 1996. President Clinton, who spoke of a comprehensive ban (but in several tones) during his campaign, has yet to announce how he will come down.

In fact, no other decision serves the national interest as well as an immediate and permanent halt to all testing. Considerations of safety, reliability and development are not foolish and irrelevant. But they can be dealt with without testing subverting the overwhelming purpose of discouraging the spread of nuclear arms. A test is more than a test. It is a spectacular announcement that nuclear weapons are important, useful and appropriate instruments of national power. If the nuclear great power says so, who are would-be nuclear countries to say no?

Les Aspin, speaking a few months before he became defense secretary, said: "International cooperation is at the core of nonproliferation efforts, and that cooperation is going to be difficult if the United States continues insisting on nuclear testing." He got it just right.

Washington Post

5.19.93

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, MAY 19, 1993

Decision time on nuclear testing

President Clinton has to make a decision soon on whether the United States will resume underground nuclear weapons tests after July 1, when a congressionally mandated moratorium on testing expires.

Unless it becomes evident that continuing the ban materially endangers the nation's security, the president ought to voluntarily keep it as an important symbol of Washington's commitment to limiting the spread of nuclear arms.

Such symbolism would be a decidedly secondary consideration if the Soviet Union were still around and nuclear arsenals were growing instead of shrinking.

But things have changed: There no longer is a need to test to modernize nuclear weapons. And experts contend that the safety and reliability of existing arms can be assured by non-nuclear testing.

Congress, reflecting increased anti-testing sentiment, last fall imposed a moratorium for nine months, after which up to 15 tests would be allowed before a permanent prohibition took effect in 1996.

Lawmakers acted over the objections of the Bush administration officials, particularly from the defense and energy departments. They insisted that testing had to go on as long as the U.S. has nuclear weapons.

Some of their successors in the Clinton administration are saying the same thing today in urging resumption of testing as soon as possible.

Testing opponents, on the other hand, feel just as

strongly that Clinton should hold the line. They hailed the U.S. moratorium, which followed similar moves by France and Russia, and they now fear that lifting the U.S. ban will prompt these and other nuclear powers also to resume testing.

Boris Yeltsin, under pressure from hardline nationalists and ex-Communists in Russia's nuclear establishment, reportedly has warned the president of such a scenario. If Russia resumes testing, moreover, such chances are that Ukraine, already reluctant to relinquish its nukes, will only grow more so.

Test-ban proponents say, too, that nations aspiring to nuclear capability will spurn arms-limitation suggestions from the U.S. if it declines to be an example.

Although there is undeniable value in being a model, U.S. nuclear security has to come first. On this score, though, President Clinton, who no doubt listens to the government's security agencies, also should give an ear to those who insist that the U.S. can keep its nuclear edge without testing.

After almost 1,000 nuclear detonations to date, there is no doubt that America's weapons will perform. Besides, reliability is tested all the time by dismantling weapons and conducting non-nuclear explosions. As for small, costly safety enhancements, the Pentagon has all but said it is not going to buy them.

Under those circumstances, continuing the testing moratorium would seem both possible and advisable.

St. Petersburg Times

6A TIMES ■ TUESDAY, MAY 18, 1993 . . .

EDITORIALS

The risks of nuclear tests

A comprehensive ban on U.S. nuclear tests is scheduled to take effect in 1996, but our government's behavior between now and then could be as important as the ban itself in determining the success of international efforts to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Before ending the current moratorium on nuclear tests that has been in effect since last fall, the Clinton administration should consider the risk that a three-year resumption of underground explosions would create far more serious safety concerns than it would eliminate.

As the world's only remaining superpower, the United States now finds itself in a unique position of leadership on the transcendent issue of the control of nuclear weapons. If the end of the Cold War is to lead to a safer world, the United States must lead the effort to establish a new system of control over the scattered Soviet nuclear arsenal and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to unstable Third World governments such as Iraq and North Korea. And to persuade other governments to behave responsibly, the United States should be prepared to lead by example.

In recent years, though, the United States has been a reluctant follower of international efforts to restrict nuclear testing. The nine-month moratorium that ends July 1 was approved by Congress only after the United States found itself virtually isolated on the issue. Americans cannot be proud that the primary impetus for a worldwide ban on nuclear testing has come from Moscow and Paris, not Washington.

As July 1 approaches, there is growing pressure in Washington to resume testing

as quickly as possible. If that happens, Russia and France will have little choice but to do the same. And other governments that aspire to join the nuclear club will have even less reason to heed international efforts to constrain their own behavior.

The generals and scientists representing the nuclear lobby are telling President Clinton that a new round of tests is needed to assure the safety and reliability of our nuclear arsenal once a permanent test ban goes into effect. However, we have the means to resolve valid safety concerns without resorting to a new testing program that would effectively obliterate what has been a successful moratorium.

At least some of those calling for an immediate resumption of nuclear testing are hoping to create conditions that would erode support for a comprehensive test ban in 1996. They believe that a new generation of research and testing could leave the United States with an even more imposing nuclear superiority than we already enjoy. Instead, a new round of unchecked nuclear activity might only hasten the day that a Third World tyrant such as Saddam Hussein gains access to his own nuclear arsenal.

If the current moratorium is to be more than a brief respite in a spiraling arms race, President Clinton will have to resist the pressure to make the United States the first government to resume nuclear testing. Examples of successful international cooperation on nuclear issues are too rare to squander. Rather than acting hastily to violate the current moratorium, the Clinton administration should be looking for ways to build upon it.

Don't resume nuclear testing

■ We have no reason to test more nuclear weapons.

There's a simple way to save money, help the environment, and even promote world peace. What president wouldn't want that? Maybe Bill

Clinton.

The Clinton administration foolishly is considering resuming the testing of nuclear bombs. It's sort of this thinking: We have all these laboratories sitting around. Why not save thousands of jobs and put the people to work so that we can blow up millions of dollars beneath the Nevada desert? All this may create a better nuclear bomb, which we don't need and undoubtedly won't produce, but may be a boon to Third World countries and terrorists interested in getting into the bomb-building business.

Our national debt is mushrooming. The Soviet bloc is smashed into warring parts. Our military is confronted with such challenges as Bosnia, Somalia, and Iraq. And yet the Clinton administration is talking about testing nuclear bombs.

That means that the Russians might resume testing, and China and Britain, too. Not to mention Pakistan, North Korea, and Iraq.

Do all these countries have so much excess cash that they can afford to blow it up? Are they so anxious to resume the Cold War — maybe turn it into a thermonuclear war — at the same time that treaties are calling for us to reduce our nuclear arsenal?

Oregon's Sen. Mark Hatfield and Rep. Mike Kopetski already have written to Clinton and his aides, urging them not to resume testing. The nine-month testing moratorium that Hatfield and Kopetski pushed expires July 1. The only rational re-

Whom to contact

Let the Clinton administration know what action you think should be taken in the Middle East. You can call the White House Comment Office at 202-456-1111 from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. PDT weekdays. Or you can send a letter or telegram to President Clinton, White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C., 20500.

You also can write to Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Old Executive Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20506.

And you can contact members of Oregon's congressional delegation at the following numbers and addresses, asking them to make their views known to Clinton:

■ Sen. Mark Hatfield, 711 Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20510, (202) 224-3753; Special Districts Center, 727 Center St. NE, Salem 97301, 588-9510; One World Trade Center, 121 SW Salmon, Suite 1420, Portland, 97204, 326-3386.

■ Sen. Bob Packwood, 259 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20510, (202) 224-5244; 101 S.W. Main St., Suite 240, Portland, 97204, 326-3370.

■ Rep. Mike Kopetski, 218 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515, (202) 225-5711; 530 Center St. NE, Suite 340, Salem, 97301, 588-9100 or 1-800-548-7179.

■ Rep. Elizabeth Furse, 316 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515, (202) 225-0855; 2701 N.W. Vaughn St., Suite 860, Portland 97210, 326-2901; 1-800-422-4003.

■ Rep. Peter DeFazio, 1233 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515, (202) 225-6416; Federal Building, 211 E. 7th Ave., Suite 287, Eugene 97401, 465-6732 or 1-800-944-9603.

■ Rep. Bob Smith, 108 Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515, (202) 225-6730; 259 Barnett Road, No. E, Medford, 97501, 776-4646 or 800-533-3303.

■ Rep. Ron Wyden, 1111 Longworth House Building, Washington, D.C., 20515, (202) 225-4811; 500 N.E. Multnomah, Suite 250, Portland 97232, 231-2300.

sponse is to make that a permanent moratorium and turn our national laboratories to more productive endeavors.

Any other course is expensive idiocy.

Statesman Journal May 8, 1993

The Statesman Journal strives to publish accurate, unbiased information on its news pages. On this page, and where noted by the words opinion, commentary, or analysis, the newspaper's editorial board, along with readers and columnists, offers opinions on events and people. The objective of the opinion page is to promote discussion of issues affecting our community. The Statesman Journal is the successor to the Oregon Statesman, founded March 28, 1851, and the Capital Journal, founded March 1, 1888.

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SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1993

6-B

THE PLAIN DEALER

Our 152nd Year

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Don't trigger a nuclear reaction

There's no shortage of reliable nuclear warheads in America's arsenal. There's no imminent threat to the military balance among the world's five admitted nuclear-weapons states. So there's no need for any hasty resumption of the suspended U.S. nuclear-weapons testing program. As long as the United States keeps its finger away from the atomic trigger, its four nuclear rivals seem ready to maintain their sensible testing halts, too.

The best way for President Bill Clinton to fulfill his vital 1992 campaign promise to negotiate a global ban on all nuclear testing, and thus inhibit the spread of the Bomb, is to prolong the pause. Although Pentagon weapons designers grumble about the testing halt, which took effect in the final months of the Bush administration, the U.S. nuclear arsenal remains a reliable deterrent against any rival's potential aggression. Clinton should heed State Department advisers who argue for a prolonged testing halt, strengthening America's hand in negotiations for a stronger global safeguard against nuclear weapons proliferation.

A moratorium on U.S. testing has been in effect since Oct. 1, 1992, thanks to a bipartisan provision within this year's budget for the Energy Department (which manufactures and tests the Defense Department's warheads). As long as the successor states of the now-vanished Soviet Union maintain their testing halt, the United States has pledged to observe a nine-month pause in its program. But the moratorium will expire July 1, just as Washington is scheduled to open negotiations with Moscow on a longer-range test ban.

The display of U.S. restraint has helped reassure other nuclear nations that they can safely abstain

from testing. The Russians and French have barred any tests as long as the Americans refrain. Since Britain conducts its tests beneath the Nevada desert, sharing data from U.S. underground blasts, four of the world's five nuclear powers are observing a testing halt. Only China holds open the option of conducting tests — but even Beijing, long a nuclear renegade, recently signalled its willingness to join the international non-proliferation regime.

The Clinton administration will have some added testing flexibility after July 1. But if Washington resumed testing, it would have less credibility as it urged restraint on aspiring nuclear-weapons states. Although the Pentagon surely has no need to worry about any deterioration in the U.S. arsenal — after all, it was reassured by six test explosions in 1992 — the law permits as many as 15 detonations between late 1993 and late 1996 (as long as the Pentagon certifies that the tests are essential to monitoring the arsenal's reliability). A total U.S. ban would then take effect, unless the post-Soviet republics broke their anti-testing vow.

Anticipating a resumption of testing, the Energy Department seeks \$462 million in next year's budget to conduct four tests. In hearings this week, some members of a House Armed Services subcommittee seemed properly skeptical. As the Clinton administration plans for a global conference in 1995 on renewing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, Washington must practice what it preaches. To persuade non-nuclear nations to shut the Bomb, the United States should prolong its nuclear-weapons testing moratorium.

The New York Times

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To Ban Nuclear Tests, Stop Now

To curb the proliferation of nuclear arms it is important to stigmatize them — and end all research on perfecting them. But try telling that to the nuclear labs and the Pentagon. They want to resume nuclear testing. And they want to negotiate a comprehensive test ban that is neither comprehensive nor a ban.

They propose to allow an unlimited number of tests under one kiloton of explosive force — the equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT. The professed goal is to make safer, more reliable warheads. But there is also a hidden agenda: The labs want to stay in the business of making and testing new warheads.

The military need for better warheads is minimal and the political costs of producing them substantial. President Clinton would do well to ban all nuclear tests now.

The last American nuclear test explosion sent radioactivity into the atmosphere in 1962. A year later the U.S. signed a Limited Test Ban Treaty barring above-ground tests. But it continued testing underground until last year, when Congress, following the lead of Russia and France, imposed a moratorium on all nuclear tests. It instructed the President not to resume testing until July 1, and only after he submitted plans for negotiating a comprehensive test ban by 1996.

Now the labs and the Pentagon are pressing to resume underground testing, which will make it more difficult for Russia and France to continue their own test moratoriums. And the weaponeers want to negotiate a less-than-comprehensive test ban — all in the name of safety and reliability.

The labs are pushing for safety tests at the very

time the military services see no need for safer warheads. The Air Force has already adopted the best safety measure of all — it removed all the nuclear bombs from its bombers. The Navy, which still keeps nuclear-tipped missiles on its Trident subs, has no intention of mounting new warheads on them. Its stated view is that "there is not now sufficient evidence to warrant our changing either warheads or propellants."

Test explosions are not needed to determine whether the warheads are in working order. That can continue to be done as it is now: by inspecting the warheads for signs of deterioration, testing non-nuclear components and doing computer simulations to assess reliability.

A resumption of testing will undermine political support for preventing proliferation. By contrast, continuing the moratorium might pave the way to a truly comprehensive test ban prohibiting all nuclear tests. Such a ban might also help curb the proliferation of nuclear arms.

If the U.S., Russia and Britain amended the Limited Test Ban Treaty to bar all tests, that would put pressure on other nations to avoid testing as well. And without tests, no nation seeking to develop nuclear arms could know for sure whether its weapons worked. Once it is adopted by half the countries who signed the original treaty, the amendment would become international law, binding India, Pakistan and others not to conduct any nuclear test explosions.

The mushroom-shaped cloud thrusting upward is but a distant memory. Now the world has a chance to forget about nuclear testing forever.

George Perkovich

Proliferation by Example

In what could provoke a severe international backlash, President Clinton's security advisers are urging him to abandon his campaign pledge to end nuclear weapons testing. Senior officials at the departments of Defense and Energy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the national weapons laboratories want the president to fudge the test ban and instead propose an arrangement that allows an unending number of tests as long as the explosive power does not exceed one kiloton. Such a turnaround would undoubtedly please the nuclear weapons establishment, which is hungry for missions to accomplish, but it would also damage the president's credibility as a leader in stemming nuclear proliferation.

The central requirement of nonproliferation is to convince other countries that nuclear weapons are not usable and therefore not worth trying to acquire. Continued nuclear testing sends just the opposite message. By ceaselessly refining and testing these weapons, we suggest they *are* usable. Beyond this general contradiction, the specific one-kiloton proposal now urged on Clinton would undermine nonproliferation in at least four ways:

- Abandoning a real test ban at this moment would alienate key international supporters of a tougher nonproliferation regime. Expectations of a test ban have been raised around the world. The United States, Russia and France have had a moratorium on testing in effect since last year. The American moratorium is part of legislation that mandates efforts to achieve a final agreement to ban testing by 1996. A comprehensive test ban is considered crucial to indefinite extension and strengthening of

"By asserting a post-Cold War need to test, the United States would provide a model for those who urge overt nuclear programs."

the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1995. Candidate Clinton's pledge to pursue such a ban was taken as a marker by such countries as Indonesia, Mexico, Egypt and others that play pivotal roles in building international support for a tighter nonproliferation regime. Much of the world community would view the switch from a test ban as a double cross.

- An open-ended testing scheme would diminish our leverage to push holdout countries such as India and Pakistan into the nonproliferation regime. These two nuclear-capable nations will not sign the NPT, but under the right circumstances they could be persuaded to rule out deployment of nuclear weapons. Indian officials say privately that a comprehensive test ban is necessary to give them political cover to put restraints on their nuclear program.

- A gimmicky American plan to allow continuing testing would actually add incentives for hawks in some countries to seek nuclear weapons. No legal obligations prevent India, Pakistan, Israel and—if it actually drops out of the nonproliferation treaty—North Korea from conducting nuclear tests. Hawks in these countries and elsewhere argue that their nations should develop and test nuclear weapons both to deter neighbors and to

achieve status. By asserting a post-Cold War need to test, the United States would provide a model for those who urge overt nuclear programs.

The particular choice of a one-kiloton limit could actually stimulate nuclear aspirations in the Third World. Los Alamos weapons designers and Pentagon strategists have called for new less-than-one-kiloton nuclear weapons specifically to hit targets in the Third World. Third World leaders and pundits can cite these new weapons plans and the proposed testing scheme as threats that warrant efforts to acquire their own nuclear weapons to deter the United States. Whatever the merits of such arguments, support for nonproliferation policies would be weakened among the very people who must be convinced that nuclear weapons programs are not in their national interest.

- Russian and Ukrainian security policies would also lurch rightward if the quest for a real test ban were abandoned or delayed. The powerful and pernicious Russian nuclear weapons complex resists reform and conversion. Its leaders badly want the testing moratorium to end. A resumption of testing—regardless of possible limits on

explosive yields—would enable these holdover hard-liners to reassert their roles in Russian security policy. Each new Russian test would inflame the determination of Ukrainian nationalists to become a nuclear power.

The American nuclear establishment, with its careers and budgets on the line, has a long history of developing new technical arguments to forestall a test ban. Over the decades, each major argument has been countered, only to be replaced by a new one. Today's case for improving weapon reliability has already been rebutted by numerous scientists inside and outside the weapons complex, while the Pentagon itself has rejected arguments that safety improvements are needed. After nearly 1,000 nuclear tests, the technical soundness of the American deterrent cannot be doubted, even if no further tests occur.

President Clinton has said repeatedly that nonproliferation is among his highest priorities. Yet, he cannot accomplish this high purpose by following the lead of those whose narrow interests revolve around making, testing and overseeing nuclear weapons. Anything short of a comprehensive end to nuclear weapons testing will play into the hands of proliferators around the world. Rather than embrace a booby-trap one-kiloton proposal, the president should extend the current testing moratorium and begin negotiations on a real test ban.

