

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memorandum from
Deputy Secretary Kunin
recommending that you consider
appointing a National
Commission on the Prevention
of Violence. Carol Rasco has
seen this, and thought you
should consider Madeleine's
idea.

yr
R. Paul Richard

Rasco

I think this has
merit - and HRC -
should also ask Rene
what conflict w/ what
she wants to do - R.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

03 JUN 28 P3:13

June 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: President and Mrs. Bill Clinton

FROM: Madeleine M. Kunin *MMK*

SUBJECT: National Commission on Violence Prevention

I would like to suggest that you appoint a national commission on the Prevention of Violence to examine the causes of violence in the family, the school, and the community.

I know of no other question that grips Americans more powerfully than the growing pervasiveness of violence in our society. It affects our sense of security and erodes our optimism.

I understand that you may question the effectiveness of such a commission. In this case, I believe a commission would not be seen as an excuse for inaction, but rather as a serious effort to probe a disturbing phenomenon and thereby, shed light, as well as help direct future public policy. It would demonstrate that the President is sensitive to our deepest concerns.

Establishing some of the causes of violence will not be an easy task, but the process of initiating an open discussion will permit the administration to emphasize the importance of family and community. I believe the public wants to know that the President and other public figures share their fears and will do everything in their power to strengthen their sense of security.

The increased incidents of violence reveal that the center is not holding, that society is more frayed than we would like to believe. As a result, I believe there is a strong desire to find ways in which we can reweave the social fabric.

I suggest that the Commission be chaired by Attorney General Janet Reno, or Marion Wright Edelman.

Participants should include some members of the cabinet, such as Justice, Education and Health and Human Services, Tipper Gore, as well as parents, women's groups, civil rights groups, academicians, theologians and philosophers. For example, Michael Lerner of Tikkun would make an excellent contribution.

I greatly appreciate your consideration of this suggestion and would be pleased to explore it further if you so desire.

cc: Richard Riley
Mike Smith
Ray Cortines

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CC:
McGinty

June 30, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a Katie McGinty memo seeking further guidance on the forest plan. Briefly, on question 1, the management plan, there is consensus on and you have indicated your support for option 9 -- no internal dispute here. On question 2, the phase-in feature suggested originally by Katie seems to be phasing out in favor of trying to add timber harvests from other sources.

On question 3, 4, and 5, involving "conversion" financing, there seems to be greater internal consensus on the questions presented. The best approach may be to propose the levels recommended in the attached memo and consider additional dollars for economic development only in the context of further discussion with the Hill.

I have discussed this with George and if you feel comfortable with these decisions there is probably no need for a meeting.



John Podesta

cc: The Vice President
George Stephanopolous
David Gergen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

33 JUN 29 P6:14

JUNE 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATIE MCGINTY *KM*

SUBJECT: PENDING QUESTIONS FROM FOREST DECISION MEMO

On several issues raised in the forest plan decision memo, you indicated that you would like further discussion. I discussed this with George and he suggested that the best way to proceed in light of the shortness of time was simply to list those issues here and ask again for guidance rather than to try at this point to schedule a meeting to discuss.

1. Forest Management Plan -- The Executive Committee recommended that we base the new forest management plan on the "unified reserve" option; i.e. "option 9." You indicated here both that you agree and that you wanted to discuss.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE?

Yes *[initials]* No *[checkmark]*

2. Phase-in -- The majority of the Executive Committee (NEC dissenting) agreed that the plan should include a feature whereby the sustainable harvest levels are phased-in over a period of ten years. You indicated here both that you agree and that you wanted to discuss. We made this recommendation on the assumption that labor/industry would find that a positive feature. Further conversations with this group have revealed that they are not interested in such a phase-in but would prefer, instead, that we simply commit to moving as much timber as is possible. (Note that while there is much controversy surrounding the sustainable harvest level, the truth is that harvest levels in the short term really will be constrained not so much by the environmental requirements of option 9, but by physical limitations due to a lack of forest service personnel able to prepare the sales). Governor Roberts also strongly recommended against pursuing this option. The Executive Committee will reconvene tomorrow to discuss this issue again in light of the new information we have gathered.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS THIS FURTHER AFTER THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETS OR ARE YOU COMFORTABLE WITH ALLOWING THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE DECIDE WHETHER THIS SHOULD BE PART OF THE PACKAGE?

Discuss _____

Executive Committee to Decide ✓

3. Fiscal Assistance to Counties -- The Executive committee unanimously recommended that we call for the establishment of a ten-year schedule of federal payments, beginning at safety-net levels (i.e. guaranteed minimum revenue sharing equivalent to 85 percent of the five-year average past payments in fiscal years 1986 through 1990) and declining three percent per year. You indicated here that you wanted to discuss this issue.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE?

Yes _____

No ✓

4. Reprogramming and Redirecting FY1994 Budget Levels -- On this issue, the majority of the Executive Committee recommended the reprogramming and redirection of \$146.6 million for the region in FY1994 (in addition to the \$167 million from the investment package). Labor, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce felt, however, that additional monies should be found to increase this amount. Additional amounts were not recommended, however, because the agencies, while perceiving a need, were not inclined to dedicate additional funds without direction from you to do so. Initial reactions to the economic package by Governors Lowry and Roberts as well as the Democratic members of the delegation were positive; to date, we have not heard criticism that the package is inadequate. You indicated here that you wanted to discuss this issue.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE?

Yes _____

No ✓

X 5. Watershed Restoration/Business and Communities Investments -- After conversations with Governors Lowry and Roberts, Peter Yu (NEC) and T.J. Glauthier (OMB) recommend that we reduce spending on watersheds (down 20 million) and increase spending on businesses and communities (up 20 million). Labor groups have also indicated that they would favor such a shift in funding levels.

DO YOU AGREE WITH THIS ACTION?

Yes ✓

No _____



TUFTS UNIVERSITY 03 JUN 30 PM 1:45
School of Nutrition

Center on Hunger, Poverty
and Nutrition Policy
June 29, 1993

Mr. John Podesta
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

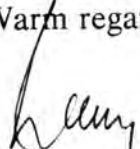
Dear John:

If the White House intends to hang tough on the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act during the conference committee, I believe we can deliver several top CEOs for a D.C. visit with key conference members. This is along the lines we discussed for the budget itself, but could now be more direct, low-key and targeted.