The writer is director of the Secure Society Program of the W. Alton Jones Foundation in Charlottesville.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 124 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

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RON MARTIN
Editor

JOHN C. MELLOTT
Vice president and general manager

JOHN W. WALTER JR.
Managing Editor

CYNTHIA TUCKER
Editorial Page Editor

JAMES M. COX, Chairman 1950-57 — JAMES M. COX JR., Chairman 1957-74

Resuming A-tests would be absurd

Considering the lopsided outcome of the Cold War, it seems ludicrous that anyone in his right mind and with a straight face would approach the president with a plan to proceed with underground test explosions of America's nuclear weapons.

However, that is precisely the recommendation that senior officials in the departments of Defense and Energy, from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and at the country's three nuclear weapons laboratories have laid before President Clinton.

The most ambitious of them envision a continuation of testing, stretching out over the next 10 years. The only concession they make to a currently unfavorable political climate is to propose to limit the force of their test blasts to one kiloton, about a hundred times less than the ceiling on explosions set in a 1974 U.S.-Soviet treaty.

Last September President Bush reluctantly suspended U.S. nuclear testing, partly to match the example of French and Russian moratoriums

and partly under pressure from Congress to begin drawing up a proposal for a comprehensive and worldwide cessation of tests, hopefully to go into effect before 1996.

Proponents of continued testing don't make a compelling case for restarting the program. Arguments that the weapons need to be regularly exploded to determine their reliability fly in the face of contrary scientific opinion that performance checks can be made through tests of the devices up to the point of detonation and by computer modeling.

Besides, America's chief nuclear worry is not the obsolescence or degradation of its warheads but the acquisition of such devices by superpower wannabes. Continuing to test our weaponry will only intensify their nuclear envy.

Mr. Clinton should recall that as a candidate for the presidency, he urged that the United States "join the parade toward a comprehensive test ban." Now he has the authority to lead it.

Proponents of continued testing don't make a compelling case for restarting the program. Arguments that the weapons need to be regularly exploded to determine their reliability fly in the face of contrary scientific opinion

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: Daryl Kimball at Physicians for Social Responsibility (785-3777) or Burton Glass at Peace Action (862-9740).

Ground Zero

When the Atomic Energy Commission decided on a continental nuclear testing site in 1951, it chose a tract the size of Rhode Island in the Nevada desert north of Las Vegas. Over the next 12 years, 125 atmospheric nuclear bombs were detonated, most of them far greater in power than those used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In 1963, the testing went underground. However, some of the 800 bombs detonated were placed so close to the surface that the explosions broke the earth's crust and left craters the size of football fields. Clouds of dust and other pulverized radioactive debris floated across the U.S., just as the atmospheric-test fallout clouds had, landing on wheat fields, reservoirs and cow pastures. Baby boomers drank milk loaded with radiation: iodine 131, cesium 137, strontium 90. Much of the fallout was comparable to that of the Chernobyl accident in the Soviet Union in 1986.

The people who lived near the test site have felt the effects of the radiation through an epidemic of cancer, birth defects and immune system diseases. Efforts to compensate the victims through court rulings and legislation have proved inadequate. These people, several of whom are shown here, are downwinders, test-site workers and atomic veterans — that is, soldiers exposed to the bomb during maneuvers. They are all undecorated casualties of our secret nuclear war.

— Carole Gallagher

Carole Gallagher, a photographer and writer, is author of "American Ground Zero: The Secret Nuclear War," from which the following is adapted.



Herman Hagen, a pipe fitter at the test site, weighed 227 pounds in his prime. By the time he died of bone cancer, he weighed 64 pounds. Unabashed in his machismo at work, Mr. Hagen would dip his arm up to the elbow in radioactive waste water and say: "See? It can't hurt you!" Right to the end, he maintained that the test site had "paid the best salary in the state, outside of organized crime." His wife was not impressed. "They make a good living while they work there — big deal! — but he forgets that it's killing him."



Martha Bordoli Laird, 68, holds two photographs. The one on the left shows her children and friends standing in front of their one-room schoolhouse in Twin Springs, Nev. The other picture is of a fallout cloud approaching the schoolhouse.

She said: "You'd be sleeping in the morning. The flash was so bright it was like the sun would come out right in your face, and then it wasn't long after that you could hear it coming louder than an earthquake. The shock blew our front door out a couple of times, broke our windows. They never did at any time come to our ranch and warn us. The only time they came was after my little boy died and I had written a petition for all the ranches to sign. I was the first one to really rebel against it. They promised they'd get back to me. Well, 29 years later and I still haven't heard from them."

In 1953, Mrs. Laird gave birth to "a little boy, and from the hips down the legs were all shriveled up and black. It lived for a couple of hours." Her children had no margin of safety against the bombs, nor did her husband, who died of cancer. Another son died of leukemia. "Why," she asked, "did they choose this area to set those bombs off and wait for the wind to blow in the 'right' direction, to carry it to us? If it's so safe, why couldn't they drop it in the middle of L.A.?"



Reason Warehime, 67, enlisted in the Marines at 16, using phony identification. He has a two-foot scar around his torso from an operation to remove a cancerous lung. Mr. Warehime participated in what he sarcastically called "the clean-up brigade" during the Allied occupation of Nagasaki. Eight years later, he was assigned to Camp Desert Rock at the Nevada test site.

"It's been decided since that nobody out there knew what they were doing. It was one big goof-up, supposed to be a 23-kilo bomb, twice the size of Hiroshima. It was 511. When it went off, you felt you were in a room like a



Preston Jay Truman was born in Enterprise, Utah, 11 months after the atmospheric nuclear testing program started. Throughout his childhood he witnessed the blasts, then watched the fallout clouds pass over his home, burning the tops of the trees. "I remember in school they showed a film called 'A is for Atom, B is for Bomb.' I think most of us who grew up in that period, we've all in our own minds added 'C is for Cancer, D is for Death.'"



The granddaughter of William Rosse Sr., a Shoshone Indian, was born blind. He said: "When she was born, her eyes was just pure white. As she got older, her eyes started developing just little pinpoints like pupils, and finally a little bit of coloring started coming in, a light-blue tinge."

Mr. Rosse, who is in his 60's, spoke of the Western Shoshone, whose land the test site occupies. "We've been here, native aboriginal people, 5,000 years. We told the Department of Energy that we do not want our burial sites in the test site disturbed."

"This land is our church. The whole world is your cathedral. How would you feel if we went into one of your big cathedrals and started running a bulldozer through it? This is the way the native people believe, in the land, even in the water. Wherever you're at, it's a sacred area."



Reason Warehime, 67, enlisted in the Marines at 16, using phony identification. He has a two-foot scar around his torso from an operation to remove a cancerous lung. Mr. Warehime participated in what he sarcastically called "the clean-up brigade" during the Allied occupation of Nagasaki. Eight years later, he was assigned to Camp Desert Rock at the Nevada test site.

"It's been decided since that nobody out there knew what they were doing. It was one big goof-up, supposed to be a 23-kiloton bomb, twice the size of Hiroshima. It was 51! When it went off, you felt you were in a vapor, like a vacuum, everything still as death — and then this real bright light, so bright I had my hands over my eyes closed and I could see all these bones just like you were looking at an X-ray. The fireball was right straight up over our heads. We had to be in the stem of it. We were only 300 yards from ground zero. The sand had melted into a glaze, like a brown glass. Then we got a sunburn, and the guys all started throwing up in the truck going back, sick as dogs, all of them."



LaVerl Snyder, right, was pregnant with her daughter, Diana Lee Woosley, in the summer of 1958 when a fallout cloud passed over their camp in the mountains near their home in Ruth, Nev. Mrs. Snyder recalled: "I remember seeing lots of clouds. Different clouds. I broke out in a rash, my whole body, burns and blisters. I was sick, nauseous all the time. My toenails fell off and some of my fingernails fell off and I lost a lot of hair. It almost killed me." Doctors in Salt Lake City told Mrs. Snyder she was suffering from heat exhaustion, sunstroke and neurosis.

Her daughter, arriving three weeks early and weighing only 3.2 pounds, wasn't so lucky. She was born with cancer in her chest, for which she received radiation treatment that caused further damage. She has been diagnosed with congestive heart failure and pulmonary hypertension; her right lung no longer functions. The medication she takes for her ever-present pneumonia distorts her face into a moon shape.

At 32, she says: "Oh, I am angry. I'm bitter, definitely, 'cause all this is because they didn't warn the people. They didn't say: 'We're going to do this; if you want to leave you can, if you don't we don't know what kind of danger there is.' They just took our freedom of choice right away." □

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
May 12, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

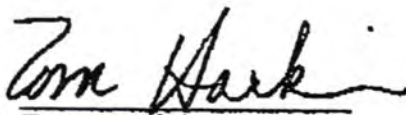
As you know, Public Law 102-377 suspended nuclear weapon testing for nine months, and required the end to all tests by September 30, 1996, provided that no other nation tested. This commitment to negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) should be the backbone of your nuclear non-proliferation regime.

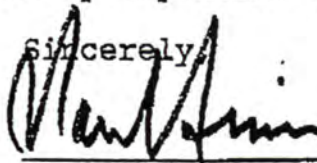
Now we understand that some members of your administration are recommending that the U.S. continue nuclear testing at levels below one kiloton after 1996. Mr. President, this proposal would not only be inconsistent with the law, but would significantly undermine your ability to stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other nations. The nuclear "have-nots" would conclude that the U.S. is conducting business-as-usual. Despite your call for change, they would understand that the United States wants to continue developing new nuclear weapons, and is not serious about stemming proliferation. Without a CTBT, the extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995 would be jeopardized.

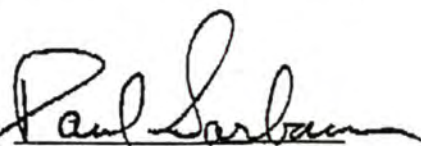
We therefore strongly urge you to reject any proposal for continued nuclear testing, no matter how low the threshold. It is time for the world to stop all nuclear weapon tests.

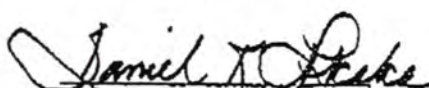
We also urge you to announce that the United States will not be the first to break the current testing moratorium. There is no need for the 15 safety tests allowed by law, since the military has announced that it will not incorporate the safety features verified by testing into our nuclear arsenal.

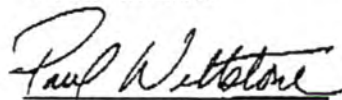
We can think of no better way to celebrate the 30th anniversary of President Kennedy's Limited Test Ban Treaty than to complete JFK's work, converting his limited ban into a global, comprehensive nuclear test ban. We look forward to your leadership on this critically important issue on the world stage.

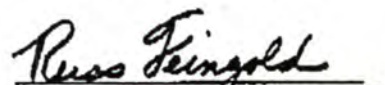

Tom Harkin

Sincerely,

Paul Simon


Paul S. Sarbanes


Daniel K. Akaka


Paul Wellstone


Russell D. Feingold

The President
May 12, 1993
Page 2

Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Ben Nighthorse Campbell

Harris Wofford
Harris Wofford

Dianne Feinstein
Dianne Feinstein

Patty Murray
Patty Murray

Herb Kohl
Herb Kohl

Jim Sasser
Jim Sasser

Frank R. Lautenberg
Frank R. Lautenberg

Dale Bumpers
Dale Bumpers

Carol Moseley Braun
Carol Moseley Braun

Barbara A. Mikulski
Barbara A. Mikulski

Thomas E. Daschle
Thomas E. Daschle

Edward M. Kennedy
Edward M. Kennedy

John F. Kerry
John F. Kerry

Christopher J. Dodd
Christopher J. Dodd

Bill Bradley
Bill Bradley

Barbara Boxer
Barbara Boxer

James M. Jeffords
James M. Jeffords

cc: The Honorable Les Aspin
The Honorable Warren Christopher
The Honorable Thomas Graham
The Honorable Anthony Lake
The Honorable Hazel O'Leary

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

May 5, 1993

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

Dear President Clinton:

We have learned you may soon be presented with recommendations for the resumption of United States nuclear weapons testing that may run contrary to Public Law 102-377. Therefore, we are writing to share with you our grave concern regarding the forthcoming recommendations on nuclear testing.

As you know, this issue has been debated in Congress for many years. Last year on two separate occasions, the House adopted overwhelmingly legislation to impose a moratorium on U.S. nuclear weapons testing. Former President Bush signed H.R. 5373, the Energy and Water Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1993 last October and we are now observing the nuclear weapons testing moratorium as outlined in the legislation. We wish to reiterate our continued strong support for P.L. 102-377.

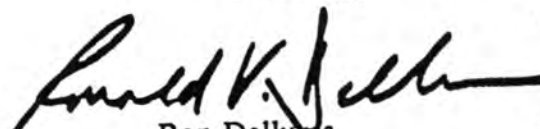
This legislation calls for an end to United States nuclear weapons testing after September 30, 1996. We remain committed to this date and a final end of U.S. nuclear weapons testing if other nations refrain also from testing. Any recommendations to continue nuclear testing beyond 1996 clearly are not consistent the law. Additionally, we believe this sends the wrong message to the international community and particularly nations who may consider the nuclear option, now or in the future. Specifically, continued U.S. nuclear weapons testing threatens the extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty which expires in 1995. The United States must lead the world away from the nuclear threat and we are confident you share this goal.

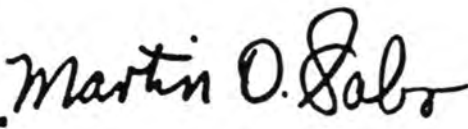
Mr. President, we respectfully request that you reject any nuclear testing recommendations that run contrary to the letter and spirit of Public Law 102-377. We believe this law continues to enjoy significant support in the Congress. Further, we want to work with you to avoid what will surely be a divisive and difficult confrontation between the Executive and Legislative Branches of government.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


Mike Kopetski


Ron Dellums


Martin O. Sabo

Ed Mackey	Vic Fgin	Lane Evans
Louise Staughton	Nancy Peloni	Ezabeth Duce
Paula Staughton	Pat Schroeder	Lynn C. Dalseg
John Staughton	Phil Abernethy	Jimmy R. Jett
Tom Mason	James Kennelly	Paula Duce
Dick Gephart	William J. Coyne	Jim Millett
Ken Stark	Bill Hughes	Jim Sanders
Joe King	Paul E. King	Andre Pore
Carl King	Ed King	Don Coffman
Burt Dento	Harry P. King	Ron Wyden
George Brang	John W. Wood	Pat T. Mink
Jack Reed	John W. Wood	Lyn K. Wood

The Following Members signed the letter to President Clinton:

**Mike Kopetski
Martin O. Sabo
David Bonior
Patricia Schroeder
Pete Stark
Ed Markey
Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky
Joe Kennedy
Bruce Vento
Jack Reed
Neil Abercrombie
Bill Hughes
Larry LaRocco
Alan Wheat
Lynn Woolsey
Robert Matsui
Jim Bacchus
Ron Coleman
Patsy Mink**

**Ron Dellums
Richard Gephardt
Barbara Kennelly
Vic Fazio
Lane Evans
Louise Slaughter
Bill Jefferson
Charles Schumer
George Brown
Nancy Pelosi
William Coyne
Ed Towns
Jolene Unsoeld
Elizabeth Furse
Sidney Yates
Jim McDermott
Charlie Rose
Ron Wyden
Lynn Shenk**

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 30, 1993

Mr. Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Tony:

It has come to our attention that you and the President will be considering options in the near future for a plan to achieve a multilateral comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. We are writing to express my strong opposition to any option that would permit the continued underground testing of any nuclear weapons after September 30, 1996.

Last year, we joined several Senators in authoring an amendment to H.R. 5373, the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1993 (P.L. 102-377), which requires the Administration to submit a report to Congress containing "a plan for achieving a multilateral comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons on or before September 30, 1996." The intent of this legislation, as clearly stated here and in the Senate debate on the amendment, is for the Administration to develop a plan for a multilateral agreement that would end all nuclear testing by September 30, 1996.

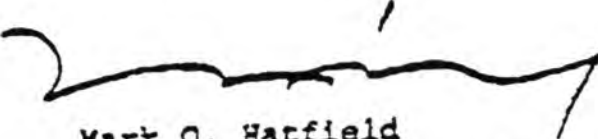
It has come to our attention that you and the President may be presented with an option for such a plan that would permit the continued testing of nuclear weapons below a certain threshold. Such an option would not be consistent with the comprehensive test ban that the Administration is required to seek under P.L. 102-377. It also would suggest a lack of commitment by the United States to pursue a truly comprehensive test ban, and would send precisely the wrong signal to both nuclear and non-nuclear nations.

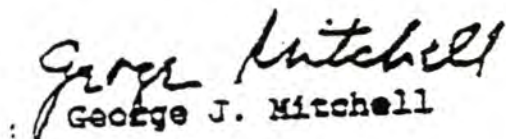
The intent of last year's amendment was to promote an end to nuclear testing by all nations. Pursuit of a testing ban that would permit such tests under a certain threshold should not be considered a step toward this goal: it would be an unacceptable alternative to a truly comprehensive test ban, and would undermine United States efforts to end the threat of nuclear weapons and their proliferation.

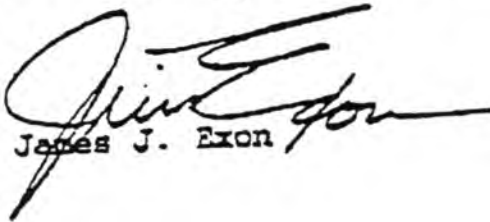
April 30, 1993
Page 2

We strongly urge you and President Clinton to reject any proposed plan for achieving a comprehensive nuclear test ban that would permit any testing of such weapons after September 30, 1996. We appreciate your attention to this important matter.

Sincerely,


Mark O. Hatfield


George J. Mitchell


James J. Exon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/5

TO: Will Itoh

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

I don't know
where this has been,
You can check with
Betty. Can you do
a quick response
[initials]



THE VICTIMS OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103

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

Dear President Clinton:

It was a great pleasure to have a chance meeting with you this afternoon in front of Lincoln Center.