Enclosed is a list of CEOs supporting the Leland Bill, and I'm quite confident that we could come through at least with those I've mentioned. Their message would be the same as that reflected in the enclosed brochure.

Please float it there and let me know if there's an interest.

Warm regards


J. Larry Brown
Director

C.C. Leo J. Pawe MA
Howard Roster
Ellen Haas
USDA

630-93

**CORPORATE EXECUTIVE ENDORSERS OF STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF
THE MICKEY LELAND CHILDHOOD HUNGER RELIEF ACT
1993**

Dwayne O. Andreas, Chairman & CEO, Archer Daniels Midland Company, Decatur, IL

Patricia Beninati, President, Gotcha Covered Productions, New York, NY

R. William Blasdale, President and CEO, Julius Koch USA, Inc., New Bedford, MA

Thomas M. Chappell, President, Tom's of Maine, Kennebunk, ME

Yvon Chouinard, Owner, Patagonia, Ventura, CA

David H. Clarke, Deputy Chairman, CEO, Hanson Industries, Iselin, NJ

Ben Cohen, Chairman, Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream, Waterbury, VT

Larry E. Dixon, President & CEO, Map International, Brunswick, GA

Mark Fasold, President, Smith and Hawken, Mill Valley, CA

Harold B. Finch, Chairman & CEO, Nash Finch Company, Minneapolis, MN

Sandra J. Foster, President, Indelible Communications, Atlanta, GA

Lester J. Fox, President & CEO, Real Services, Inc., South Bend, IN

Richard E. Grey, President, CEO & Chairman, Tyco Toys, Inc., Mt. Laurel, NJ

Barry Grieff, Chairman & CEO, Promotional Concept Group, New York, NY

Alan Hassenfeld, Chairman & CEO, Hasbro, Inc., Pawtucket, RI

Arnold Hiatt, Chairman, Stride Rite Corporation, Cambridge, MA

Thomas J. Kalinske, President & CEO, Sega of America, Redwood City, CA

Charles Lazarus, Chairman & CEO, Toys 'R' Us, Paramus, NJ

Michael MacLeod, President, Public Interest Data Inc., Washington, DC

David Miller, President, Toy Manufacturers of America, Inc., New York, NY

Lawrence S. Phillips, Chairman, Phillips/Van Heusen, Inc., New York, NY

Jean Acevdo Rennie, President, Quality Controlled Systems, Inc., Pembroke Pines, FL

Vidal Sassoon, President, Vidal Sassoon Foundation, Los Angeles, CA

William H. Tremayne, Sr. VP, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Newark, NJ

Jack Willis, President & CEO, Twin Cities Public Television, Inc., St. Paul, MN

William S. Woodside, Chairman, Sky Chefs, New York, NY

C.E.O. Statement in Support of the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act

We come together as chief executives of major American corporations to declare that hunger in the United States is unacceptable and that it must be ended.

We strongly support the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act the most important anti-hunger legislation proposed in the last 16 years. We urge Congress to take advantage of the double opportunity presented by this bill -- the opportunity to keep our children and families healthy, and the opportunity to strengthen our economic productivity as a nation.

We recognize that we risk the health and vitality of our nation when we allow our children to grow up lacking necessary supports. Over the past decade, for example, we have become especially concerned about the quality of their education.

Six years ago the business community issued a statement asserting that we must improve not just the school systems, but the lives and living conditions of children within those schools. Today we echo this sentiment. We believe that early investment in our children is an important way to break the vicious cycle of disaffection and despair.

Nowhere is this despair more evident than in the face of a hungry child. Sadly, millions of American children go hungry every month. This is morally wrong. Hunger weakens their growing bodies and poses a peril to their developing brains. It saps their ability to learn and drains their enthusiasm to succeed.

For the U.S. to remain competitive in the future, the health and well-being of our children needs to be a priority today. Hungry children are deprived of the opportunity to develop and reach their full potential. They cannot pay attention in class and will not learn essential skills which will enable them to be productive adults. As hungry children are deprived of opportunities, so will our nation be deprived of their lost contributions.

The tools for solving the problem of hunger are within our grasp. Passing and funding the Leland Bill is a critical step toward maximizing the effectiveness of one of our most important nutrition programs.

More than 90 percent of the Leland Bill's provisions are targeted to families with children. The bill allows ways for families to save on excess housing costs without losing food stamp benefits. It updates limits last set in 1977 on the fair market value of vehicles that recipient families may own. It provides child support payment incentives for both custodial and absent parents. And, it helps families obtain nutritious diets in the economy of the 1990's.

A 1992 survey by *Wall Street Journal* pollster Vincent Breglio shows that a majority of American voters joins our call to end hunger. Nine out of 10 voters rank hunger as the most solvable of a list of national problems, and more than 80 percent express support for programs that benefit children.

A nation that fails to feed its young is a nation that jeopardizes its future. We recognize that America's competitive strength is dependent upon more than sleek, new factories and high technology. America is dependent upon a healthy, skilled and educated workforce that is able to create and adapt to an increasingly technological workplace.

We should wait no longer to end hunger. If we do not act now, we will bear its cost twice: now and in the future. The most important step right now is for Congress to fund the Leland Bill. Funding Leland is a wise investment. It will protect our most vulnerable and precious resource -- our children. And it will strengthen America.

• **Alvin C. Berman**
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Habitat for Humanity

• **Vidal Sassoon**
President
Vidal Sassoon Foundation

• **William S. Woodside**
Chairman
Sky Chefs, Inc.



Taking the Message to Capitol Hill

Alan G. Hassenfeld,
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Hasbro, Inc.

Arnold Hiatt, *Chairman*,
Stride Rite Foundation

Vidal Sassoon, *President*
Vidal Sassoon Foundation

William S. Woodside, *Chairman*
Sky Chefs, Inc.

On June 23, a group of corporate executives met with leaders on Capitol Hill to urge immediate action to address growing hunger among American children. With more than five million children going hungry each month, the business executives declared that hunger in the United States is unacceptable and that it must be ended.

At a Budget Committee and House Select Committee on Hunger press conference in support of the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act (sponsored by respective Chairmen Leon Panetta and Tony Hall), the four corporate chairmen presented personal statements urging swift passage of the bill. At the same time, they released a joint **C.E.O. Statement in Support of the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act** signed by an additional 23 business leaders. Statements calling for an end to hunger were also presented by Chairmen Panetta and Hall, Congressmen Bill Emerson and Kika de la Garza, and Senator Patrick Leahy.

Later in the day the corporate executives met with Congressional leadership including Speaker of the House Tom Foley, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole, and Senators Robert Packwood and John Chafee.

They spoke of how harmful hunger is to our nation's economic strength and also to our sense of moral well-being. They also spoke of how it affected the image of the wealthiest nation on earth, the United States of America, in the eyes of other nations. They urged support for the Leland bill as an immediate way to address hunger and promote economic development.

The Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act

The Leland Act is the most important domestic anti-hunger legislation proposed in the last fifteen years. It assists families with children in need primarily by improving the Food Stamp Program.

Food stamps provide the first line of defense against hunger for most children and their families — more than 80 percent of the program's benefits go to families with children. Unfortunately, due to outdated program laws, many needy families are denied sufficient benefits forcing them to choose between shelter and adequate food for their children.





Alan G. Hassenfeld
Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer
Hasbro, Inc.

It is terribly wrong that millions of American children go hungry every month. Not only is it wrong, it is unnecessary. . .

. . . Hunger is a problem that we can readily solve. Unlike some developing nations where resources are scarce, America *has* enough food to feed all our people. And we *have* in place a system of federal food assistance programs which can feed all hungry Americans. Solving the problem of hunger in the U.S. is within our grasp. . .

. . . Investment in the eradication of hunger today is a good business decision. If we fail to make this investment, it is doubtful that we can sustain healthy economic growth. Without this investment, our nation may disintegrate into a country sharply divided between those who have enough to eat and those who do not. We cannot let this happen. We cannot **afford** to let this happen. . .

. . . Together, my colleagues and I urge Congress to take advantage of the double opportunity presented by the Leland bill — the opportunity to keep our children and families healthy, and the opportunity to strengthen our nation's economic productivity.



Arnold Hiatt
Chairman
The Stride Rite Foundation

. . . Growing numbers of corporate executives are aware of the inextricable link between the well-being of our families and the well-being of our nation. Nowhere is this link manifest so strongly as with the problem of hunger.

Hungry mothers give birth to smaller babies who are more likely to suffer permanent impairments. Hungry children cannot do as well in school, and are robbed of essential skills to enable them to become productive adults. Hungry adults find it more difficult to cope, care for families, do their jobs, and make meaningful contributions to their communities. . .

. . . We now have at our disposal the tools to eliminate hunger — programs which work but are being used only on a limited basis.

In coming years our nation will need its full productive capacity. Funding the Leland bill, as a first step toward ending hunger by 1995, is essential not only for the hungry, but for the country as well.



Vidal Sassoon
President
The Vidal Sassoon
Foundation

We will not recover our competitive strength as a nation until we heal our cities and heal our people. We must embrace policies that allow our children, and thereby our nation, to become healthy, strong and innovative . . .

. . . The U.S. cannot be a world leader when it ranks twenty-second in infant mortality and when children currently account for 15 percent of all homeless persons. And surely we cannot lead the world when in this land of plenty, over five million of our children go hungry each month. . .

Eliminating hunger is a fundamental requirement for a strong America . . . We should not wait any longer. The U.S. can become a world leader again, but only with a strong economy and a healthy population. By passing the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act, government can begin immediately to revitalize our America.



William S. Woodside
Chairman
Sky Chefs, Inc.

With my colleagues, I share a deep concern about the growing number of poor and disadvantaged children in this country. One out of every five children in America is poor. More than five million young American children go hungry every month. As an economist and businessman, I recognize the great threat that childhood poverty and hunger pose to our nation's future . . .

. . . All of us would prefer that a growing economic base would ensure that all American families could provide sufficient food for their children. Currently, however, children go hungry because their families lack the necessary resources to feed them. The Leland bill will assure that American families are better able to feed their children. . .

. . . The twenty-first century is no longer an abstraction. The children of today make up the workforce that will have to sustain our economy in the coming century. . . The time to end hunger is long overdue. I urge all members of Congress to find the wallet and the will to pass the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act.

Corporate Executive Endorsers of Statement in Support of the
Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act

"We should
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Dwayne O. Andreas
Chairman & CEO
Archer Daniels Midland
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Decatur, IL

Patricia Beninati
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R. William Blasdale
President & CEO
Julius Koch USA, Inc.
New Bedford, MA

Thomas M. Chappell
President
Tom's of Maine
Kennebunkport, ME

Yvon Chouinard
Owner
Patagonia
Ventura, CA

David H. Clarke
Deputy Chairman, CEO
Hanson Industries
Iselin, NJ

Ben Cohen
Chairman
Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream
Waterbury, VT

W.F. Cronk
President
Dreyer's Grand Ice Cream
Oakland, CA

Larry E. Dixon
President & CEO
Map International
Brunswick, GA

Mark Fasold
President
Smith and Hawken
Mill Valley, CA

Harold B. Finch
Chairman & CEO
Nash Finch Company
Minneapolis, MN

Sandra J. Foster
President
Indelible Communications
Atlanta, GA

Lester J. Fox
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Paramus, NJ

Michael MacLeod
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Washington, D.C.

David Miller
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Lawrence S. Phillips
Chairman
Phillips/Van Heusen, Inc.
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Jean Acevdo Rennie
President
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Pembroke Pines, FL

Vidal Sassoon
President
Vidal Sassoon Foundation
Los Angeles, CA

William H. Tremayne
Senior Vice President
The Prudential Insurance
Company of America
Newark, NJ

Jack Willis
President & CEO
Twin Cities Public Television,
Inc.
St. Paul, MN

William S. Woodside
Chairman
Sky Chefs
New York, NY

- Allow families with children to deduct high shelter costs from their income just as elderly and disabled households do at present
- Allow adult relatives who live together to be separate food stamp households if they buy and cook food separately
- Prevent the first \$50 paid as child support each month from being counted as income in determining food stamp benefits
- Exclude from low-income households' income any legally obligated child support payments household members make to people outside of their household
- Index the current \$4,500 limit on the fair market value of vehicles that food stamp recipients may own
- Expand funding for commodity purchases for distribution through the Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP)

House of Representatives approves the bill by a vote of 336-83. During the Budget Summit agreement between the President and Congress, the bill fails.

Senate Agriculture Committee approves the Leland bill (14-1) and the House Agriculture Committee approves it unanimously.

The Leland bill passes the House with a 256-163 vote as part of the Children's Initiative.