Again, I want to thank you for your commitment to sign a joint resolution to place The Scottish memorial in Arlington Cemetery. This Cairn honors the 270 victims of Pan Am Flight # 103 and will stand as a vigilance against terrorism.

The families are most grateful to you and your administration especially, Tony Lake and Sandy Berger, for the continued support of all our efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Schults

Mother of Thomas, a 20 year old student aboard Pan Am Flight # 103

Executive Vice-President,
The Victims of Pan Am Flight # 103

Box 1106
Ridgefield, Ct. 06877
(203)-438-3852
May 12, 1993

CHRON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: _____

NOTE FOR: *Sandy Berger*

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

Information ☒
Action ☐

*will you get someone
to follow up on this
Tom*

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN 6/4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1993

Mr. President:

Copies of letters you requested:

- Dave Harrington
- Dr. Carey Wynn, II

From to Secretary
Harrington from

bmc

FAX MESSAGE

TO: Maria Haley
COMPANY: Presidential Pers.
FAX #: 202/456-6547
DATE: 4-19-93
FROM: Dave Harrington
AGENCY: AIDC
DEPT: Director's Office
PHONE #: 682-2052

This message begins a 1 page transmission (including this page). If you do not receive all the pages, please call: (501) 682-2052, or FAX (501) 682-7341.

The following is Dave Harrington's conversation with President Clinton regarding the G7 meeting in Tokyo this summer.

President Clinton asked Dave Harrington to go to Tokyo for the G7 meeting. The President said he would help us unless, of course, there were some severe problems in negotiations. He did indicate he would spend some time helping us.

We need to define exactly how much time he would make available to us and whether he would be willing to meet with key industries.

Dave would need to be cleared to stay near the President to be able to talk with him as needed.

If you have questions or need additional information, please advise.

Kelly

BC
Memo

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/13

MEMORANDUM

TO: Nancy Hernreich
Marcia Hale

FROM: Maria Haley

DATE: 19 May 1993

RE: G-7

Marin

At the Especially Arkansas Show at the Williard the President and Dave Harrington had a private conversation. According to Dave the President asked him to go to Tokyo since he would like to help the State during the G-7 trip.

I asked Dave to put their conversation in writing. The attached was dictated to his secretary which unfortunately I just received today.

FYI and further discussion.

undated DR. CAREY WYNN, II

*Get him
Sun*

Thanks for birthday letter. Voices his concern re. several issues which he thinks will not go away. Also concerned that your presidency will be dogged because of these issues and the lack of expertise and sensitive in the Administration on this issues. Call him day or night. Encloses article, "West fails to grasp religious dynamics"

pol
2/11
vi

5-19-93 DAVE HARRINGTON

*Get him
Sun*

Maria Haley

Maria Haley states that you and Dave Harrington had a conversation at the "Especially Arkansas Show at the Willard Hotel." According to Dave, President asked him to go to Tokyo during the G-7 trip to help State. Dave submitted a memorandum of the conversation.

pol

(Copy mailed to MHale)

2209 KING STREET
PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS 71601
19 MAY 1993

7:15 AM - 3:30 PM EDT
AFTER 10:40 PM
UNTIL →
501/534-7783
NEVER IN DAY HOURS
THURSDAYS/SATURDAYS

THE HONORABLE BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE FRAMED THE LOVELY NOTE THAT YOU SENT TO ME AROUND MY BIRTHDAY, DATED 25 MARCH 1993, IN RECOGNITION OF MY SCULPTURE PORTRAIT OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., — THE SECOND ORIGINALLY CAST WITH THE ONE ON THE "ARKANSAS" MEMORIAL TO DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. AT PHILANDER SMITH COLLEGE, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS — LOCATED IN YOUR OFFICE.

I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THE MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALIST FACTOR, BOSNIA, THE BREAKUP OF MULTINATIONAL/MULTIRELIGIOUS UNITS LIKE YUGOSLAVIA AND THE SOVIET STATES: GENERALLY THE "NEW" ROLES OF RELIGION AS POLITICAL POLICY/AGENDA AND ETHNICITY/RACE AS POLITICAL POLICY/AGENDA. THESE ISSUES, MR. PRESIDENT, ARE NOT GOING AWAY. WE WILL HAVE TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH ISSUES IN THE TERMS OF THE ISSUES. WE DIDN'T IN VIETNAM, AND THAT'S A COLLECTIVE FACTOR IN OUR

FAILURES THERE.

I AM CONCERNED — WORRIED, REALLY — THAT YOUR PRESIDENCY WILL BE DOGGED, HAMPERED, LIMITED BECAUSE OF THESE ISSUES AND THE LACK OF EXPERTISE AND SENSITIVITY TO THIS AREA IN THE ADMINISTRATION. TRADITIONAL WASHINGTON HAS NEVER APPROACHED THE ISSUE WELL.

PLEASE TELEPHONE DAY OR NIGHT AT THE NUMBER TO THE LEFT. I AM AWAY FROM IT ONLY FROM 3:30 PM EDT AND 10:40 EDT MOST DAYS. ON THURSDAYS AND SATURDAYS I LEAVE FOR LITTLE ROCK AT 6:30 AM EDT AND RETURN AT 10:40 PM EDT. I RECEIVE CALLS ALL DURING THE NIGHT, SO AGAIN, FEEL COMFORTABLE TELEPHONING. YOUR APPOINTMENT SECRETARY HAS MY SCHEDULE, TOO. IN HER FILES. I AM AT YOUR BECK AND CALL! NIGHT OR DAY! YOU ARE CARED ABOUT! GOD BLESS YOU, ALWAYS!!!

Sincerely... with care,
Carey
(Dr. CAREY Wynn, II)

pc memo

pc
call ple
please
pc Sandy

Illustration by David Rose

ference until the child is old enough to sustain itself outside the mother without artificial support. This means legal abortion may be obtained up to between 30 and 35 weeks of pregnancy.

In fact, any doctor in Maryland, invoking the bill's clause on protecting "a wom-

protection to abortionists that is denied physicians who perform any other type of surgery. In addition to removing informed consent requirements, the law provides limited civil and criminal immunity for a doctor's decision to perform an abortion. If a woman undergoes a "botched

and, following a similar law in Virginia declared that neither baptism nor conversion could affect a person's bondage or freedom.

Congratulations, Maryland. You've come a long way.

Cal Thomas writes for the Los Angeles Times

West fails to grasp religious dynamics

PINE BLUFF — Few Americans, Arkansans included, know the meaning of Holy Jihad, used by an Arab terrorist faction, or Ramadan, the holy month of fasting in Islam — let alone the significance that the month might affect events in the Middle East this year. Little is known here of the Eastern Orthodox Christian traditions — e.g., Greek, Russian, Coptic, Armenian — and, Roman Catholicism is largely a mystery to



Carey Wynn

numbers of folks. But religion is a primordial dynamic in all cultures. It is largely the Americans who set church and state separately; who attempt to compartmentalize the sacred and the secular. Perhaps, one of the greatest problems that we face is understanding, confronting, and coping with the Persian Gulf crisis — or the Iranian hostage crisis of the late 1970s — is the degree to which religious fervor and faith define the context, or at the least, set the terms of the context of political and social behavior there.

Most of the world is non-Western and live out of patterns where ideas, acts, events and institutions are real and valid to the extent that they create or recreate the imagery of some religious fundamental. This is clear in the recent Islamic

fundamentalist movements that were generated in Iran. However, Iranian religious leaders have not been charismatic enough to generate a movement to inspire a unity of Shiite and Sunni sects to lead a sweeping de-Westernization of the area. Only today when Saddam Hussein as a kind of symbol of theocratic leadership there — a demagogue, combining political genius with religious fervor — has the religious dynamic taken on a shape that inspires patriotic militancy in Arabs, who long for one to lead them to glory. Those images of glory are clearly messianic as much as they are geopolitical. In fact, our own failure to understand the integration of religion and politics there may actually assist in welding an Arab unity-movement there, in spite of the infighting and factionalism.

Only in the African-American context (and to some extent in the Native American and the Mormon) has this holistic understanding of the integration of religion as a dynamic of social and political context reached its zenith in American life. The church is the only institution extracted from slavery that became a vehicle to freedom in the new order of American life. Professor E. Franklin Frazier, the noted African-American sociologist of Howard University and the University of Chicago, wrote the seminal statement on this slave church and the religious dynamic in African-American life in a collection of lectures, "The Negro Church in America," where he described the dynamic

as an institution that is invisible in the American context but that formed the African-American nation within the American nation. Just as A. Phillip Randolph was largely unsuccessful as Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in leading a socioeconomic movement to unite blacks to fight for greater equalities in American life, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. were acutely successful in integrating the aspirations of the American Dream with charismatic religiosity to create movements that pounded African-Americans to unite and the American system to respond with greater equality for all its citizens. Issues like truth, freedom, and justice were ideals, yet they had to be realized in the day-to-day workings of American life — the American creed was both revelator and reality. Dr. King's "I have a dream" speech sums this up well.

To fail to understand Saddam Hussein as a galvanizing force toward Arab unity and Arab-empire-building or the Israeli nationalist movement or the Sikh movement in India or the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Pakistan or the others like them is to under-estimate the primordial dynamic of religion in all of them. Our foreign policy clearly needs review.

Guest writer Dr. Carey Wynn, II, of Pine Bluff is an artist, musician and writer. In Arkansas, he is best known for his bronze sculpture, a memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., at Philander Smith College in Little Rock.

Both parents, but society does little to push marriage

miserable mother. And a father's job is not completed in bed.

Kids Count, a Washington advocacy group, recently released results of its national survey on the status of children. I'll

Speaking on "endangered children," Chester E. Finn Jr., professor of education and public policy at Vanderbilt University, zeroed in on the failure of opinion leaders (and TV script writers are much more

divorce are more likely than children from intact families to have academic and behavior problems in school, to abuse drugs, to require psychological counseling; they are more prone to violent behavior, suicide

the first child, but if a girl had more babies she wouldn't get any more money.

Not many guys will marry for \$80 a month, but far more significant is that Thompson's proposal removes the mar-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/04/93

TO: SLR

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

Please prepare an appropriate
response with a cc to Mack
McLarty.

Thanks.

pending 5/27

ROUTING SLIP

FROM: Mack McLarty
Chief of Staff

DATE:

5/13

TO:

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

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

FOR YOUR:

Action ☒ _____

Information _____

See me _____

_____ For the President

Please respond, as appropriate, to
Pat Taylor, w/ cc to Mack.

5/27

PATRICK F. TAYLOR
Chairman and CEO

93 JUN 4 P4:46

April 29, 1993



The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The Whitehouse
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mister President:

Thank you for your kind note of April 20, 1993. I remember fondly our great success in Arkansas in providing state paid college tuition for qualifying low income students.

I urge you, however, to consider a true state, federal, and private sector partnership to insure the college opportunity for all. My only disappointment with your national service proposal is that I feel, as we have seen with Pell Grants, additional federal monies will simply lead the states to raise tuition, fees, and room and board to higher levels. Your National Service Program is vitally needed now and in the future, but we must do more.

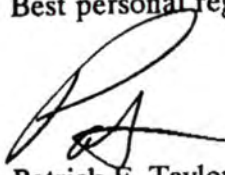
The enclosed press clipping from today's Times-Picayune describes just such a partnership. We set up *Project New Orleans* after passage of the *Taylor Plan* in Louisiana in 1989 to involve the private sector by providing the final dollar amount for students who could not otherwise afford college. In addition to those New Orleans kids, of course, there are some two thousand students statewide receiving state paid tuition. These programs reduce the need for federal funding while providing the admission standards leading to lower remediation and higher retention and graduation rates.

What is happening right now in Arkansas, Louisiana, and nine other states can be built into this great partnership. Your reference to the G.I. Bill is totally appropriate. I've been calling for formation of this type of joint effort in every city and state that I've visited, describing it as the "American Kids' Bill of Rights." We must lead the states and private sector to join with the federal government to once and for all guarantee the equality of opportunity that will truly rebuild our nation.

The Honorable Bill Clinton
April 29, 1993
Page 2

I remain available to assist you in any manner to make a difference
for our nation's young people.

Best personal regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. Taylor', written over the typed name.

Patrick F. Taylor

jal
Enclosure

April 29, 1993

La. college students split \$63,500 in grant money

The Project New Orleans Foundation has awarded \$63,500 in grants to students attending the University of New Orleans, Louisiana State University, Southern University at New Orleans, Grambling State University, Nicholls State University, Northeast Louisiana University, Southeastern Louisiana University, the University of Southwestern Louisiana, Southern University-Baton Rouge, Louisiana Tech and Delgado Community College.

Financed by private companies, the \$1,000 grants are designed to provide college expense money to Orleans Parish high school students who, once enrolled in college, qualify for both the Louisiana Tuition Assistance Plan (Taylor Plan) and Pell Grant financing.

The private-industry contribution, when combined with the Taylor Plan and federal Pell Grants for use in paying room and board, means that eligible recipients' college education is fully financed.

The Project New Orleans Foundation is composed of major companies in New Orleans that have committed \$100,000 each to provide a \$1,000 stipend to low-income students who qualify academically.

The companies include Entergy Corp., Exxon Corp., Joseph C. Canizaro Interests, the Crescent River Port Pilots Association, First NBC, KPMG Peat Marwick, IBM Corp., Louisiana Land & Exploration, Tidewater,

CNG Producing, The Times-Picayune, Halliburton Services Co., South Central Bell Telephone Co., McDermott International Inc., Texaco USA, Freeport-McMoran and Taylor Energy Co.

Project New Orleans recipients for the spring 1993 semester include:

► University of New Orleans — Amy Baptiste, Jennifer Baptiste, Nanyamka Barnes, Colette Bayard, Vanessa Bloss, Denise Brock, Tracy Broussard, Arlette Brown, Chanel Christoff, Trina Clark, Jennifer Cusack, Grac Deloit, Nicole Dyer, Derect Emilien, Trinell Erwin, Chu Fryson, Janet Hood, Sarah Griffin, Willie Hagans, Shelia Hall, Clifton Harris, Lanitra Hassan, Kinya Holmes, Regina Krohn, Acantha Lang, Keisha Lavigne, Lawrence Marino, Stacy Molinary, Carlos Morales, Tuongvi Ngo, Hdang Nguyen, Kenya Ridley, Erine Saavedra, Eugente Saunee, Natasha Short, Leslie Smith, Kimberly Stromeyer, Damian Warren, Cedric Williams, Winoka Williams, Lyn Monnera, Randy Pitcher, Anika Steward, Kimberly Haynes, Marino Phelps, Vu Hai, Arnald Zelayna, Shantel Williams, Tahira Chopin.

► Louisiana State University — Paul Bowman, Lamont Dunbar, Montrel Gaines, Adam Gasser, Danielle Hale, Katherine Haya, Jason Henderson, Tuan Huynh, Monika Jackson, Tonja Jones, David Levy, Latasha Lewis, Elizabeth Jangener, Omar Mason, Bianca McWilliams, Chanotta

Milton, Dat Thai Ngo, Tinh Ngo, Kim Nguyen, Phung Nguyen, Quang Nguyen, Thanh-Nguyen, Thien Nguyen, Tuyet Nguyen, Ngozi Nwaizu, Gerald Parker, Lezly Petrovich, Than Phan, Anthony Picado, Lakia Porche, Clint Rivet, Fabian Rizo, Elidrige Robinson, Thanh Tong, Gai Tran, Lan Trinh, Quy Truong, Tiffany Wallace, Henry Waller, Danian Woods, Natlie Wurz, Christopher Saulberry.

► Delgado Community College — Alomo Lewis.

► Southeastern Louisiana University — Trina Vinning.

► University of Southwestern Louisiana — Tequilla Barksdale, Keisha Foster, Melissa Jacquet, Lisa Lafayette, Trinell Merricks, Latasha Kennedy.

► Nicholls State University — Adrian Adams.

► Southern University-Baton Rouge — Brenda Blanchard, Kimyata DeJean, Berick Nero, Christine Plain, Addison Rynn, Latonya Terry, Angela Williams.

► Louisiana Tech University — Vanessa Waltman, Abigail Hampton, Chevelle Estes, Velton Welch, Wayne Lilly.

► Grambling State University — Larissa Washing, Tiffany Williams.

► Northeast Louisiana University — Nicholas Van Norman, Nga Tran, Minhao Nguyen.

► Southern University at New Orleans — Toby Branden, Chentrell Comeaux, Daven Lewis, Sherletha Jasmine, Kim Rown, Kenyetta Spears, Vincent Thomas.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/04/93



TO:

MACK MCLARTY
MARK GEARAN
BOB RUBIN

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



021092

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

June 4, 1993

33 JUN 4 P6:58

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN BLINDER *AB*
SUBJECT: Foreign Economic Developments

Exchange Rates: The dollar stabilized relative to the yen this week. The deutschemark fell relative to both the yen and the dollar due to the continued signs of weakness in the German economy. As a result, the multilateral exchange rate rose strongly.

	Week Ending 5/14/93	Week Ending 5/21/93	Percent Change
Deutschemark	\$1 = 1.586 DM	\$1 = 1.625 DM	+2.5%
Yen	\$1 = 107.2 Yen	\$1 = 107.8 Yen	+0.6%
Multilateral (March 1973 = 100)	89.01	90.83	+2.0%

Japan: The current account surplus fell to \$11.7 billion in April from \$16.3 billion in March. The trade balance, however, barely changed. The index of leading indicators fell 4.9 percent in March to 79.2; but this is the third consecutive month that the index was above 50--which indicates economic expansion. Industrial production fell 2.2 percent in April, but housing starts were up. Auto sales fell 12.5 percent in May on a year-over-year basis, but sales of imported vehicles rose 7.2 percent.

Europe: ► Unemployment averaged 7.6 percent in March among OECD countries. The OECD projects that its member countries will grow 1.2 percent in 1993. Inflation of 3 percent and unemployment of 8.5 percent are expected.

► **West German** real GDP was down 3.2 percent in the first quarter on a year-over-year basis; the decline was particularly sharp in 1993:1. But the unemployment rate fell slightly in May.

► **Italy's** consumer price index rose 4.1 percent in May on a year-over-year basis.