This brochure was produced by the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University in Medford, Mass. in cooperation with the corporations involved in the June 23 meetings on the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act. The center along with the Food Research and Action Center, Washington, D.C., assisted in planning the meetings. Additional copies can be obtained from the corporations or from the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/30/93

TO: BRUCE LINDSEY

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

For your appropriate handling.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

13 JUN 30 P4:27

June 30, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: John H. Gibbons 
SUBJECT: Choice of NIH Director

The two names submitted to you are strong candidates. I recommend Harold Varmus. His medical degree and Nobel award constitute a powerful signal to the life science and medical community about our commitment to excellence in research. Judy Roden is very articulate, a good manager, and has a keen insight into how the institutions of science work, but she doesn't carry the scientific clout of Varmus. I think that you could tap her later this summer as a member of your reconstituted President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. I will contact you about that plan after your return from Tokyo.

025984



GS/Geary

Worth

Madi

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/30



Straight Talk About GAYS

Gay rights are front and center as Bill Clinton moves to end the military ban on homosexuals. But Americans are deeply ambivalent on the issue

Scott Peck, born just months before the 1969 riot at Manhattan's Stonewall Inn that launched the gay-rights movement, had celebrity thrust upon him in the midst of the nation's current gay-rights watershed. After his father, Col. Fred Peck, stunned senators with his days-old discovery that his "recruiter's dream" of a son was gay, Scott Peck flew to Camp Pendleton, Calif., to introduce his lover. The three men talked long past midnight, drinking wine and joking on the colonel's ocean-view patio. Under the glow of the moon, the younger men tried to dissuade the no-nonsense marine from his support for the military's ban on homosexuals, and the older man restated his "realistic" fear that his son, if a soldier, might take a bullet in the back from a homophobic infantryman. In that California back yard, as in Senate hearing rooms and across the country, parents and children, straights and gays are urgently trying to sort through respect, rights and sexuality.

This ferment over homosexuality—within recent memory an unspoken social taboo—has many of the hallmarks of the upheavals caused by earlier social revolutions. It centers on a debate over civil rights, complete with mass demonstrations and angry backlash. Gays are demanding not just tolerance but the right to be open about who they are,

just like heterosexuals, without fear that they will face discrimination. But that is the very point that rankles a majority of Americans: Although ready to live and let live, they do not endorse homosexuality as equal to heterosexuality.

Typical of this tension is how the military, long hostile to homosexuals, is now grappling with homosexuality. Last week, the Pentagon circulated a proposal that backtracked from Bill Clinton's promise to end the military ban on homosexuals. The plan—dubbed "don't ask, don't tell"—would bar questioning military recruits about their sexual preferences, but would allow the services to toss out those who revealed their homosexuality. Sometime during July, Clinton plans to decide how to structure an executive order on the subject. No matter what he does, the change is bound to fuel further battles in Congress and the courts (story, Page 47). While the Pentagon regards the military as a special institution and service as a privilege, not a right, to gays, the military is the first in a series of tests of whether they can stop lying about their sexuality. Failure to lift the military ban will be perceived as a major setback to gay rights—and as a betrayal of Clinton's campaign promises.

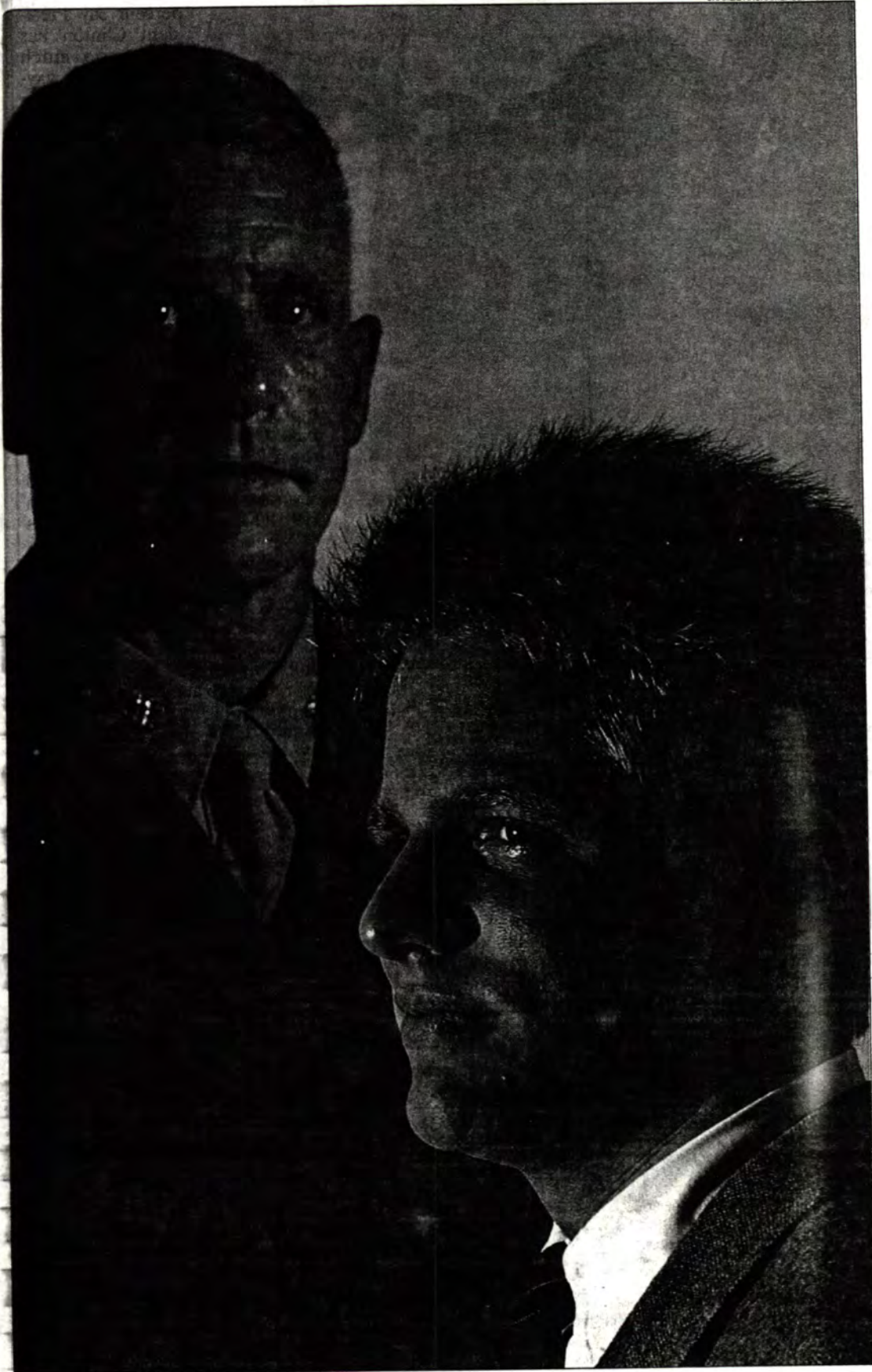
Most Americans evince a pained ambiguity about where they stand on these issues, according to a new *U.S. News* poll. Sixty-five percent of respondents say they want to ensure equal rights for gay people. Whether

OUT
IS IN
▼

U.S. NEWS POLL

WHO KNOWS WHAT

53% of American voters say they personally know someone who is gay and this familiarity tends to make them think more favorably about gay rights. 46% say they do not know anyone gay and they largely oppose gay rights.

**COL. FRED PECK:**

"When you find out your son is gay, and [he] brings his lover to your home for a few days, it opens your eyes."

SCOTT PECK: "For a lot of people, when they meet a gay person, their initial reaction is this is someone who's part of a radical, deviant subgroup. But if they already know that you're just as normal and often boring as anyone else, they see you as a person, not as a stereotype."

~~~~~





**PHYLLIS BURKE (CENTER) WITH COMPANION CHERYL PEANER AND THEIR SON JESSE:** "He has two mothers. He knows his world is a bit different, but he spends a lot of time in the world of his friends. He sees adult men. We love our children the way [straights] love theirs."

they voted for Clinton, George Bush or Ross Perot, most agree that gays should not face discrimination. Yet at the same time, fully half *oppose* extending current civil-rights laws to cover gays. Most voters still view homosexuality as a "lifestyle" choice, rather than a matter of civil rights. That is reflected in the near dead-even split of the public's attitudes about the impact of extending civil-

rights laws to homosexuals: 44 percent of respondents say that such laws would end discrimination; 43 percent worry that it would amount to endorsing the gay lifestyle. And previous surveys have shown that most Americans mistakenly believe gays are covered by existing federal rights law.

What a majority of citizens seem to want is to avert their eyes from the con-

#### FAMILY LIFE

**60%** oppose recognizing "legal partnerships" for homosexuals; **35%** approve of the idea. **70%** oppose allowing gays to adopt; only **24%** support the idea.

trovery. Fifty-six percent say President Clinton has spent too much time on the gay-rights issue. "Voters clearly want to get on with the issues that they see as more central to their own lives — like the econo-

my and jobs," argues Celinda Lake, who conducted the poll in collaboration with Ed Goetas.

Much of the sudden prominence of gay civil rights is due to gays themselves, who are more open about their homosexuality and more urgently demand an end to bias. Once gays leave the closet, the risk of harm grows. The Cracker Barrel restaurant chain fired several openly gay employees in 1991. This spring, Sharon Bottoms of Virginia lost custody of her 2-year-old son because she was open about being a lesbian. Gays now say it is discrimination that they all share in common — after years of focusing on sexual freedom as that link. This reflects a new AIDS-era sobriety and a pragmatic understanding that many heterosexuals found them unappealing when perceived as a promiscuous group.

Clinton's election, of course, also fueled the new scrutiny of gay-rights issues. For the first time, gays find themselves courted, albeit cautiously, by a sympathetic president. In return, they showed their political power last November by giving 9 of every 10 gay votes to Clinton, according to a survey by Overlooked Opinions, a gay polling firm. And hundreds of thousands of demonstrators turned out for an April protest in the nation's capital that was reminiscent of Martin Luther King's March on Washington 30 years earlier.

If gays are more comfortable these

#### THE LIMITS OF TOLERANCE

A U.S. News poll shows nuanced and conflicting views on gays

##### CLINTON'S FOCUS

**56%** say Clinton has spent too much time on gay-rights issues; **29%** say he has spent about the right amount of time.

##### OPINION CUES

The top-ranking influences on voters' attitudes on homo-

sexuality: **29%** say religious organizations shaped their views (of those, **79%** oppose gay rights); **18%** say gay acquaintances were most important (of those, **66%** support gay rights); **17%** say the media (of those, **44%** oppose gay rights) and **15%** say their

family (of those, **47%** oppose gay rights).

##### MEDIA IMAGES

**56%** of voters worry that media portrayals of gays have had a negative influence on society; **33%** say media images have had a positive influence.

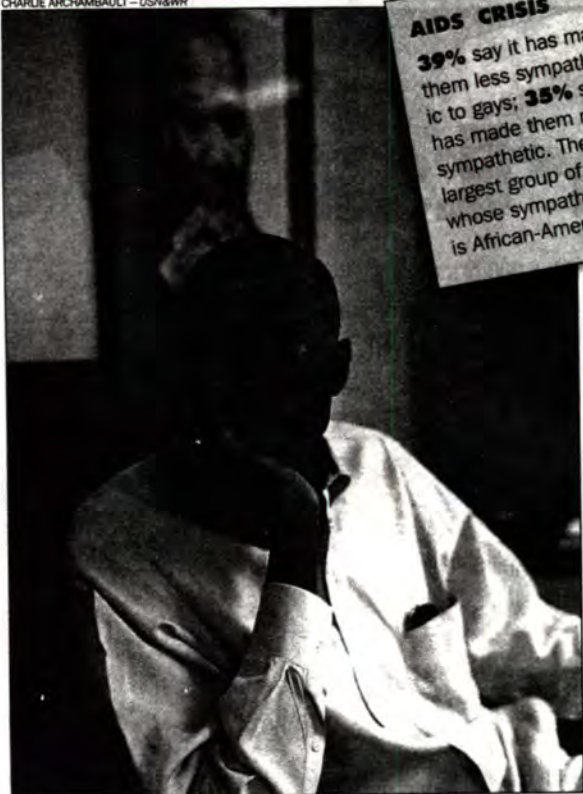
##### PATTERNS

The voters least likely to

know a homosexual: those in South Central region (**53%** do not know any gays); homemakers (**53%**); retirees (**67%**); those with less than high-school education (**63%**); those in small towns (**54%**).

Those most likely to know a homosexual: Mountain States (**64%**); suburbanites (**58%**); college graduates (**63%**); those between ages 35 and 64 (**58%**).





**BRANDY MOORE, ACTIVIST:** "AIDS is my lover. I know AIDS intimately. But for some people it's frightening if I say, 'I have AIDS.' They can't talk about it."

days being open in America, their fellow citizens clearly are also more comfortable around gays. With the elections this spring of a lesbian to the City Council in Los Angeles and a gay man to a council seat in Dallas, there are some 120 openly gay officials in municipal office, more than double the number two years ago. Eight states (six within just the past three years) and more than 100 municipalities have passed gay-rights laws. Lesbians and gays pop up as diverse characters in prime time on "Roseanne" and other TV shows or at the center of a spate of new offerings from Hollywood and Broadway. (Interestingly, according to the *U.S. News* poll, both gay-rights supporters and opponents dislike the portrayals.)

Moreover, businesses now see the gay community as a consumer force with far-above-average disposable income: One poll by Overlooked Opinions, in fact, put the median annual household income for a gay man or couple at nearly \$13,000 higher than that of the average American household. Men embrace men in ads for Banana Republic, and even the Book-of-the-Month Club has a new collection of

#### AIDS CRISIS

39% say it has made them less sympathetic to gays; 35% say it has made them more sympathetic. The largest group of those whose sympathy grew is African-Americans.

"Triangle Classics." Meanwhile, state courts are steadily expanding gay rights. In May, for instance, Hawaii's Supreme Court ruled that gay marriages there may be legal.

Even as these signs of tolerance abound, organized opposition has grown. Last fall, voters in Oregon defeated a ballot initiative declaring homosexuality "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse," but a more subtly phrased measure passed decisively in Colorado. Anti-gay citizen groups have learned from that and are promoting Colorado-style measures in some 17 states and numerous cities this year and next. And in New York City, an elementary-school curriculum was changed after parents and educators

complained that it was propagandistic and inappropriate; the curriculum was value-blind, as the critics saw it,

teaching first graders that gay families were essentially not different from the traditional heterosexual form.

While gays and lesbians say they have the same aspirations as other minorities—an end to stigmatization and an expansion of civil rights—their movement has some fundamental differences that are becoming important as the debate intensifies:

■ **The closet.** Unlike members of other minority groups, most gays can "pass" in the majority culture. Most of them do, either denying their homosexuality or being open with only their closest friends and family for fear of risking a job, a promotion or housing. With 1,898 hate crimes against gays and lesbians reported in just five major cities last year, many homosexuals fear that coming out can result in injury or even death.

The great irony, though, is that straight America's growing acceptance of gays is directly related to

the willingness of gays to come out of the closet. According to the *U.S. News* poll, Americans who know gay people are the most likely to support new civil-rights protections. A majority of respondents, 53 percent, now say they personally know someone—a friend, relative or co-worker—who is gay (as recently as 1985, pollsters routinely found only 25 to 30 percent of Americans knew a homosexual). In the *U.S. News* survey, 73 percent of those who know gay people favor equal rights; only 55 percent of those who do not know gay people favor the idea.

At the same time, the very success of closeted gays allows gay-rights opponents to argue there is no need for civil-rights protection. "Discrimination is insignificant. Gays are twice as well-off as the average American," says Gary Jarmin of Christian Voice.

The closet divides not only gays from heterosexuals, but gays from other gays. That is clear in the "queers" vs. gays debate. A small but growing number of gay radicals—the queers—argue for a militant celebration of gay culture. Gays who try to pass in the heterosexual world, argues Stephen Smith of ACT UP, in

effect concede, by hiding, that there is something wrong with gay life. That complaint is behind some radicals' practice of "outing" other gays, particu-

#### SEX EDUCATION

52% oppose teaching about gay orientation in sex education classes in public schools; 44% favor it. Strong opposition comes from those with schoolchildren.



**MARY CUMMINS, N.Y.C. SCHOOL BOARD:** "This is a parents-rights issue. We're not anti-gay. But schools shouldn't foist it on children."

SCOTT GOLDSMITH FOR USN&amp;WR



## SCIENCE & SOCIETY

larly ones with high visibility to heterosexuals. Smith also complains that the gay community's most extreme fringe members—including drag queens and leather fetishists—were pushed aside at the April gay-rights march to make the demonstration more appealing to straight America. In fact, many opponents of gay rights made a similar complaint about the march: In their view, the liberal media had deliberately downplayed the fringe elements to make the cause more palatable.

The mixed feelings of many gays about being closeted are played out in all gay-rights disputes, including the debate over the military. The Pentagon's "don't ask, don't tell" proposal would tolerate gays as long as they remain private and closeted—and only recently, the right to privacy would have been enough for most gays. But now many want to stop living a lie. The Campaign for Military Service, which is leading the drive to lift the ban, is pushing a "don't ask, don't punish" policy that would allow gays, like heterosexuals, to put a lover's picture on a desk or talk about a date over the weekend, but would limit gay sex to areas off base.

**■ The moral opposition.** Many Americans question whether a group defined by something as private as sexual behavior—especially behavior that clashes with much religious teaching—should be guaranteed the kind of protections previously given to blacks, women, the disabled and others whose minority standing was determined by clearly innate characteristics. While most Americans endorse tolerance, they worry about clashes of beliefs. Robert Knight of the Family Research Council complains that gay rights amount to an "oppressive" and "forced acceptance" of minority beliefs, as when gay-rights advocates argue that a nonprofit group like the Boy Scouts should be required to accept gays. "If gays are really out for tolerance, they would form their own Boy Scout troops," Knight argues. Similarly, 52 percent of Americans oppose teaching students about homosexuality in public schools, according to the U.S. News poll.

The tolerance of straight Americans has other limits, too. Seventy-three percent oppose same-sex marriages; 60 percent oppose "legal partnerships" for gay couples, and 70 percent object to letting gays adopt children. Most telling is the fact that very high proportions of those who hold such views say they feel them "very strongly." It is often the most strongly held feelings—and in this case more people oppose expanding

## GAYS AND THE PENTAGON

# Next: A federal courtroom

**A**fter the politicians stop fighting over how to address the military's ban on homosexuals, the courts will surely take over. Under the Pentagon's "don't ask, don't tell" plan, a member of the armed services who admits homosexuality or commits homosexual acts could still be discharged. And as long as some kind of prohibition on gays exists, the rule is certain to be challenged. The bad news for the Pentagon is that some

this year whether his right to free speech was violated. In the case of former Army Capt. Dusty Pruitt, a 15-year veteran who admitted her homosexuality in a 1982 newspaper interview, an appellate court called for the Army to explain the reasons for its ban on homosexuals.

But the Pentagon might still prevail. The courts do not recognize homosexuals as a "suspect class" subject to closely scrutinized protection.

DONNA BINDER—IMPACT VISUALS



**Looking ahead.** Activists will challenge any rule that keeps gays in the closet.

judges have shown a growing willingness to question its standards.

The courts must perform a balancing act in deciding whether the rights of an individual outweigh some compelling government interest, such as national security. Traditionally, the courts have given wide latitude to the military to make its rules. Now, says David Burrelli of the Congressional Research Service, "they are asking the military to show a relationship between open homosexuality and its effect on readiness."

Proving that homosexuality degrades military effectiveness will be most difficult in cases where a person has admitted to being homosexual but has not been charged with committing a homosexual act. Joseph Steffan's admission of homosexuality in 1987 came just weeks before he was to have graduated at the top of his class at the U.S. Naval Academy. A federal appeals court will decide later

Only groups with some immutable trait such as skin color who have suffered a past history of discrimination and are politically disadvantaged can acquire suspect-class status.