Other Countries: ► **Canada's** real GDP rose 2.7 percent in March on a year-over-year basis. The unemployment rate remained unchanged at 11.4 percent in May.

► **Denmark's** unemployment rate rose to 12.3 percent in April from 12 percent in March.
► **South Korea's** consumer price index rose 4.5 percent in May on a year-over-year basis.

C21631

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

June 4, 1993

JUN 4 P6:58

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN BLINDER

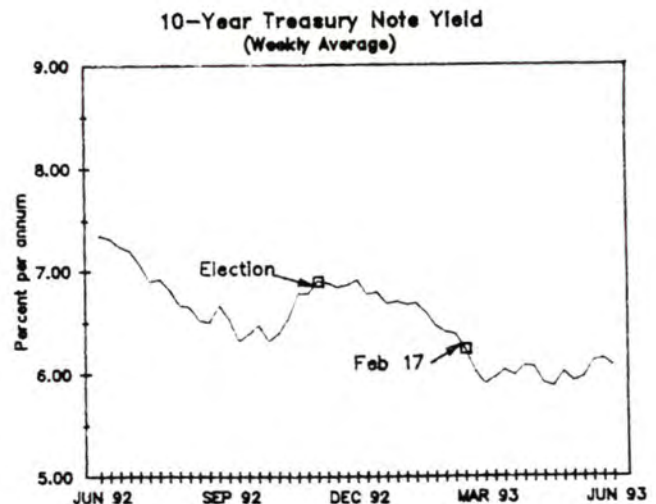
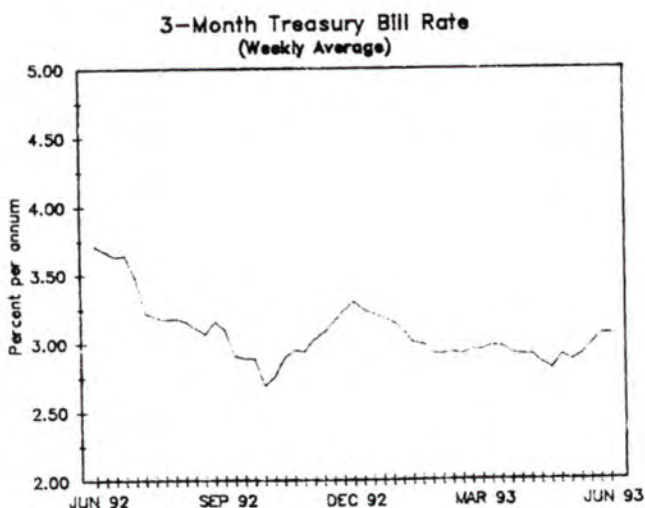
SUBJECT: Interest Rates, Stock Market, and Money Supply,
Week Ending Friday, June 4, 1993

Long bond yields decreased again this week while short-term interest rates increased. Thus the yield curve flattened for the second consecutive week. Friday's market reaction to the employment report was strongest in maturities around 1-5 years (which rose 12-14 basis points). The 30-year rate rose just 5 basis points. Changes in Treasury borrowing rates over the week were as follows:

	Close 5/28/93	Close 6/4/93	Change
3-month bills	3.13	3.18	+0.05
10-year bonds	6.16	6.11	-0.05
30-year bonds	6.98	6.91	-0.07

The stock market barely changed over the week. The S&P index closed Friday (June 4) at 450.06, down 0.03 percent from the preceding Friday's close. The Dow Jones Industrial Average increased 0.5 percent over the week closing at 3545.14.

This week the Fed announced that M2, M1, and M3 all declined during the week ending May 24.



Clinton's New Form of Race-Norming

By LINDA S. GOTTFREDSON

President Clinton seems poised to jetison Lani Guinier, his nominee for assistant attorney general for civil rights, in his lurch back to the political center. Before moderates celebrate his return from the extreme left, however, they should take a close look at the latest draft of Mr. Clinton's education bill.

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 banned the practice of race-norming in employment testing (the racial curving of employment test scores). The Clinton administration tried to revive the illegal practice by smuggling it into its "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," the president's bill to raise skill levels among American students and workers. After getting caught, the administration withdrew the bill's race-norming language, but it didn't stop there. In its place, it has added language to the job-skills-standards section of the bill that not only would drive down standards, but would also make employers vulnerable to civil-rights litigation if they, in fact, do what the bill ostensibly seeks to do.

Disparate Impact

"Goals 2000" would create a National Skill Standards Board to develop a voluntary national system of occupational skill standards and certification procedures. Its stated purpose is to raise worker skill levels to ensure a "high skills, high quality, high performance workforce . . . that will result in increased productivity, economic growth and American economic competitiveness."

Raising standards, however, has disparate impact on less-skilled groups, principally blacks but also Hispanics. This is why the administration's original bill included a provision mandating that occupational certification tests be race-normed. Race-norming would have boosted the scores of individuals in less-skilled groups to avoid disparate impact while creating the appearance that all racial and ethnic groups are equally qualified.

The Clinton administration's revised bill would accomplish the same result in an even more pernicious way. Under the guise of raising skill levels, it would have the national board set low minimum skill standards for all workers in order to avoid disparate impact.

Employers generally want to distinguish among degrees of qualification above some minimum, because the more highly skilled and knowledgeable workers

are, the more productive they tend to be. The most effective employee-selection procedures are therefore ones that rank qualified applicants in order of skill and knowledge and then hire from the top of the list.

By contrast, Mr. Clinton's bill would have the national board develop standards that would determine only whether trainees and job applicants fall above or below some minimum level of competence. While setting floors on skill qualifications would allow employers to weed out incompetents, the marginally competent would be lumped together with the very best. Such minimum thresholds above which all job applicants are considered fungible are precisely what many civil-

rights advocates have long sought, because they minimize disparate impact.

In addition, unlike the original bill, the amended version explicitly subordinates the setting of skill standards to civil-rights laws, in the process apparently giving a nongovernmental body statutory authority to interpret ambiguous laws. For example, the national board would endorse certification standards "that are designed to achieve compliance with the civil rights laws," and would inform their users of the "requirements of relevant civil rights laws." The amended bill also expressly requires that the skill standards themselves ("the level of knowledge and skills required") not be "discriminatory with respect to race, color, gender . . . and national origin."

The legal debate on the requirements of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 has hardly begun, let alone been settled by the courts. At the same time, the procedures for determining job-skill requirements are very arcane and technical. Ignoring both of these difficulties, the bill establishes a highly partisan national board to develop the skill standards in the context of its own understanding of civil-rights law. Although it would gain the authority of something like the National Institute of Standards and Technology, the National Skill Standards Board would be made up almost entirely of Democratic appointees and be subject to a Clinton "diversity"

quota. The administration's amended bill would also require that the board contain at least one civil-rights advocate.

Such a board isn't likely to raise occupational skill levels at all. Rather, it can be expected to develop low minimum standards, which it will then offer to employers as a means for "achieving compliance with relevant civil rights laws."

Although the proposed skill-standards system is ostensibly voluntary, employers could ignore it only at their peril. Civil rights lawyers would be waiting in the wings to slap them with employment discrimination lawsuits if they set skill standards higher than the national board's.

Under current law, disparate impact in hiring creates a prima facie case of illegal discrimination that employers can rebut by showing the job-relatedness ("validity") of the selection procedure in question. If the plaintiff then presents an alternative selection procedure that is equally job-related but has less disparate impact, the employer loses the case. In recent years, employers have become increasingly able to demonstrate the job-relatedness of selection procedures with substantial disparate impact, while plaintiffs have been hard-pressed to point to equally valid "alternatives" with less disparate impact. National board skill standards would reverse that situation.

Many judges would defer to the national board's judgment on skill standards, even in the absence of evidence that its standards are appropriate—just as courts continue to defer to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's onerous technical requirements for defending the legality of employment tests even though those requirements conflict with accepted professional practice. Thus, the national board's skill standards would become the "alternative" against which all selection procedures would be judged.

Employers who set higher standards than the board's would be vulnerable to discrimination lawsuits because more demanding standards tend to have more adverse impact. Moreover, such employers certainly would have been aware of the

national board's putative "alternative," and so would be guilty of intentionally ignoring it in favor of a more "discriminatory" one. (Worse yet, losing a suit alleging intentional discrimination, as opposed to disparate impact, carries the risk of punitive damages.) The national board's voluntary floor would thus become the legal ceiling for skill standards.

It's unclear how low the board would set skill standards. But the standards would have to be quite low to eliminate adverse impact, because current skills gaps among different racial-ethnic groups, for whatever reason, are quite large.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which is conducted for the Department of Education by the Educational Testing Service, has documented large gaps on specific skills and knowledge among high-school students. Throughout the 1980s, for example, black 17-year-olds (excluding dropouts) had proficiency levels in math, reading, science and other subjects that were more comparable to white 13-year-olds than white 17-year-olds.

Huge Gaps in Skills

A 1987 NAEP report found similarly large gaps in the functional literacy of young adults age 21 to 25. The average black college graduate could comprehend and use everyday reading materials, such as news articles, menus, forms, labels, street maps and bus schedules, only about as well as the average white high-school graduate with no college. In turn, black high-school graduates functioned, on the average, only about as well as whites with no more than eight years of schooling.

The pervasiveness of such huge gaps in current skills and knowledge explains why employment tests typically have disparate impact, especially in mid-to-high-level jobs. Mr. Clinton's original bill would have eliminated disparate impact by boosting the scores of less skilled groups to meet a higher common standard. By contrast, his amended bill would slide the common standard down to where the least skilled groups could meet it. In effect, the administration has simply replaced a mandate for "double-standards race-norming" with one for "no-standards race-norming."

Ms. Gottfredson is a professor in the department of educational studies of the University of Delaware.

Under the Clinton plan, civil-rights lawyers would be waiting to slap employers with discrimination lawsuits if they set skill standards higher than a national board's.

Chase
What's our plan
B
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.4.93

Majority in Poll Back Ban on Handguns

BY FELICITY BARRINGER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 3 — Americans watching the increase in gunshot injuries and deaths among the country's children are beginning to see gun control as a question of public health rather than just a matter of crime prevention, according to a new survey made public today.

The survey, by Louis Harris of LH Research Inc., showed that one adult in five knows a child who had been shot by another child, and another 12 percent know a child who shot himself by accident. The study, done under a grant from the Chicago-based Joyce Foundation for the Harvard School of Public Health, found that three-quarters of adults surveyed believed "young people's safety is endangered by there being so many guns around these days."

9 Out of 10 Back Bill

As a result, the new poll found, public opinion is rapidly swinging in favor of more stringent gun control measures.

More than half of those surveyed, including more than 60 percent of the women polled, said they would favor a

Gun-related deaths are called a U.S. epidemic.

Federal ban on handguns, with exceptions granted only by a court.

The survey also found that nearly 9 out of 10 Americans supported the Brady bill, a relatively unrestrictive proposal that would require a five-day waiting period before a handgun may be purchased, and that would allow the local authorities to check the background of the buyer. The measure is named after James S. Brady, the White House press secretary who was shot in the head in a 1981 attempt to assassinate President Ronald Reagan.

That bill, which has never been enacted into law, was reintroduced this spring, but has not yet been scheduled for committee consideration in either the House or the Senate.

According to the new poll, more than four in five adults surveyed felt that the easy availability of guns and the sheer number of weapons contributed

to an atmosphere of violence that endangers children.

"Take all the ordinary childhood events — playing, an argument, whatever — and add a handgun and it's suddenly deadly," said Dr. Katherine Kaufer Christoffel, a pediatrician whose research on pediatric firearms injuries led the American Academy of Pediatrics to adopt as a goal the removal of handguns from private homes.

Shootings as National Epidemic

"This is an epidemic," Dr. Christoffel said today of gun-related deaths. "If in 1952, the peak year of the polio epidemic, there were 3,000 Americans dead and 20,000 paralytics, then compare the 1990 numbers: 37,000 dead of injuries from handguns," she said.

"If polio was an epidemic this is certainly an epidemic. It's going to be a while before the number of deaths are going to go down, but these poll numbers are very, very hopeful numbers," she added. "It shows that people are responding to their experience."

By a ratio of 52 to 43, the 1,250 adults polled supported a ban on the possession of handguns, unless a court has granted an exception. Among women, 61 percent favored a handgun ban, while the comparable figure among men was 42 percent.

Mr. Harris said today that he believed the new poll was the first to show that a majority of Americans favored such a ban. A 1991 Gallup poll showed about 41 percent of Americans favoring such a ban.

The survey also found that the number of households reporting gun ownership had declined to 42 percent, from 45 percent in 1989. Mr. Harris said that was the first such decline in nearly two decades. The poll, conducted by telephone in April, had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

The number of young people killed by guns rose sharply in the late 1980's. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, just under 5,000 people under the age of 19 were killed by firearms, intentionally or accidentally, in 1990. From 1985 to 1990, the numbers of gun-related deaths among 15- to 19-year-olds jumped to 23.5 per 100,000 from 13.3 per 100,000 people, an unusually large increase in a statistical field where gains and losses are normally measured in small fractions.

A spokesman for the National Rifle Association argued that the new poll failed to give respondents the chance to address larger issues of crime control. "In our view, the Harris poll is a sideshow detracting from what we believe are the real issues, of not only criminal justice reform, but from real solutions that are going to resolve what Mr. Harris proposed as problems," said Bill McIntyre, speaking for the association.

"You know and I know that more and more often weapons, whether guns, knives or anything else, are a byproduct of gang affiliation and drug trafficking," he said. "It is quite usual that older drug lieutenants use the youth as a means to enforce their territory, as a means to protect their illicit trade. They know that youngsters are immune or virtually immune from prosecution."

At a news conference today, Mr. Harris contended that the public's attitude toward gun control had undergone a "sea change."

Susan Whitmore, a spokeswoman for Handgun Control Inc., a lobby group based in Washington, said today that she believed that there was enough Congressional support to pass the Brady bill if it got out of committee and onto the floor. President Clinton has said he would sign the Brady bill.

"This poll shows we desperately need to lay this cornerstone of a national gun-control policy," Ms. Whitmore said. "We think we have the votes. But you can never count the N.R.A. out."

Mach

We really need
to push Brady +
look at automatic
weapons issue

B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-4-93

THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1993

61:08

15

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6493

Tony

Mulroney Offering Troops to Help Blockade Haiti

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 — Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada told President Clinton today that his country was ready to send troops to enforce a blockade around Haiti, but Mr. Clinton committed himself to no more than a thorough review of United States options.

Administration officials said later that Washington was not prepared to move beyond far less aggressive measures to isolate the Haitian leadership, like freezing assets.

Mr. Mulroney, speaking to reporters after his farewell visit with Mr. Clinton,

called the situation in Haiti "this travesty." He said that Canada was "ready to commit military assets" in the region and that "we're hoping to persuade our allies of that, should other things fail."

Addressing another foreign crisis that has dogged Mr. Clinton, Mr. Mulroney pressed the President to send ground troops to the Balkans. Noting that "Canadians, the British, the French and the Spaniards are in there in a significant way as peacekeepers," he said, "It wouldn't do any harm at all if the U.S. did precisely that." He specifically suggested that the United States send troops to Macedonia.

The two leaders met for more than an hour as Mr. Mulroney prepares to leave office this month after nine years in power. Aides said the meeting was largely personal, with both men reflecting on their political situations. Besides discussing Bosnia and, to a lesser extent, Haiti, the two leaders agreed on the need for a North American Free Trade Agreement.

While Mr. Clinton did not go as far as calling for using troops to isolate the military and restore Haiti's elected President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Administration officials said the White House might announce plans in the next several days to freeze the

assets and revoke the visas of Haitian officials and supporters of the military-backed Government, moves that critics say would be largely symbolic.

"It's time to re-examine our options, and consider some others," Mr. Clinton said as he posed for photographers with Mr. Mulroney before their meeting. "And I expect the United States will do that."

Referring to the Haitian military's rejection last month of an American-backed United Nations plan to deploy an international peace force there, Mr. Clinton acknowledged that his policy had failed. "We thought we had an agreement on Haiti, and of course it didn't work out, and I'm very disappointed," he said.

A spokesman for the Canadian Embassy said Mr. Mulroney had been pressing for using the military in co-

operation with the United Nations for a naval blockade to cut off supplies to the Haitian Government.

"People are going to have to decide whether we allow this travesty to take place in our own back yard," Mr. Mulroney said, "or whether we deploy some assets to make certain that the duly elected President of Haiti is restored and that a constitutional democracy is allowed to survive and not be extinguished on an island, a little poor island off our own shores."

Mr. Clinton's Haitian policy is still unclear. Even as Secretary of State Warren Christopher prepares to give a speech in Vienna late this month extolling Administration progress on human rights, Mr. Clinton has continued the Bush Administration policy of forcible repatriation of Haitians seeking political asylum in the United States.

the FBI agent during inter-
views with her five days after

"They were wrong" THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

'Charter schools' gain popularity

Unique setting gives problem students 2nd chance

The Associated Press

ST. PAUL, Minn. — He dropped out of school in his early teens, drifted from one dropout program to another and got into trouble with the law.

Then, in the fall, Jack Garcia's prospects took an upward path. At 18, he was admitted to a first-in-the-nation "charter school," operated by a panel of teachers and parents instead of a school district.

On Thursday, Garcia and nine other members of City Academy's first graduating class get their diplomas.

Garcia is juggling two scholarship offers.

"Now I've got all kinds of opportunities I didn't expect," he said. "It's like you struggle here and they help you out so you can keep going. You're not a failure."

Despite warnings that they drain the limited resources of existing public schools, publicly financed charter schools are becoming a serious option in the national debate over school choice, an experiment endorsed by several states.

City Academy got going in September 1992, another charter school followed in March and six more are set to open this fall in Minnesota. This year, the Legislature expanded the experiment to allow creation of 12 additional schools.

Under the system, state aid that ordinarily accompanies each student to a public school goes instead with the student to finance the charter school, which sets its own hours, can be open year-round and has more leeway in meeting state education standards.