Beyond those issues, another class of litigation looms. A recent court decision in Hawaii may force it to give legal recognition to homosexual relationships. The federal government and the military provide benefits to people based on state-recognized marriages. Conceivably, a gay couple married in Hawaii could claim eligibility for federal military benefits such as health care, commissary privileges, housing, life insurance, survivor and death benefits and veterans benefits. The Department of Defense even subsidizes a family's adoption expenses. Will the military have to recognize a gay marriage? Ultimately, the courts will probably help decide.

BY BRUCE B. AUSTER





**CHAI FELDBLUM, RIGHTS SPECIALIST:** "I don't mind being bisexual. It's society that makes it difficult. A civil-rights law would protect us from the discrimination we face."

gay rights—that move politicians.

One belief guiding straight opposition to gay rights is that homosexuals choose to be gay or lesbian. Forty-six percent subscribe to that, and of those nearly 3 out of 5 say they oppose extending civil-rights laws to gays. On the other hand, some 32 percent of the survey respondents say they think homosexuality is innate, and more than half of them favor civil-rights laws for gays. Typical of this group is William Cheshire, editorial-page editor of the *Arizona Republic*, who last year wrote in favor of an antidiscrimination ordinance for Phoenix. "My feelings about gays and lesbians were dominated by religious beliefs," notes Cheshire. But once he studied recent work by scientists Simon LeVay, Michael Bailey and Richard Pillard that suggests gays are born that way, he felt it was unfair to treat them ungenerously for something they could not change. Says Cheshire: "I just did a complete reversal in my attitude toward gays and lesbians."

After the fight over lifting the military's ban on gays, the next rights battle—a federal gay-civil-rights bill—will spark even more heat. Sen. Edward Kennedy and Rep. Henry Waxman plan to introduce a bill that would protect gays from discrimination by employers, landlords, hotels, restaurants and other public places. It likely will avoid touching sure-fire controversy like gay adoptions and gay marriages, and it will say that

representing African-Americans, women, Latinos, the disabled and other minorities. Now it is their turn, and an important step was taken last November when the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the main Washington civil-rights coalition, voted to make a gay-rights bill a legislative priority. A federal anti-bias law would overrule a spate of anti-gay laws being proposed at the state level. Gays are outnumbered at the grassroots level, but with the support of civil-rights coalition members like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the AFL-CIO, gays have sizable power in Washington.

Still, University of Virginia political scientist Larry Sabato thinks the certain donnybrook over a federal gay-civil-rights law would irreversibly damage the gay movement, much as the bitter fight over the equal rights amendment stalled the women's movement. And some gays, including *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan, agree that a civil-rights approach misses the point and that the real challenge is to change attitudes, not laws. Other gay-

#### ANTI-BIAS LAW

50% say that gays suffer from discrimination. 65% say they want to ensure equal rights for gays, but 50% oppose extending civil-rights laws to cover homosexuals.

employers are not required to institute hiring quotas. The bill is modeled after the Americans with Disabilities Act, and gay-rights leaders have adopted the strategy that worked for disability groups.

The first step was to build bridges to the civil-rights community. Since the early 1980s, gay-rights lobbyists have worked on every major piece of civil-rights legislation, in turn winning the respect of groups repre-

sents rights supporters, including Georgetown University Prof. Chai Feldblum, who will help write the proposed federal law, argue that laws are often the first step toward changing hearts and minds.

Still, once anti-bias laws have been adopted, they have generally worked with little controversy. State officials say Wisconsin's law—the first in the nation—has shown that such laws do not put privacy rights at risk. Indeed, of 4,000 bias complaints filed in Wisconsin last year, just 100 alleged anti-gay discrimination. Numerous prominent companies, too, including AT&T, IBM and General Motors, have instituted their own policies in recent years to protect gays in hiring and promotions. These prototypes are creating a working record of achievement that may make it easier to pass a federal anti-bias law.

Clearly, the nation and the gay-rights movement itself have reached a watershed. "We are in the midst of a ritualized national seminar on how we as Americans are talking ourselves into acceptance [of gays]," says gay journalist Frank Browning. If anything, that seminar has shown that the gap between the way gays see themselves (as a minority facing discrimination) and the way they are viewed by many heterosexuals (as a group demanding special rights) remains vast. And a true embrace of gay Americans by straight Americans is hardly a foregone outcome.

BY JOSEPH P. SHAPIRO WITH GARETH G. COOK AND ANDREW KRACKOV

SCOTT GOLDSMITH FOR USNEWS

#### THE ROOT CAUSE

46% believe that homosexuals choose to be gay or lesbian, and this group tends to oppose civil rights for gays. However, 32% think that gays are born that way.



**SIMON LEVAY, FOUND EVIDENCE HOMOSEXUALITY IS INNATE:** "After my lover died of AIDS, I wanted to do science relevant to being gay."



# Intimate friendships

*History shows that the lines between 'straight' and 'gay' sexuality are much more fluid than today's debate suggests*

"Ah, how I love you," wrote President Grover Cleveland's sister Rose to her friend Evangeline Whipple in 1890. "... It makes me heavy with emotion ... all my whole being leans out to you ... I dare not think of your arms." The letter was one of many the two women exchanged, their tone as impassioned and yearning as any billet-doux, their language, at least to modern ears, tinged with eroticism. Evangeline, a young widow, eventually remarried, taking as her husband an aging Episcopalian bishop. But when he died, she resumed her correspondence with Rose, and in 1910 the two women went off to Italy, living together until Cleveland's death eight years later.

Today, such fervor between women—or men—would have a ready name, draw champions and detractors, perhaps spark a spirited defense on the op-ed page. The 1990s focus a stark light on matters of affection and desire, the corners scrutinized, the edges hard and precise. But Rose Cleveland and Evangeline Whipple loved in the waning years of another time, when the lines were drawn differently, the urge to categorize and dissect not so overpowering. Belonging to the 19th century, they were not yet initiated into the idea of "sexual identity," knew nothing of gay bars or marches on Washington and considered even the display of a bare ankle risqué. If, at a garden party or high tea, they encountered the terms "homosexual," "sexual invert" or "lesbian"—labels slowly filtering down in the 1890s from medical circles into common use—they probably would have found them curious, would have shaken their heads and said, "Oh, but surely such things have nothing to do with us!"