Cheeno
Fyp - good



Associated Press

CLASS CREDIT — Jesse Walt, a 14-year-old eighth-grader at City Academy, paints the wall of a house during participation in a Habitat for Humanity project in St. Paul, Minn. City Academy is the nation's first publicly financed "charter school," operated by a panel of teachers and parents, instead of by a school district.

New Mexico this year approved creation of up to 26 charter schools, California has endorsed transforming up to 100 existing schools and Georgia has approved experimenting with the idea, said Joe Nathan, director of the Center for School Change at the University of Minnesota.

President Clinton has endorsed the concept. A bill pending in Congress would provide \$50 million in federal grants next year and \$75 million in 1995 to provide start-up aid.

In Minnesota, a charter school first must gain approval from a sponsoring school district.

The big hurdle has been the

reluctance of public school officials to see a portion of their state aid shunted to charter schools.

City Academy caters to students who had been kicked out of traditional schools but still wanted a high school diploma.

In addition to traditional studies, the 30 or so students, racially mixed and from a wide economic background, help build houses for the Christian housing ministry Habitat for Humanity and work on conservation projects.

Teacher Milo Cutter said all 10 seniors are enrolled or waiting to be accepted into trade schools, technical colleges and universities.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-4-93

B. Keener

A Deal on the Economic Plan

Three Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee — David Boren of Oklahoma, Kent Conrad of North Dakota and John Breaux of Louisiana — are threatening to hold President Clinton's economic plan hostage. Each insists that the Administration revise the plan's \$70 billion energy tax that accounts for nearly a third of the total revenue increase but which threatens oil producers, farmers and manufacturers. Unless each Democrat votes yes, the plan won't clear the committee.

The White House believes it knows how to win over Senators Conrad and Breaux: Shrink and restructure the B.T.U. tax, and offset that lost revenue with additional spending cuts. But Mr. Boren's threat — that he'll vote no unless the B.T.U. tax is dropped entirely — is more ominous. Still, the White House holds powerful cards. With Senators Conrad and Breaux on board, Mr. Boren is unlikely to scuttle the plan and thereby single-handedly smash an already wobbly President.

On the merits, the White House shouldn't have to give up any of the energy tax and thus force it to squeeze investment programs. But a compromise appears necessary and tolerable. Mr. Clinton seems prepared to knock, say, \$20 billion off the tax and restructure it to protect U.S. manufacturers. One way is to waive the tax on energy-intensive exports like petrochemicals and levy an offsetting tax on energy-intensive imports.

With these changes, the energy tax won't threaten U.S. businesses facing foreign competition. There are some technical problems with this solution, because export exemptions and import taxes are illegal under current trade law. If imposed

unilaterally, they could interfere with completing the current round of international trade talks. But Congress has ways to impose energy taxes that do not bump up against trade agreements.

The knottier problem is deciding how to cut spending to make up for the \$20 billion in lost revenues. The Finance Committee's easiest choice — to cut Medicare, which is under its jurisdiction — is the wrong choice. Premature pruning of Medicare would almost certainly interfere with the structure and financing of the President's health-care package, whose release is expected to be delayed until next month so that it won't get in the way of passing the budget.

The better place for the Senate to look for cuts is the President's list of discretionary programs — even though his plan doesn't accommodate many of the useful investment initiatives promised during the campaign and, contrary to widespread belief, holds non-defense discretionary spending nearly constant.

Yet there are *specific* proposals — like urban tree planting — that could be sacrificed. And after Tuesday's senatorial election in Texas, Senate Democrats could take a fresh look at the \$14 billion the Administration proposes spending on the superconducting supercollider and the space station.

Traveling to Wisconsin this week, the President heard from a generally supportive crowd the unsurprising message that voters want a smaller tax hike and the surprising one that they're willing to tolerate steeper spending cuts. The dual message provides the elbow room to meet Mr. Boren and friends halfway. Mr. Clinton can take the sting out of the energy tax without undermining his health-care initiative or backtracking on deficit reduction.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Chow

DATE: 6/4

NOTE FOR: MARK WIDOLETON

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: MARK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK MIDDLETON *mm*

RE: HOT SPRINGS OFFICE

With respect to the question of opening a Presidential Office in Hot Springs, I would suggest that we do not do so but instead consider the following:

- * ✓ Appoint Johnette Taylor as the Garland County liaison to the Little Rock Office. Johnette would be given office space and would be reimbursed for expenses.
 - * ✓ Establish a toll free number in the Little Rock Office so that all of Arkansas could be serviced.
 - * ✓ Provide computer equipment to Johnette that is tied to the Little Rock system in order to assist with Virginia's work load.
- OK*

MEMORANDUM

To: Mack McLarty
Fm: Mark Middleton
Re: Proposed Hot Springs Office
Dt: 4-19-93

This memorandum discusses the request of Johnette Taylor to establish a Clinton Presidential Office in Hot Springs, AR.

At this point, a group of Hot Springs residents have already formed (unofficially) an entity called the "Clinton Connection". Their stated purpose is to assist in the President's re-election and to handle special concerns of the area citizenry.

After moderate thought, I have deduced the following for your consideration:

- 1) The DNC is presently charged with the responsibility of posturing the President for his re-election efforts. They really should have an unfettered course with respect to this pursuit.
- 2) A small city office, albeit in a high-traffic tourist town, would not contribute significantly to the stated purpose of another Clinton victory in 1996.
- 3) If we allow Hot Springs to maintain a headquarters, we will be inundated with requests to open other offices across the state. (Each with good reasons for a local presence)
- 4) Cost is a factor. It is estimated that the Little Rock office will need roughly \$200,000 a year to operate with a full staff and to fulfill its intended mission. Funding for this office is not even certain at this point.
- 5) Politically, I think we should be cautious about who is speaking for the President. There is always a danger when you have too many messengers.

I feel that we can do a couple of different things to accomplish what the folks in Hot Springs want. This course of action would also make Johnette happy and would be helpful to Virginia.

I propose that we do the following:

- 1) Appoint(informally) Johnette as the Garland County liaison to the Little Rock Presidential Office. She should be given office privileges and reimbursed for her expenses. A weekly staff meeting could be arranged with Mary Anne Salmon.
- 2) A toll-free number should be acquired by the Little Rock office so that all of Arkansas can have there concerns addressed. This would take care of all information needs and requests of Hot Springs citizens.
- 3) The Hot Springs Visitors Center and the Chamber of Commerce could be utilized to disseminate Presidential literature. Also, the Clinton-Gore Store could be of assistance.
- 4) Johnette could be responsible for assisting Virginia with her correspondence needs. She could be provided with a computer and linked to the Little Rock office's computer system.

Note: Mack, all of the above is based on practical logic and does not fully take into account the emotional element. Obviously, if the President wants an office in the town where he grew up and where his mother resides, we should open a shop. Funding would not be a problem. We should, however, keep in mind that doing so could create a host of other concerns.



Apr 14 - 53

1267-16 -

Feedback and response

Help

6/6/53

(P 125)



Nancy -

The President knows
about this but hasn't
seen it yet Mark

Not sure
how to
respond to
this -
Advise B



Mark

Not sure
how to
respond to
this -
Advise B

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



DATE: 06/04/93

TO: Alan Cohn

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





CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

EMBARGOED UNTIL 1200 Noon 5/26/93

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AND AGENCY INFORMATION

Phone: (703) 482-7678

26 May 1993

STATEMENT ANNOUNCING ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION

Director of Central Intelligence R. James Woolsey is pleased to join the Secretary of Defense in announcing the establishment of a Joint Security Commission. The purpose of the Joint Security Commission is to conduct a comprehensive review of the security practices and procedures of the Defense and Intelligence Communities. Within a year, the Commissioners will report their findings to Secretary Aspin and Director Woolsey, and monitor the implementation of their recommendations. The Commission members are: Jeffrey Smith, Chair; Duane Andrews; Robert Burnett; Ann Caracristi; Antonia Chayes; Anthony Lapham; Nina Stewart; Richard Stolz; Harry Volz; and Larry Welch. They will receive no financial remuneration for their efforts except for necessary expenses incurred during their review.

One of our government's fundamental challenges today is to balance the need for an effective flow of information with the need to protect the confidentiality, integrity, and availability of valuable information. Intelligence information must be made available as rapidly and widely as possible, while remaining secure. If our military and civilian industrial sectors are to become more compatible through dual-use technologies, then we must also examine existing security policies and procedures to identify barriers.

This review will not be easy. There are a variety of security organizations in the Defense Department and the Intelligence Community, administering hundreds of security policies and regulations, and involving costs in the billions of dollars. The Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence look to the Joint Security Commission for innovative ways to streamline security policies and procedures and to save money.

STATEMENT ANNOUNCING ESTABLISHMENT
OF JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION

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JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION: What are the objectives of the Joint Security Commission?

ANSWER: The Commission will examine all aspects of security practices and procedures within the Department of Defense and the intelligence community. Factors the Commission will consider are:

0 The need for an effective flow of information and for compatibility between military and commercial technologies;

0 The emergence of new communications and information systems;

0 The soundness and cost effectiveness of security practices;

0 New security countermeasures methods and technologies, and;

0 Fiscal constraints.

QUESTION: What was the impetus for establishing the Joint Security Commission?

ANSWER: The decision grew out of repeated recommendations from many frustrated persons in government and industry to simplify and streamline security practices. For example, last year the Department of Defense performed security checks and investigations on almost 650,000 individuals. A number of organizations within the Defense Department do not reciprocally accept one another's clearance decisions despite the fact that all were reportedly evaluated against the same standards. Another anomaly involves the use of the polygraph. Polygraph standards vary from organization to organization, with some requiring personnel be subjected to the polygraph while others do not. Yet personnel not polygraphed often have access to sensitive information -- in many cases, the exact same information as that possessed by polygraphed personnel. A third example involves the number and manner of security inspections levied upon our contractors. Government organizations have reserved the right to inspect its programs, which has often required a contractor to submit to hundreds of redundant security inspections a year. This process drives up the cost of the product.

QUESTION: What are the anticipated cost savings?

ANSWER: We have not set targets but believe there is the potential for significant savings. That's a major goal of the Commission.

QUESTION: What timelines will the Joint Security Commission follow?

ANSWER: By February 1, 1994, the Commission will present to the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence its recommendations and implementing actions. From February to June 1, 1994, the Commission will monitor decisions by the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence relative to these recommendations.

QUESTION: How does the Joint Security Commission's mandate differ from other ongoing initiatives, such as the announced review of classification standards (in Executive Order 12356)?

ANSWER: The Administration has begun a separate but internal, government-wide effort to consider revisions of the Executive order on classified information. It is being led by the Director of the Information Security Oversight Office, and is being coordinated with the Joint Security Commission. In this respect, the Joint Security Commission will serve as an outside check on the efforts of the internal group.

However, the Joint Security Commission's charge is to look much more broadly across the security spectrum of the Defense Department and intelligence community to include classification, personnel, physical, technical, and information systems. Many of these programs were developed to meet cold war era needs and have either outlived their usefulness or require changes to meet our emerging needs. For example, most of the government's document control and safeguarding procedures focus on paper products at a time when electronic storage and retrieval of classified and or sensitive information is presenting the greatest challenge.

QUESTION: Will the Joint Security Commission report be classified?

ANSWER: No, the Commission's report will be unclassified. However, there may be an annex or two that are unclassified.

QUESTION: Why is this only a Defense and Intelligence Community commission? Why aren't other agencies like the State Department and Energy Department involved?

ANSWER: They will be involved, and have committed to participating. However, this Joint Security Commission is actually a pilot project, or first phase, to tackle the most intransigent bureaucracies, which are in Defense and in the

intelligence agencies. The second phase or commission, which will take place sometime next year from the NSC, will take the recommendations and lessons from this effort and apply them across government.



NEWS RELEASE

OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
(PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

WASHINGTON, D C 20301

PLEASE NOTE DATE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 26, 1993

No. 246-93

(703) 695-0192 (media)

(703) 697-3189 (copies)

(703) 697-5737 (public/industry)

JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION ESTABLISHED

Secretary of Defense Les Aspin today joins Vice President Gore and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency in establishing a joint Director of Central Intelligence - Department of Defense (DCI- DoD) Security Commission. The commission will review security policies and procedures of the defense and intelligence communities.

The commission will focus on identifying security process improvements to reduce barriers among defense and intelligence organizations and to facilitate the exchange of dual-use technologies with private industry. It will recommend improvements in cost reduction; the information flow supporting both communities; and the confidentiality, integrity and availability of vital information and information system assets.

This comprehensive review will include all security disciplines and assess DoD and CIA programs that administer hundreds of regulations and cost billions of dollars. The commission will be chaired by Jeffrey Smith. Other commissioners include Duane Andrews, Ann Caracristi, Antonia Handler Chayes, Anthony Lapham, Nina Stewart, Richard Stolz, Harry Volz, and General Larry D. Welch, USAF (Ret). They will receive no financial remuneration for their effort, with the exception of reimbursement of necessary expenses incurred on behalf of the commission. The commissioners' recommendations will be submitted within a year.

-END-

JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION

TAB A Joint Security Commission Charter

TAB B Terms of Reference

TAB C Vice Presidential Statement Announcing
Establishment of Joint Security Commission

TAB D Questions and Answers

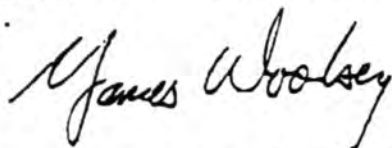
TAB E Commissioners

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

1. ESTABLISHMENT. Pursuant to the provisions of the National Security Act of 1947 and Executive Order 12333, the Director of Central Intelligence (the DCI) and the Secretary of Defense (the Secretary) hereby approve the establishment of the Joint Security Commission (the Commission). The Commission shall be established by the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and shall be exempt from the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act in accordance with Section 4(b)(1) of Public Law 92-463.
2. MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION. The Commission will consist of ten members including the chairman selected jointly by the Secretary and the DCI. Members will serve as part-time advisory personnel under section 303 of the National Security Act. Members serve at the pleasure of the DCI and the Secretary. The chair may establish committees and task groups from the membership for the purpose of carrying out its mission.
3. DUTIES. By 1 February 1994, the Commission shall conduct a comprehensive review of the security practices and procedures under the authorities of the DCI and the Secretary and shall present to the DCI and the Secretary its recommendations and implementing actions to improve such security practices and procedures. From February 1 to June 1, 1994, the Commission shall monitor implementation of decisions by the DCI and the Secretary made pursuant to its recommendations.
4. RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER ACTIVITIES. The Commission will have full access to all security compartments, programs, and data it may require from the defense and intelligence communities. It will have the full support and cooperation of all agencies and components.
5. ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS. The Commission will meet at the call of the chair. The Commission will be assisted by an Executive Secretary and a Deputy Executive Secretary and a small staff from within the Department of Defense and the intelligence community. The security elements of the

Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence community organizations will assist the Commission in its work. The CIA will provide administrative support to the Commission.

6. DURATION. The Commission shall terminate by June 1, 1994.



Director of Central Intelligence



Secretary of Defense

TERMS OF REFERENCE

One of our government's fundamental challenges today is to balance the need for an effective flow of information with the need to protect the safety and privacy of people and the confidentiality and integrity of valuable information. The success of our nation in a world of rapid technological change depends more than ever on our unsurpassed ability to exploit the open exchange of information. In a period in which fiscal resources are scarce and whole new systems of communications and information are emerging, we must rethink the assumptions behind our security practices to ensure that we are taking a sound and cost effective approach.

A new approach to security is necessary. Security policies should be reoriented based on reasonable risk management rather than near absolute risk avoidance. The current security system is fragmented, complex and costly. Our charge is to assure the adequacy of protection, within the contours of a security system that is simplified, more uniform and more cost effective.

- In performing the duties assigned by the Director of Central Intelligence and the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Security Commission shall examine all aspects of security practices and procedures within the Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community, including threat analysis, classification, information systems, personnel, physical, technical, operations, industrial, international and related security domains. All compartmented and collateral security programs will be included.

- Among the factors the Commission shall take into account are the need for an effective flow of information and for compatibility between military and commercial technologies; the relationship between threat assessments and security programs; the emergence of new systems of communications and information; the soundness and cost-effectiveness of security practices; new security countermeasures methods and technologies; and fiscal constraints.

- The Commission shall consider various security issues such as identification of data, activities and people needing special protection in the context of risk management; protection of intelligence sources and methods; security for Special Access Programs; foreign access to sensitive industries, facilities and information; exchanges and

relationships with other nations and international entities; the involvement of policymakers, commanders and other users in security policy formulation, execution and resource management; and exchange of personnel and information across government, industry, and academia.

- The Commission shall examine classification, declassification, compartmentation and other controls; protection of information assets in documentary and electronic form; measures to provide for confidentiality, integrity, and availability; the impact of security procedures on the timeliness, accessibility and usefulness of sensitive information to consumers; and related information security matters.

- The Commission shall examine personnel security programs, including investigations, adjudications, and appeals; Special Access determinations; use of the polygraph; and establishment of common counterintelligence and security data bases.

- The Commission shall examine requirements for physical and technical security of facilities, equipment, and information, as well as for protection of personnel and infrastructure against terrorist and criminal activity.

- The Commission also shall examine cross-discipline management; career paths and inter-agency assignments, training; research and development; the practices and procedures for providing intelligence, counterintelligence, and law enforcement information to policymakers, commanders and other users; procedures that link security measures and costs to threat assessments and risks of disclosure; and related matters.

- The Commission shall determine that all implementing actions are taken promptly by appropriate entities and shall regularly advise the DCI and the Secretary on the status of all implementing actions.

VICE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT ANNOUNCING ESTABLISHMENT
OF JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION

The President and I have identified many commissions and boards as unnecessary additions to an already overburdened bureaucracy. Not all commissions fall into this category, however. Today I am pleased to announce a different kind of commission -- one that will cut down on bureaucratic layers, identify significant cost savings, and improve efficiency in how we conduct national security business. The Joint Security Commission is established by the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence for the purpose of conducting a comprehensive review of the security practices and procedures of the defense and intelligence communities. Within a year, the Commissioners will report their findings to Secretary Aspin and Director Woolsey, and monitor the implementation of their recommendations. The Commission members are: Jeffrey Smith, Chair; Duane Andrews; Robert Burnett; Ann Caracristi; Antonia Chayes; Anthony Lapham; Nina Stewart; Richard Stolz; Harry Volz; and Larry Welch. They will receive no financial remuneration for their efforts except for necessary expenses incurred during their review.

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This review will not be easy. There are a variety of security organizations in the Defense Department and the intelligence community, administering hundreds of security policies and regulations, and involving costs in the billions of dollars. Therefore, the President and I look to Secretary Aspin and Director Woolsey, with the assistance of the Joint Security Commission, for initiatives that will streamline security policies and practices, and save both time and money. Because the intelligence and defense communities produce the greatest amount of classified and sensitive information and

incur the largest security costs, the Joint Security Commission's work will be a valuable gauge by which to look at government-wide security programs.

I expect the cooperation of all Department and Agency heads with the Joint Security Commission.

JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION: What are the objectives of the Joint Security Commission?

ANSWER: The Commission will examine all aspects of security practices and procedures within the Department of Defense and the intelligence community. Factors the Commission will consider are:

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ANSWER: The Administration has begun a separate but internal, government-wide effort to consider revisions of the Executive order on classified information. It is being led by the Director of the Information Security Oversight Office, and will be coordinated with the Joint Security Commission. However, the Joint Security Commission's charge is to look much more broadly across the security spectrum of the Defense Department and intelligence community to include classification, personnel, physical, technical, and information systems. Many of these programs were developed to meet cold war era needs and have either outlived their usefulness or require changes to meet our emerging needs. For example, most of the government's document control and safeguarding procedures focus on paper products at a time when electronic storage and retrieval of classified and or sensitive information is presenting the greatest challenge.

QUESTION: Will the Joint Security Commission report be classified?

ANSWER: That will be decided by the Commission. However, we are predisposed to make as much of it as possible unclassified.

JUN 03 '93 12:07PM

COMMISSIONERS

Jeffrey Smith - is a partner in the law firm of Arnold and Porter who served as Chief of the Clinton Transition Team at the Department of Defense. He is a former General Counsel of the Senate Armed Services Committee and was Senator Nunn's designee on the Iran/Contra Committee and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Mr. Smith previously served as the Assistant Legal Adviser for Law Enforcement and Intelligence in the Department of State and earlier, as an Army JAG officer, as the Pentagon's lawyer for the Panama Canal negotiations.

Duane Andrews - is senior vice president for C4 and Information Systems, Science Applications International Corporation. Mr. Andrews has held positions as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence, and as a professional staff member with the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

J.R. Burnett - is the chairman of the Strategic Advisory Group for the U.S. Strategic Command, and the Scientific Advisory Board of the National Security Agency. He retired as executive vice president and deputy general manager of TRW's Space and Defense Sector after thirty-five years of service with the company. He is a member of a number of government committees, panels and corporate boards of directors.

Ann Caracristi - is a consultant to the NSA Scientific Advisory Board and a member of the Board of Visitors of the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center. She is a former Deputy Director of the National Security Agency, served two terms as President of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, and was a member of the Chief of Naval Operations Executive Panel from 1982 to 1991.

Antonia Handler Chayes - is a Senior Consultant at ENDISPUTE, Inc., where she serves as mediator and arbitrator in business disputes. During the Carter Administration she was Under Secretary of the U.S. Air Force and also served as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Installations. Ms. Chayes is a director of United Technologies Corporation, an Adjunct Lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government and has been an Adjunct Professor at the Georgetown School of Law. She is a member of the Aspen Institute Core Group on Strategy and Arms Control, and of the Dartmouth Conference of the Kettering Foundation.

Anthony Lapham - is a partner with the law firm of Shea and Gardner. He is a former CIA General Counsel and member of the President's Intelligence Oversight Board.

Nina J. Stewart - recently served as the DCI's Special Assistant. She is a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counterintelligence and Security Countermeasures, and Executive Director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Ms. Stewart has participated in numerous commissions, to include the Inman and Laird Panels.

Richard Stolz - served with the CIA for thirty-four years, most recently as the Deputy Director for Operations. He is the recipient of numerous awards in the field of intelligence, including the National Security Medal for distinguished achievement in the field of intelligence relating to the national security.

Harry Volz - is Director of Corporate Security, the Grumman Corporation. Mr. Volz currently serves as co-chair of the National Industrial Security Program Steering Committee and has held prominent positions on industry-wide security committees during his more than thirty years of corporate security experience.

General Larry Welch USAF (Retired) - is the President and Chief Executive Officer of the Institute for Defense Analysis. General Welch was the former Chief of Staff, USAF, Commander in Chief, Strategic Air Command and Vice Chief of Staff, USAF. He is currently a consultant to the Defense Science Board and active in numerous national security associations.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



June 4, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a proposed presidential statement on sanctions against Haiti for release to the press. Sandy Berger has approved the statement and the NSC is planning a press backgrounder on it for 2:30 this afternoon, pending your approval.



TDS
Todd Stern



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

June 4, 1993

TO: JOHN PODESTA
FROM: WILLIAM H. ITOH *WE*
SUBJ: Presidential Statement on
Sanctions Against Haiti

Sandy Berger has cleared for release the
attached Presidential Statement which
should be released at 2:30 p.m. today by
the White House Press Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 4, 1993

**STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
ON SANCTIONS AGAINST HAITI**

One of the cornerstones of our foreign policy is to support the global march toward democracy and to stand by the world's new democracies. The promotion of democracy, which not only reflects our values but also increases our security, is especially important in our own Hemisphere. As part of that goal, I consider it a high priority to return democracy to Haiti and to return its democratically-elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to his office.

We should recall Haiti's strides toward democracy just a few years back. Seven years ago, tired of the exploitative rule that had left them the poorest nation in our Hemisphere, the Haitian people rose up and forced the dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier to flee. In December 1990, in a remarkable exercise of democracy, the Haitian people held a free and fair election -- and two-thirds of them voted for President Aristide.

Nineteen months ago, however, that progress toward democracy was thwarted when the Haitian military illegally and violently ousted President Aristide from office. Since taking office in January, the United States Government has worked steadily with the international community in an effort to restore President Aristide and democracy to Haiti. The OAS and United Nations Special Envoy, Dante Caputo, has demonstrated great dedication and tenacity. To support Mr. Caputo's effort, Secretary of State Christopher in March named U.S. Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo as our Special Adviser for Haiti.

We and the international community have made progress. The presence of the International Civilian Mission has made a concrete contribution to human rights in Haiti. Mr. Caputo's consultations with all the parties indicated that a negotiated solution is possible.

Unfortunately, the parties in Haiti have not been willing to make the decisions or take the steps necessary to begin democracy's restoration. And while they seek to shift responsibility, Haiti's people continue to suffer.

In light of their own failure to act constructively, I have determined that the time has come to increase the pressure on the Haitian military, the de facto regime in Haiti and their supporters.

The U.S. has been at the forefront of the international community's efforts to back up the UN/OAS negotiations with sanctions and other measures. Beginning in October 1991, we

froze all Haitian government assets in the United States and prohibited unlicensed financial transactions with Haitian persons. Today, I am acting to strengthen those existing provisions in several ways.

First, I have signed a Proclamation pursuant to Section 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act prohibiting the entry into the U.S. of Haitian nationals who impede the progress of negotiations designed to restore constitutional government to Haiti and of the immediate relatives of such persons. The Secretary of State will determine the persons whose actions are impeding a solution to the Haitian crisis. These people will be barred from entering the United States.

Second, pursuant to the authority of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the Executive Orders on the Haiti emergency, I have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to designate as "Specially Designated Nationals" those Haitians who act for or on behalf of the Junta, or who make material, financial or commercial contributions to the de facto regime or the Haitian Armed Forces. In effect, this measure will freeze the personal assets of such persons subject to U.S. jurisdiction from conducting any transactions whatsoever with the individuals and entities named.

Third, I have directed Secretary Christopher to consult with the OAS and its member states on ways to enhance enforcement of the existing OAS sanctions program. And I have directed Secretary Christopher and Ambassador Albright to consult with the UN and member states on the possibility of creating a worldwide sanctions program against Haiti.

Sanctions alone do not constitute a solution. The surest path toward the restoration of democracy in Haiti is a negotiated solution that assures the safety of all parties. We will therefore strongly support a continuation and intensification of the negotiating effort. We will impress on all parties the need to take seriously their own responsibilities for a successful resolution to this impasse.

Our policy on Haiti is not a policy for Haiti alone. It is a policy in favor of democracy everywhere. Those who seek to derail a return to constitutional government -- whether in Haiti or Guatemala -- must recognize that we will not be swayed from our purpose.

At the same time, individuals should not have to fear that supporting democracy's restoration will ultimately put their own safety at risk. Those who have opposed President Aristide in the past should recognize that, once President Aristide has returned, we and the rest of the international community will defend assiduously their legitimate political rights.

It is my hope that the measures we have announced today will encourage greater effort and flexibility in the negotiations to restore democracy and President Aristide to Haiti.

Jim Hoagland ✓

To Bring Change to China

6/4
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Boom has overtaken bloodshed as the focus of the world's attention on China four years after the June 4 government massacre of students and workers in Beijing. China's would-be capitalists have flourished while China's would-be democrats have been suppressed and forced into exile, prison or silence.

Impressive growth rates and a surge of foreign investment into the world's last important Communist-ruled country should not dim the memory or the meaning of what happened at Tiananmen Square in the late spring of 1989. The ruthless mass killing of peaceful demonstrators ranks among the great political crimes of the century. It should be marked as such on this week's sad anniversary.

Nor should the world rush to accept the comfortable notion that economic growth in China will automatically bring with it significant political change. Deng Xiaoping and the gerontocracy he heads know better. They label that theory of change "the economic fallacy," a mere idea that they can again crush with brute force if necessary.

The assertion that economic liberalization and spreading prosperity will undermine dictatorship more effectively than political challenge and outside pressure is not a new claim. It was a popular theme in the early 1970s for those who argued against applying any form of sanctions against the white-minority regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa.

South Africa's Green Bay tree, which can be transformed from an odious plant into a fragrant one by plentiful watering and care, became the symbol for pouring unrestricted foreign investment and trade into South Africa as a strategy to undermine apartheid. The "Green Bay Tree Theory" was reflected in the overtures the Nixon and Reagan administrations made to Pretoria.

It did not work out that way. It was only when sanctions bit hard—South Africa did not create a single net new job in the 1980s—that Rhodesia became black-ruled Zimbabwe and South Africa's National Party government began to dismantle apartheid seriously. (Positive change also came to the Soviet Union through bankruptcy and collapse rather than through the flawed theory of "convergence" of competing economic sanctions.)

China's size, location and political and cultural history render sanctions much less useful and isolation less workable. But the argument of China's economic friends abroad that their profit-taking will pave the way for the fulfillment of the dreams of the pro-democracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square is Green Bay Treeism repackaged.

Japan's government (frightened of being inundat-



ed by the flood of refugees that would result from a major upheaval in China) and British investors in Hong Kong forcefully urge more economic involvement with China as an antidote to the Communist political ideology practiced and preached by Deng and his politburo. It is the Marxist Deng who is betting that economics can be kept subordinate to politics in an underdeveloped country where political control is exercised through the army and police.

More surprising is the studied silence of Taiwan, which did not oppose the Clinton administration's decision to renew most-favored-nation trading status for Beijing last week. Impressed by China's 9 percent to 13 percent growth rates in recent years, 3,000 Taiwanese private investors have put \$7 billion into the mainland economy. Taiwan, as well as Hong Kong and "overseas Chinese" throughout Asia, now has a vested interest in MFN for Beijing.

Sweeping economic change and an uneven decentralization of power are occurring in China, often in spite of Deng's rule, not because of it. The better life this change brings for many is to be welcomed.

But growth rates should not be mistaken for political trends. Growth rates should not be used as justification or pretexts for relaxing the moral condemnation and limited restraints the world has focused on China because of Tiananmen, oppression of Tibet and Chinese arms sales to the Middle East.

President Clinton struck the right balance in ex-

tending the preferential trading status to Beijing for one year. He made renewal in 1994 conditional on clear political progress and coupled it to strong denunciation of Beijing's human rights abuses at home and in Tibet. This administration has put Beijing on probation, making clear that it favors economic growth in China but does not agree that growth alone will vanquish dictatorship in China.

Clinton announced the MFN restrictions in the White House in the presence of exiled Chinese students who played leading roles in the Tiananmen pro-democracy demonstrations. This important symbolic support for the exiled democracy movement and most of the rest of the MFN package were crafted by the State Department's top Asia expert, Winston Lord, who served as Ronald Reagan's ambassador to Beijing.

Immediately after the Tiananmen massacre, only the likes of Erich Honecker and Yasser Arafat defended Deng and company, calling on the world to "understand" and passively wait for things to be sorted out. Today leading capitalists chant a variation on that theme as they head for the bank.

Political change will not come to China without steady pressure and political challenge to the brutal Communist rulers. And only the world's open, continuing condemnation of the Communist dictatorship will honor those who fell in democracy's cause in Beijing four years ago this week.

*Very late still
Hoagland -
a good column!
good job - TBC*

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1993 THE WASHINGTON POST

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/4

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

33 JUN 3 P7:26

June 3, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: David Dreyer, S²
Subject: Message for Shalala Poster

1. Action Forcing Event.

Secretary Shalala has asked that you supply a quotation for a poster being made of her posing with children. What follows is a quotation for attribution to you.

2. Recommendation:

"In the faces of our children, we see America's greatest resource. We see our strength, we see our hope, we see our future." President Bill Clinton

3. Decision:

☒ Approve ☐ Substitute other text ☐ Reject ☐ No action

4. Attachment:

faxed photograph to be used for poster.



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SENDER INFORMATION				
Date: 6.3 - 93		Name: John Podesta		
Agency: The White House		Room: Gr FL-ww		Extension: 8702
Signature: Sharon E Wagner				
DELIVERY INFORMATION				
Addressee: Dr. David E. Shaw			Phone:	
Organization: 226-48 76th Avenue			Bill Recipient Account No.:	
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/4

NOTE FOR: *Hwrd*

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 PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
Presidential Phone Calls



DATE: 6-2-93

TIME: incoming/outgoing

WITH: Sen. Gro. Mitchell

SUBJECT: _____

I say say w/ (said): kid, AP, etc
Prison say the same
Mayer. hand vs. her
Gus sd moon but Biden had
lead -

PNB: constant references to
"prejudiced white majority" -

FOLLOW UP: Don't need fight - can't win.

Bound to interpret as move to Cuckoo, etc.
If I had a lawyer all seen, I'd
have a better judge

The Washington Post Writers Group

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YODE28♦tn--1

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^bc-yoder-column advIMMEDIATE<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, Normally Advance for Wednesday, June 2, 1993)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--The story within the story of Bill Clinton's search for a strategy that will squeeze his budget past a balky Congress merits clearer telling than it has had so far.

It is, in essence, another chapter in the quarter-century struggle for the soul of the Democratic Party, whose loyalties are sharply divided between strongholds among the inner-city and rural poor on the one hand, and more moderate constituencies, especially in the South and West on the other.

Many a centrist Democrat thought victory had been won for moderation when Bill Clinton captured the White House as a "new Democrat." Now they watch the administration's apparent leftward drift and wonder whether Clinton is really one of theirs, or one whose heart still beats for the unexorcised ghost of McGovernism.

Bill Clinton in many ways personifies the party split. He was a McGovernite anti-war activist in 1972; but his years as Arkansas governor appeared to mellow him into a major architect of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, a vehicle purposely tailored to recapture the party from the left. Its platform was to be fiscal prudence, welfare reform, and an end to the economic degradation of the working middle class.

What has gone wrong? There is no more interesting or astute perspective on this struggle--Clinton's and the party's--than that of David Boren, the genial and articulate senator from Oklahoma. Boren recently emerged as a Democratic rebel against Clinton's "broad-based" energy tax. He and his prestigious bipartisan group were immediately dismissed as an oil-state cabal, a notion that makes Boren bristle. Indeed, that insulting stereotype

(more)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6393

Marg

is belied by the adherence of two highly respected moderate Republican senators, William Cohen of Maine and John Danforth of Missouri. Neither represents an energy-producing state; and both are willing to buck the Republican orthodoxy and support new taxes in some form. With Boren, however, they insist that spending cuts outweigh new taxes and that a less risky form of energy taxation be substituted for the Clinton's Btu tax.

It wasn't as a stranger or inveterate foe that Boren emerged as the leading Democratic rebel against the Clinton budget. Like Clinton, Boren has been a DLC mainstay and a former governor who knows the formulas of success for Democrats. Boren and Clinton go back a long way. Both were Rhodes scholars in the 1960s. Meeting in their 20s as junior members of the Rhodes regional selection committee in New Orleans, Boren recalls, with affection, that they had long talks and "exchanged wonderful ideas" about the future.

Boren, like many centrist Democrats, is puzzled that his bipartisan gambit is so far being shunned by the White House, which is sticking to its partisan strategy. Boren's judgment is that it is a mistake for Clinton to rely on party-line votes to pass his major programs; but he understands the rationale.

In the House, the Democrats have a majority of just over 40 seats; but no fewer than 60 seats are held by the black and Hispanic caucuses. These members tend to measure Clinton's budget plans by the yardstick of urban and rural poverty and distress. If it's a choice between stiffer fiscal discipline and jobs or welfare, the choice for them is easy. And if Clinton defies their wishes in search of moderate or centrist votes crucial to passage in the Senate, he is threatened with revolt on his left.

This dilemma, Boren says, has driven Clinton into a "one-house strategy" in which success is purchased in the House on a basis that threatens defeat in the Senate. That dynamic became dramatically visible in the "stimulus package" defeat two weeks ago. Boren and his allies fear that the budget fight in the Senate could go the same way. At best, it will be a close, hard fight.

(more)

Boren and Cohen view it as axiomatic that the country is in the political center and longs to be governed from the center. Boren defines himself as a ''militant moderate,'' who couples fiscal conservatism with progressivism on social issues; and he has the record to prove it.

But Boren and Cohen have watched the congressional center erode in their decade in the Senate. They watched George Bush woo the ''hard right'' of his party and fail to form a centrist constituency. They fear that Clinton could duplicate the error by going left. And they aren't alone, either.

(c) 1993, Washington Post Writers Group

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{7/2}
C.C. MALLIA HALL
MARK GEORGE
George S.

WASHINGTON

MAY, 28, 1993

FROM: KAREN HANCOX, LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT: Disney World has an exhibit at the Magic Kingdom called "The Hall of Presidents" and they want to add your likeness to the exhibit.

For the first time in Disney's history, they want to have the current President -- i.e. your likeness, or robot, if you will, take a more prominent role. Specifically, after the film, there would be a roll call of the 42 Presidents, then your robot would make a few opening remarks (suggested script is attached), then it would turn the exhibit over to Abraham Lincoln's robot, who would say a few words and then George Washington would have the final say before the exhibit ended.

Disney would like to have your robot added to the exhibit by November 1993. They would like you to dedicate the exhibit in person. They already have a likeness of your head sculpted, but to meet the November deadline would mean a tremendous amount of effort on their part.

To help facilitate them meeting this deadline, they would need you to record the script, which you are welcome to change, as soon as possible. In addition, because they want these robots to be as life-like as possible, they will need your suit measurement, foot size, and preference for accessories. For example, they need to know what type of watch, tie, ring, and cufflinks the robot should wear. As well as your preference for suit and shoes type and color. They want to know your preferences down to whether or not there is a handkerchief in the suit breast pocket.

NO
Rarely wear
Pres. Seal
wedding band
Believe or
Striped-Reddy
TIMEX
1000
also

Page 2
Disney

Also, before visitors get into "The Hall of Presidents" there is a waiting area with an exhibit of political memorabilia. Disney would like to include major pieces of memorabilia from your Presidential campaign.

OK
III. RECOMMENDATION: Disney is very excited about your Presidency and this exhibit presents a great opportunity to reach millions of people a year. Even if you can not open the exhibit, it would be beneficial to have you record the script and supply your measurements and clothing preferences so they can build the robot and add it to the exhibit.

IV. DECISION:

☒ Approve ☐ Approve as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No Action

(attachment)



The **WALT DISNEY** Company®

My fellow citizens.....

The millennium draws to a close, the twenty-first century dawns....

Let us pause to consider that over the past two thousand years as civilization moved west, America has existed a bare one-tenth of that time. Yet today our nation stands as a symbol of freedom and an inspiration to people around the world.

Our independence and our liberties are uniquely enshrined in our constitution and engraved in our hearts. The tide of that 2,000 years of history moves in our direction --- indeed, we are that tide....

Today, as heirs to the great American Revolution, we celebrate the very idea of America. We believe our nation's happiness still evolves from liberty, from opportunity, and from the vision of equality set forth by our country's Declaration of Independence.

America mirrors the world's diversity, yet it remains united in its struggle to uphold fundamental freedoms. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. There is nothing wrong with the world that cannot be cured by the ideals that created America. Those principles have no borders. While other nations tear themselves apart, we realize our lands only real borders lie around our heart.

We must extend beyond our borders, not by geography but by the quest for democracy. Our long journey continues...our globe, with it's precious cargo, now adventures the universe!

copy to
Judy
Burger

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS REGARDING THE CHINA MFN ANNUAL RENEWAL:

Thursday 5/27/93:

1. Mac Reed, OMB Counsel, took the advanced State Dept. text of the President's transmittal letters, the P.D., E.O., and Report to Correspondence Typing Unit to type and hold to await final approval from NSC (approx. 10:00 p.m.) Clerk's Office did not handle this material.

Friday 5/28/93:

1. Clerk reviewed final package as prepared by Typing Unit (7:00 a.m.).
2. Final package to John Podesta's Office at 8:25 a.m. for event.
3. Package signed by the President in Roosevelt Room Ceremony (approx. 9:00 a.m.).
4. Per John Podesta, copy of final package to NSC's Kent Wiedemann, NSC, at approx. 10:00 a.m. for review before any documents were given to the Press Office by the Clerk's Office and before any documents were dispatched.
5. Kent Wiedemann pronounces package OK for announcement and dispatch (approx. 11:00 a.m.). Weidemann made some suggested edits at this time, but per John Podesta, he was advised that any edits would have to be approved by Tony Lake. Wiedemann decided not to make any edits.
6. Per John Podesta, Press Release copies were provided to the Press Office of the P.D., the E.O., and the transmittal letters (approx. 11:00 a.m.) (per John, the Report was not given to the Press Office by the Clerk's Office. However, we learned on Saturday 5/29/93, that David Leavy in the Press Office put out the Report and an unsigned version of the E.O. as given to him by "someone from NSC.")
7. Documents transmitted to the Speaker and the President of the Senate (12:15 p.m. & 12:25 p.m.).
8. Clerk's Office received a call (approx. 2:30 p.m.) from Fariel Saeed, NSC (Kent Wiedemann's Assistant), advising that there were problems with the Report involving two small sections of missing language that State advised needed to be included (language the Clerk's Office NEVER saw). Kent Wiedemann then came by to provide language to two sections of the Report. Per John Podesta, the language was incorporated.
9. The Clerk's Office then had Kent Wiedemann review the Report again and sent him a new copy of the Report. Also, the Clerk's Office faxed a copy of the corrected report to Wendy Sherman, State, per John Podesta.
10. The Clerk's Office then made contact with the Speaker's Office and the President of the Senate's Office and provided them with complete new copies of the corrected Report (approx. 4:00 p.m.) and retrieved the old Report.

Saturday 5/29/93:

1. The Clerk's Office learned that David Leavy in the Press Office had put out the first version of the Report and an unsigned version of the E.O. as given to him by "someone from NSC." Tim Saunders, Deputy Executive Clerk, then advised John Podesta that an incorrect version of the Report had been released by the White House Press Office. Per John Podesta, the Clerk's Office then provided David Leavy, Press Office, with a corrected version of the Report (the version first corrected by Kent Wiedemann, NSC).

Tuesday 6/1/93:

1. Fariel Saeed, NSC, called approx. 5:30 p.m. to advise that State advised her that there were further problems with the Report. Fariel Saeed came to the Clerk's Office at 5:45 p.m. with two additional changes to the Report (again, language the Clerk's Office NEVER saw).

5/1

JOHN,

BELIEVE IT OR NOT, STATE CALLED
ME TODAY WITH A FINAL URGENT
CHANGE (MINOR IN LENGTH BUT VITAL
IN SUBSTANCE) TO THE PRESIDENT'S
REPORT TO CONGRESS ON MFM.
THIS MUST BE DONE, DESPITE THE
TERRIBLE POSITION WE HAVE BEEN
PLACED IN. HOPEFULLY, WITH CONGRESS
OUT, WE CAN DO IT FAIRLY PAINLESSLY.

KENT WIEDEMANN

x 5764

ROY E. DANUSER
ATTORNEY AT LAW
510 South Baker Street
MOUNTAIN HOME, ARKANSAS 72653
Telephone 425-5121
Area Code 501

FAX Number 501-425-2770

J. Podesta
Can we
do something
over this?

Residence
BULL SHOALS, ARKANSAS 72619
Post Office Box 154
Telephone 425-4342
Area Code 501

NH FAX TRANSMISSION

TO: MS. LYNDA DIXON - FAX NO. 501-375-0512

FROM: ROY E. DANUSER

SUBJECT: Nancy Reed

DATE: May 26, 1993

W.H. 6/2/93

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING

MESSAGE: _____

*I think its wierd
unless he knows her well.
If so, it should be
on personal stationery.
I think we can do a
congrats to her on being nominated
on azure*

JOHN

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL OF THE PAGES, PLEASE CALL
501/425-5121.

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ROY E. DANUSER

ATTORNEY AT LAW

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MOUNTAIN HOME, ARKANSAS 72653

Telephone 425-5121

Area Code 501

Residence

BULL SHOALS, ARKANSAS 72819

Post Office Box 181

Telephone 445-4342

Area Code 501

FAX Number 501-425-2770

FAX TRANSMISSION

TO: President Bill Clinton FAX # 202/456-2397

FROM: Roy E. Danuser

SUBJECT: Nancy Reed

DATE: May 21, 1993

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS PAGE) : 6.

MESSAGE:

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ROY E. DANUSER

ATTORNEY AT LAW

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MOUNTAIN HOME, ARKANSAS 72653

Telephone 425-5121

Area Code 501

Residence
BELL SHOALS, ARKANSAS 72619
Post Office Box 151
Telephone 445-4342
Area Code 501

FAX Number 501-425-2770

May 21, 1993

VIA FAX TRANSMISSION NUMBER 202/456-2397

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

Dear Mr. President:

Our daughter, Nancy Reed (wife of Dwain Reed and mother of Emily Reed, Governor of Girls State) has been nominated to be 1993 Outstanding Educator in German.

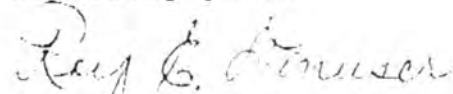
It would be helpful if you will send a letter of commendation to:

American Association of Teachers of German
Room 104
112 Haddontown Court
Cherry Hill, New Jersey 08034

Supporting information is enclosed.

With deep personal appreciation and best wishes always, I am

Sincerely yours,


Roy E. Danuser

RED/jkc

Enclosures

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	05/21/1993	b(6)

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Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
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June 1-5, 1993 [1]

2018-0662-S
rs3052

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- 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]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- 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]

NANCY D. REED

Route 1, Box 372
Lakeviw, Arkansas 72642
Home Number (501) 431-8757

Personal Data

Birth Date:
Social Security Number:
Health:
Marital Status:

(b)(6)

Excellent
Married
Two children

Education

September 1969 -
August 1970

Master of Arts in Education, Washington
University, St. Louis, Missouri

September 1967-
June 1969

Bachelor of Arts Degree with a major
in German. Washington University, St.
Louis, Missouri

February 1967-
August 1967

Semester abroad, University of Marburg,
Marburg, Germany

January 1966-May 1968

Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas

September 1965-
January 1966

Newcomb College of Tulane University,
New Orleans, Louisiana

May 1965

Graduated from Mountain Home High
School, Mountain Home, Arkansas

Work Experience

1980-Present

Teacher of German (and English 1980-
1984), Mountain Home High School,
Mountain Home, Arkansas

1970-1971

Teacher of German and English, Mountain
Home High School, Mountain Home,
Arkansas

Current Professional Affiliations

American Association of Teachers of German
American Council of Teachers of Foreign
Language
German American Partnership Program Sponsor
Arkansas Education Association
National Education Association
Delta Kappa Gamma Society

Achievements

1993	Daimlermedaille, Stadt Schorndorf
1992	Duden Award for achievement in German instruction
1991	Outstanding Educator Recognition Award Arkansas Governor's School
1990	Duden Award for achievement in German instruction

MEMORANDUM

The Arkansas Association of Teachers of German has nominated Mrs. Nancy Reed of Mountain Home, Arkansas, to be the 1993 Outstanding Educator in German by the American Association of Teachers of German.

Nancy has taught German in Mountain Home High School the past 13 years. She has had an average of 145 students each semester. All of her second and third year students take the National German Exam.

In 1984 Nancy contacted the German Culture Center (Goethe Haus) in New York so that she could begin an exchange program for students from Mountain Home with the students of Schorndorf, Germany. This is known as the German American Partnership Program (GAPP).

For the past ten years, 25 students from Schorndorf have spent one month in the spring in Mountain Home and a like number of 25 students from Mountain Home have spent one month in Schorndorf the following summer. This means that in the past ten years 250 students from Mountain Home and 250 students from Schorndorf have engaged in this academic exchange.

All money for the program is from various fund-raising activities directed by Mrs. Reed. The school has never contributed any finances. Nancy and her students have raised about \$400,000.00 over the past ten year period.

Mrs. Reed says: "I love to teach. I love German. I love Germany. I love my students.

I hope that I have helped not only GAPP students, but all of my students develop a love for and competency in the German language."

MH teacher up for national award

By JOSEPH A. HUDDLESTON
Bulletin Staff Writer

German teachers across Arkansas have nominated Nancy Reed, Mountain Home High School's German teacher, for a national honor — but she could use some help from the area.

The Arkansas Association of Teachers of German have proposed her to be named the 1993 Outstanding Educator in German by the American Association of Teachers of German.

Letters of commendation and letters in support of her program will be part of the application, and they should be at the high school as soon as possible.

The application deadline is the end of May. Reed said she should learn how she fared nationally in June or July.

"I am overwhelmed by the nomination," Reed said during an interview.

The selection committee will look at the letters, at the German test scores of her students. She

said that each of her students take the standardized test.

"We don't just pick out a few strong students and test them, so we test more students than any other high school in Arkansas," she said.

Reed has been instrumental in the development of the German American Partnership Program, which links Mountain Home with Schorndorf, Germany, in an exchange program.

In the most recent visit, nearly 50 persons, including 25 students, from Schorndorf visited the Mountain Home area. Reed said Schorndorf is a city of about 33,000 persons some 18 miles east of Stuttgart.

The GAPP has been operating in Mountain Home for 10 years.

Reed said she appreciated the support of the Mountain Home community that helped send area students to Germany for a while. Each year, the community has raised from \$20,000 to \$30,000 for

(See TEACHER on Page 3)



Nancy Reed

Teacher

the program, she said.

"To simply say 'thanks' would be trite," she said. Her goal is to see that deserving students — not just those with money — are able to participate in the exchange program.

She said the program began after some of her students expressed a desire to study in Europe. "I contacted the German Culture Center in New York, and we were able to get the program underway," she said.

She said she was "honored and overwhelmed" to be nominated for the designation by her peers around the state, and by the chance to bring a national honor to Mountain Home.

Her state group has twice in the past three years honored her with

the Duden Award, designating her as the outstanding German teacher in Arkansas.

The letters of commendation for the national award may be written by students, former students, business people, individuals, anyone in the community who wants to say something about the Mountain Home German program, she said.

They should be addressed "To whom it may concern," or to "Dear Sir or Madam," she said.

Reed said she became interested in German largely because of a "tremendous professor in college." And she was able to spend a week in Germany.

She attended Hendrix College at Conway for two years, and completed her bachelor's and master's degree at Washington University at St. Louis.

The Mountain Home High School graduate has taught for 13 years at her alma mater.

Podesta -

33 JUN 2 1942

Where all
on this
on hold a meeting

(Mark Lekan note)



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

May 13, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: The Secretary of Transportation
The Secretary of Labor
Director, Office of Personnel Management

SUBJECT: Employment of Air Traffic Controllers Terminated for Striking Against the Federal Government

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT: In August 1981, air traffic controllers employed by the FAA conducted a strike against the United States Government. Of 16,287 total controllers, over 11,000 participating controllers were fired and thereafter considered ineligible for Federal employment. In December 1981, former President Reagan issued a directive permitting the fired controllers to apply for Federal employment in all agencies except the FAA and certain related positions in the Departments of Defense and Treasury. The effect was to bar the fired strikers from being reemployed as Federal air traffic controllers.

Organized labor has placed great importance on lifting the bar. In addition, legislation to lift the bar has been introduced by Congressman Oberstar and by Senators Metzenbaum and Lautenberg. We believe that this is an appropriate time for you to consider lifting the bar on your own initiative.

II. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: At the end of calendar year 1992, the air traffic controller work force numbered 17,940. FAA anticipates hiring only about 300 controllers in each of the next three years because it has fully recovered from the effects of the strike and anticipates little turnover. Congress is being lobbied to direct the FAA to hire more controllers than we feel are necessary. For example, the National Air Traffic Controllers Association (NATCA), which represents the current controller work force, consistently has maintained that the FAA needs 1,700 more controllers to bring the controller work force to the pre-strike staffing level. The FAA believes that a simple comparison of staffing levels with those at the time of the strike fails to take into account the significant changes in air traffic operations over the past 12 years. For example, before the strike, air traffic delays were taken in the air, usually through planes circling the destination airport until they could land. Today, a central flow control center monitors total service demands and manages traffic flow of the entire system; delays are taken on the ground at the departure airport rather than in the air.

Even with the limited number of anticipated vacancies, FAA has developed various hiring sources which it must support if they are to continue to supply the agency's needs well into the future. These sources include educational institutions which have, with Congressionally-earmarked grants, established collegiate programs providing air traffic control training for women and minorities as well as others. There are also almost 5,000 competitive civil service register applicants who have passed a written entry-level test, including over 400 who have completed at least part of the costly pre-employment medical and security clearance process; an unknown number of internal FAA applicants who expect to compete for air traffic controller jobs, including several

hundred air traffic assistants, some of whose positions will be abolished within the next two years; and an unknown number of discharged military personnel who are eligible for a veterans readjustment appointment. Given staffing levels, FAA will be hiring only to fill attrition.

Rehired controllers would have to meet thorough medical requirements before entering on duty and annually thereafter. FAA would provide modified qualification training followed by a performance verification process before the controller would be assigned to a facility for additional on-the-job training. Employees who could not meet medical or performance requirements would be removed from controller duties. Rehired controllers would bring more experience to the job, but they differ from other employment sources because as a group they are less diverse than FAA's recent hiring experience and would be more costly in terms of return on investment (newly hired controllers generally cannot retire before they have at least 20 years of service, while former controllers would be eligible much sooner). The unfunded liability for the Civil Service Retirement System for each former controller who retires after a total of 20 years of air traffic control service would be approximately \$350,000.

Unless special personnel procedures are put into place, lifting the bar would not result in the actual rehiring of any significant number of former controllers.* Their lack of recent experience would result in these former controllers not being competitive with current FAA employees for jobs, except for those locations in which current employees are not interested. Additionally because these individuals were "separated for cause," they are subject to an Office of Personnel Management placement restriction which requires them to be hired at least one grade lower than the last grade held and prevents them from regaining the grade they lost without going through additional competition. The practical effect of this restriction is that fired controllers could not be hired at FAA's 55 largest facilities. If you want to assure that at least some former controllers are actually rehired into positions with promotion potential equal to the positions from which they were fired, it would be possible for FAA (under your special authorization) to develop unique, merit-based procedures which would make former controllers a separate source of newly competing applicants for filling vacancies. FAA could, alternatively, seek a waiver from OPM of its rehiring restriction for these employees. If the waiver were granted, FAA would work with its current unions to make conforming changes to the FAA merit promotion plan.

III. RECOMMENDATION: The Secretaries of Labor and Transportation recommend that you repeal the hiring bar and establish a separate competitive selection procedure allowing these former controllers to compete amongst themselves to assure that some former controllers will be rehired and reduce the risk that FAA will be required to hire more controllers than it needs. The Director of the Office of Personnel Management recommends that you repeal the hiring bar and allow these former controllers to compete in the same manner that applies to other Federal employees who have been fired for cause. Attached at Tab A is a further discussion of the options. Tab B contains a draft memorandum for the Director, Office of Personnel Management and draft Statement by the President.

* An argument can be made that the gesture of lifting the bar may, by itself, be a sufficiently conciliatory act to satisfy organized labor. Our view, however, is that at least some quarters of the labor movement will call for substantially increased hiring.

IV. DECISION:

- ☐ Approve repealing the bar and establishing a separate competitive selection procedure.
- ☐ Approve repealing the bar and utilizing normal hiring process.
- ☐ Approve as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No action

OPTION 1: Retain the bar on reemployment in FAA.

PROS: Avoids raising unrealistic hiring expectations since FAA is fully staffed and expects to hire few air traffic controllers in the next three years.

Avoids morale problems with employees who did not strike or whose seniority and promotional opportunities may be affected.

Avoids any additional reduction in hiring from current employment sources which have received Congressional support and developed special curricula with FAA's encouragement and financial assistance, and avoids any interruption in FAA's recent emphasis on hiring a more diverse work force.

Supports policy against striking by Federal employees.

Allows FAA and the Federal retirement system to avoid substantial costs associated with rehiring employees who are close to retirement age and who are entitled to elevated pay and retirement benefits.

CONS: Organized labor believes the Administration has a commitment to lifting the bar.

Prevents FAA from tapping a source of employees with proven aptitude and demonstrated skill.

May encourage Congress to direct the rehiring of the fired controllers in greater numbers than FAA needs.

Exposes the Administration to criticism that it is giving greater weight to cost than the opportunity to promote conciliatory labor management relations.

Option 2: Lift the bar and utilize normal hiring process.

PROS: Satisfies organized labor's possible desire to simply have the bar lifted.

Uses existing hiring systems.

No perception of preferential treatment.

CONS: May be perceived by the former controllers as a hollow gesture since there will be limitations on selection and placement preventing most, if not all, from returning to their former facility or grade.

Because of procedural restrictions, placement cannot be made to many facilities where hiring needs are greatest and where potential of individual controllers can be maximized.

Time and labor intensive; would have to consider applications from current employees as well as 5,000 to 6,000 former controllers with possibly little hiring occurring as a result.

May encourage Congress to direct the rehiring of the fired controllers in greater numbers than FAA needs.

OPTION 3: Lift the bar and establish a separate competition for the former controllers so that they may compete among themselves for a portion of vacancies and be placed in positions with maximum promotion potential.

PROS: Maximum agency flexibility in placement; allows selection of former controllers in whatever numbers and facilities needed.

Allows former controllers to eventually regain, through successful performance, the grade they might have held if they had not been removed for striking.

Assures that a reasonable share of the 300 anticipated hires per year can be filled with former controllers.

CONS: Gives former controllers opportunities they might not otherwise have and which others "separated for cause" do not have.

Increased perception by current controller staff of preferential treatment because the unique selection process will result in closing off opportunities for advancement by current staff.

Time and labor intensive; would have to consider applications from 5,000 to 6,000 former controllers with only a portion of the 300 vacancies a year to be filled by former controllers.

OPTION 4: Lift the bar, establish a separate competition (see Option 3) and hire large numbers of former controllers (beyond operational needs).

PROS: Would provide large number of jobs for the former controllers.

CONS: Requires substantial hiring above agency operational needs.

Inconsistent with the Administration's expectations for reduced expenditures in fiscal year 1993 and beyond.

If the cost of the additional hires is not reflected in increased appropriations above the President's Budget, FAA would have to lay off employees in other occupations. In total, the President's Budget for FAA Operations is proposed to grow by only \$38 million over FY 1993 enacted level. By comparison, hiring an additional 1,000 controllers would have a direct financial impact in FY 1994 of approximately \$64.42 million. (see chart below for direct financial implications of additional hires.)

Adverse impact on promotion potential of current controllers and on timeliness of training current developmental controllers, to the extent that rehired controllers took priority.

Would strain the air traffic training system, if FAA had to absorb large number of employees in a short period of time.

Severe adverse impact on morale of current work force.

Significant adverse impact on Civil Service Retirement System; unfunded liability will be increased by tens of millions of dollars.

**DIRECT FINANCIAL IMPACT IN FY 1994 OF REHIRING SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS
OF FORMER CONTROLLERS ***
(costs shown in millions of dollars)

1,000	2,000	NUMBER REHIRED 3,000	4,000	5,000
\$64.42	\$128.84	\$193.26	\$257.69	\$322.1

NOTE: Additional salary and benefit expenses for FY 1995 are estimated to be approximately \$60 million per thousand hires.

*Includes personnel compensation and benefits, anticipated relocation costs, and formal and on-the-job training expenses.

**MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF PERSONNEL
MANAGEMENT**

FROM: THE PRESIDENT

**SUBJECT: PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT ELIGIBILITY FOR
FORMER AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS**

On December 9, 1981, President Ronald Reagan, by memorandum to the Director of the Office of Personnel Management, imposed an indefinite bar on employment by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) of striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). It is time to put this chapter of labor-management relations behind us.

Accordingly, by this memorandum and pursuant to my authority to regulate Federal employment, I am repealing the bar. Former air traffic controllers who have been ineligible solely because of the bar hereafter will be eligible to apply for employment with the FAA {under procedures established by the Department of Transportation.}*"

You are hereby authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the Federal Register.

* INSERT BRACKETED LANGUAGE IF OPTION 3 IS CHOSEN.

Statement by the President

Today I am ending former President Reagan's indefinite bar on Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) employment of striking air traffic controllers. More than eleven years have passed since the August 1981 strike, and our air traffic control system is the safest in the world. In fact, our system is the model for other countries.

I believe it is time to put this unfortunate chapter of labor-management relations behind us. Americans have a history of seeking a harmonious future rather than dwelling on past differences, and while I cannot condone illegal job actions in the Federal government, I believe reasonable people would agree it is time to permit the former air traffic controllers to apply for employment with the FAA. Although FAA has fully recovered from the effects of the strike and needs to fill only a very limited number of jobs, I think it appropriate that former controllers be eligible to fill some of those vacancies. Rehired controllers would have to meet the same stringent employment, training and certification requirements as any other controller.

We need strong, cooperative relationships between management and labor in this country. I have repealed the bar to demonstrate how important changing the tenor of that relationship is to me.

copy to
Judy
F. [unclear]

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS REGARDING THE CHINA MFN ANNUAL RENEWAL:

Thursday 5/27/93:

1. Mac Reed, OMB Counsel, took the advanced State Dept. text of the President's transmittal letters, the P.D., E.O., and Report to Correspondence Typing Unit to type and hold to await final approval from NSC (approx. 10:00 p.m.) Clerk's Office did not handle this material.

Friday 5/28/93:

1. Clerk reviewed final package as prepared by Typing Unit (7:00 a.m.).
2. Final package to John Podesta's Office at 8:25 a.m. for event.
3. Package signed by the President in Roosevelt Room Ceremony (approx. 9:00 a.m.).
4. Per John Podesta, copy of final package to NSC's Kent Wiedemann, NSC, at approx. 10:00 a.m. for review before any documents were given to the Press Office by the Clerk's Office and before any documents were dispatched.
5. Kent Wiedemann pronounces package OK for announcement and dispatch (approx. 11:00 a.m.). Weidemann made some suggested edits at this time, but per John Podesta, he was advised that any edits would have to be approved by Tony Lake. Wiedemann decided not to make any edits.
6. Per John Podesta, Press Release copies were provided to the Press Office of the P.D., the E.O., and the transmittal letters (approx. 11:00 a.m.) (per John, the Report was not given to the Press Office by the Clerk's Office. However, we learned on Saturday 5/29/93, that David Leavy in the Press Office put out the Report and an unsigned version of the E.O. as given to him by "someone from NSC.")
7. Documents transmitted to the Speaker and the President of the Senate (12:15 p.m. & 12:25 p.m.).
8. Clerk's Office received a call (approx. 2:30 p.m.) from Fariel Saeed, NSC (Kent Wiedemann's Assistant), advising that there were problems with the Report involving two small sections of missing language that State advised needed to be included (language the Clerk's Office NEVER saw). Kent Wiedemann then came by to provide language to two sections of the Report. Per John Podesta, the language was incorporated.
9. The Clerk's Office then had Kent Wiedemann review the Report again and sent him a new copy of the Report. Also, the Clerk's Office faxed a copy of the corrected report to Wendy Sherman, State, per John Podesta.
10. The Clerk's Office then made contact with the Speaker's Office and the President of the Senate's Office and provided them with complete new copies of the corrected Report (approx. 4:00 p.m.) and retrieved the old Report.

Saturday 5/29/93:

1. The Clerk's Office learned that David Leavy in the Press Office had put out the first version of the Report and an unsigned version of the E.O. as given to him by "someone from NSC." Tim Saunders, Deputy Executive Clerk, then advised John Podesta that an incorrect version of the Report had been released by the White House Press Office. Per John Podesta, the Clerk's Office then provided David Leavy, Press Office, with a corrected version of the Report (the version first corrected by Kent Wiedemann, NSC).

Tuesday 6/1/93:

1. Fariel Saeed, NSC, called approx. 5:30 p.m. to advise that State advised her that there were further problems with the Report. Fariel Saeed came to the Clerk's Office at 5:45 p.m. with two additional changes to the Report (again, language the Clerk's Office NEVER saw).

JOHN,

BELIEVE IT OR NOT, STATE CALLED
ME TODAY WITH A FINAL URGENT
CHANGE (MINOR IN LENGTH BUT VITAL
IN SUBSTANCE) TO THE PRESIDENT'S
REPORT TO CONGRESS ON WFN.
THIS MUST BE DONE, DESPITE THE
TERRIBLE POSITION WE HAVE BEEN
PLACED IN. HOPEFULLY, WITH CONGRESS
OUT, WE CAN DO IT FAIRLY PAINLESSLY.

KENT WIEDERMAN

X 5764

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

93 JUN 1 P1:53

June 1, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID DREYER

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL QUOTE AT HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL

1. *Action Forcing Event.* A quote from the Presidential Keynote Address at the dedication of the US Holocaust Museum will be chiseled into a stone wall panel of the Museum. Please see below my recommendation for the passage to be memorialized.

2. *Recommendation:*

"This museum will touch the life of everyone who enters and leave everyone forever changed; a place of deep sadness and a sanctuary of bright hope; an ally of education against ignorance, of humility against arrogance, an investment in a secure future against whatever insanity lurks ahead. If this museum can mobilize morality, then those who have perished will thereby gain a measure of immortality."

3. *Decision:*

☒ Approve ☐ Substitute other text ☐ Reject ☐ No action

4. *Attachment:*

As delivered text of the Holocaust speech.

Is it too long?
You wrote it - you
should decide
Thanks -
B

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 22, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT DEDICATION OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM
Washington, D.C.

12:43 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. Vice President, Mrs. Gore, President and Mrs. Herzog, distinguished leaders of nations from around the world who have come here to be with us today, the leaders of our Congress and the citizens of America, and especially to Mr. Meyerhoff and all of those who worked so hard to make this day possible, and even more to those who have spoken already on this program, whose lives and words bear eloquent witness to why we have come here today.

It is my purpose on behalf of the United States to commemorate this magnificent museum, meeting as we do among memorials within the site of the memorial to Thomas Jefferson, the author of our freedom. Near where Abraham Lincoln is seated, who gave his life so that our nation might extend its mandate of freedom to all who live within our borders. We gather near the place where the legendary and recently departed Marian Anderson sang songs of freedom, and where Martin Luther King summoned us all to dream and work together.

Here on the town square of our national life, on this 50th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising, at Eisenhower Plaza on Raoul Wallenberg Place, we dedicate the United States Holocaust Museum, and so bind one of the darkest lessons in history to the hopeful soul of America. (Applause.)

As we have seen already today, this museum is not for the dead alone, nor even for the survivors who have been so beautifully represented; it is perhaps most of all for those of us who were not there at all. To learn the lessons, to deepen our memories and our humanity, and to transmit these lessons from generation to generation.

The Holocaust, to be sure, transformed the entire 20th century, sweeping aside the enlightenment hope that evil somehow could be permanently vanished from the face of the earth; demonstrating there is no war to end all war; that the struggle against the basest tendencies of our nature must continue forever and ever.

The Holocaust began when the most civilized country of its day unleashed unprecedented acts of cruelty and hatred abetted by perversions of science, philosophy, and law. A culture which produced Goethe, Schiller, and Beethoven, then brought forth Hitler and Himmler. The merciless hordes who, themselves, were educated as others who were educated stood by and did nothing. Millions died for who they were, how they worshiped, what they believed, and who they loved. But one people -- the Jews -- were immutably marked for total destruction. They who were among their nation's most patriotic citizens, whose extinction served no military purpose nor offered any political gain, they who threatened no one were slaughtered by an

MORE

efficient, unrelenting bureaucracy, dedicated solely to a radical evil with a curiously antiseptic title: The Final Solution.

The Holocaust reminds us forever that knowledge divorced from values can only serve to deepen the human nightmare; that a head without a heart is not humanity. (Applause.)

For those of us here today representing the nations of the West, we must live forever with this knowledge, even as our fragmentary awareness of crimes grew into indisputable facts, far too little was done. Before the war even started, doors to liberty were shut. And even after the United States and the Allies attacked Germany, rail lines to the camps within miles of military significant target were left undisturbed.

Still there were, as has been noted, many deeds of singular courage and resistance. The Danes and the Bulgarians, men like Emmanuel Ringelbaum, who died after preserving in metal milk cans the history of the Warsaw ghetto. Janusz Korczak, who stayed with children until last breaths at Treblinka. And Raoul Wallenberg, who perhaps rescued as many as 100,000 Hungarian Jews. And those known and those never to be known, who manned the thin line of righteousness, who risked and lost their lives to save others, accruing no advantage to themselves, but nobly serving the larger cause of humanity.

As the war ended, these rescuers were joined by our military forces who, alongside the allied armies, played the decisive role in bringing the Holocaust to an end. Overcoming the shock of discovery, they walked survivors from those dark, dark places into the sweet sunlight of redemption, soldiers and survivors being forever joined in history and humanity. This place is their place, too. For them as for us, to memorialize the past and steel ourselves for the challenges of tomorrow.

We must all now frankly admit that there will come a time in the not-too-distant future when the Holocaust will pass from living reality and shared experience to memory and to history. To preserve this shared history of anguish, to keep it vivid and real so that evil can be combatted and contained, we are here to consecrate this memorial and contemplate its meaning for us; for more than any other event, the Holocaust gave rise to the universal declaration of human rights, the charter of our common humanity. And it contributed, indeed, made certain the long overdue creation of the nation of Israel. (Applause.)

Now, with the demise of communism and the rise of democracy out of the ashes of former communist states, with the end of the Cold War we must not only rejoice in so much that is good in the world, but recognize that not all in this new world is good. We learn again and again that the world has yet to run its course of animosity and violence.

Ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia is but the most brutal and blatant and ever-present manifestation of what we see also with the oppression of the Kurds in Iraq, the abusive treatment of the Baha'i in Iran, the endless race-based violence in South Africa. And in many other places we are reminded again and again how fragile are the safeguards of civilization.

So do the depraved and insensate bands now loose in the modern world. Look at the liars and the propagandists among us, the skinheads and the Liberty Lobby here at home; the Afrikaners resistance movement in South Africa; the Radical Party of Serbia, the Russian blackshirts. With them we must all compete for the interpretation and the preservation of history of what we know and how we should behave.

The evil represented in this museum is incontestible. But as we are its witness, so must we remain its adversary in the

world in which we live. So we must stop the fabricators of history and the bullies as well. Left unchallenged, they would still prey upon the powerless; and we must not permit that to happen again.

To build bulwarks against this kind of evil, we know there is but one path to take. It is the direction opposite that which produced the Holocaust, it is that which recognizes that among all our differences, we still cannot ever separate ourselves one from another. We must find in our diversity our common humanity. We must reaffirm that common humanity, even in the darkest and deepest of our own disagreements.

Sure, there is new hope in this world. The emergence of new, vibrant democratic states, many of whose leaders are here today, offers a shield against the inhumanity we remember. And it is particularly appropriate that this museum is here in this magnificent city, an enduring tribute to democracy. It is a constant reminder of our duty to build and nurture the institutions of public tranquility and humanity.

It occurs to me that some may be reluctant to come inside these doors because the photographs and remembrance of the past impart more pain than they can bear. I understand that. I walked through the museum on Monday night and spent more than two hours. But I think that our obligations to history and posterity alike should beckon us all inside these doors. It is a journey that I hope every American who comes to Washington will take, a journey I hope all the visitors to this city from abroad will make.

I believe that this museum will touch the life of everyone who enters and leaves everyone forever changed; a place of deep sadness and a sanctuary of bright hope; an ally of education against ignorance, of humility, against arrogance, an investment in a secure future against whatever insanity lurks ahead. If this museum can mobilize morality, then those who have perished will thereby gain a measure of immortality.

I know this is a difficult day for those we call "survivors." Those of us born after the war cannot yet fully comprehend their sorrow or pain. But if our expressions are inadequate to this moment, at least may I share these words inscribed in the Book of Wisdom: "the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and no torment shall touch them. In the eyes of fools they seem to die. They're passing away was thought to be an affliction. And their going forth from us, utter destruction. But they are in peace.

On this day of triumphant reunion and celebration, I hope those who have survived have found their peace. Our task, with God's blessing upon our souls and the memories of the fallen in our hearts and minds, is to the ceaseless struggle to preserve human rights and dignity. We are now strengthened and will be forever strengthened by remembrance. I pray that we shall prevail.
(Applause.)

END

12:59 P.M. EDT