Every era clings to the belief that the way it views the world reflects not the influence of culture and location but the way the world is. In the most intimate area of life, in questions of what behind bedroom doors is acceptable or frowned upon, of what sexuality means and how it is expressed, such convictions gain particular force. Yet historians, who only in recent years have begun to reconstruct



**FREEDOM OF CHOICE.** The 19th century encouraged "romantic friendships" between women as good practice for marriage. Later, higher education paved the way for economic independence, giving women the option of choosing another woman as a lifetime partner.



## SCIENCE & SOCIETY

how other epochs regarded amorous relations between members of the same sex, do not see a fixed scene but a moving landscape, a shifting of boundaries and definitions that defies contemporary labeling. Says University of North Carolina historian John D'Emilio: "What we've learned . . . is that sexuality is much more fluid than any of us wants to admit."

**A gay "movement."** Asked to pinpoint the birth of the gay liberation movement, many gay and lesbian activists point to a June night in 1969, when a police raid on a Greenwich Village gay bar, the Stonewall Inn, triggered a riot that mobilized the gay community. Others cite earlier milestones: the founding of the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis in the 1950s; the 1948 publication of the Kinsey report, with its controversial estimate that 1 in 10 men is homosexual, or perhaps the creation of the first lesbian newsletter, *Vice Versa*, distributed informally in 1947 by a Los Angeles secretary, "Lisa Ben." Yet for any of these events to have taken place, something more fundamental was needed: a realization, among those attracted toward members of their own gender, that there were others like them, facing the same difficulties and concerns. And before that, something even more basic: the idea that sexual orientation was an important characteristic, that it set a group of people apart, defining them as different in some essential way from a "heterosexual" majority, a development scholar Jonathan Katz has called "the invention of the homosexual."

Love between men was celebrated as "Eros" in ancient Greece and flourished in other societies like Japan, where it formed a respected subculture as late as the mid-1800s. In Europe, legal and religious sanctions against homosexual behavior at first became common in the Middle Ages, a turbulent period during which the state grew increasingly hostile toward nonconformity of many types. Yet early laws, even the death penalties meted out for sodomy in Colonial Ameri-



**'NO WORSE CRIME.'** Writer Oscar Wilde's 1895 trial and sentencing for "gross indecency" gave homosexuality wide publicity, leading to both social censure and a sense of group identity among gays.

ca, spoke not to a certain type of person, but to any sexual act that departed from the true purpose of sexual intercourse: procreation. Homosexual sex was just one of many ways a person could run afoul of God. In a blistering 1674 sermon, the Rev. Samuel Danforth holds forth equally against the man who "lyeth with mankind, as he lyeth with a woman" and against those who committed other sodomitical acts, such as "self-pollution" (masturbation), adultery and bestiality.

The roots of prescriptions against sodomy and other forms of sexual waywardness were biblical. But the underlying danger of nonprocreative sex lay in its threat to marriage and family, institutions vital to a young society struggling to survive against difficult odds. Yet no one

moving it from the realm of the criminal into what they saw as the kindlier province of medicine. They were radicals, brazenly describing sexual passion as a healthy part of life and exposing sexual details long shrouded in Victorian modesty. Among their friends, they counted gay intellectuals, like those in London's Bloomsbury group, and early champions of homosexual emancipation, like British writer Edward Carpenter.

Yet, however well-intentioned, the sexologists' contribution in the end proved double-edged. By identifying homosexuality as an inborn abnormality, a "sexual inversion," they hoped to engender pity and legal leniency. But they also, for the first time, focused attention—and disapproval—on a group of individuals

in early America considered homosexuality a trait of particular people; through weakness or "inclination," anyone could fall prey to sodomitical sins. Nor, it appears, did those who today would readily embrace the term "gay" see themselves as a distinct group. Embedded in families and small communities, they had no hope for a life apart; nor could they have one, until the coming of cities and railroad tracks, of urban meeting places and jobs that allowed men (and much later women) to strike out on their own, gradually turning what had been a series of sexual "sins" into an identity, a way of being. Even then, the transformation was not complete. To create a person called a homosexual required a new way of thinking about sexuality, less tightly bound to fertility, and the work of a newly bold circle of scientists determined to make explicit what had hitherto been unspoken.

**Dawn of sexology.** "The majority of homosexuals," wrote Dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebing in 1886, "are happy in their perverse sexual feeling and impulse, and unhappy only in so far as social and legal barriers stand in the way of the satisfaction of their instinct toward their own sex." Krafft-Ebing and other turn-of-the-century "sexologists" set out to cleanse homosexuality of its moral taint, re-



rather than on specific behaviors. As historian Michel Foucault put it: "The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species."

The vivid images conjured by the medical doctors, misleading caricatures of mannish women and effeminate men based on extreme cases, seeped into society. In the United States, where the new books on sexuality were widely read, they created an uneasy self-awareness and sensitivity to sexual overtones new and foreign to men and women still immersed in 19th-century notions of romanticism and sentimental friendship.

In this earlier, expansive climate, effusive exchanges between same-sex friends—homosexual or not—had been commonplace. Walt Whitman, now celebrated as America's most famous homoerotic poet, extolled the virtues of "manly love" and "fervent comradeship." But even nonsexual relationships between men found expression in purple prose. In the late 1700s, for example, Alexander Hamilton wrote unselfconsciously to his military comrade John Laurens, "I wish, my dear Laurens . . . it might be in my power, by action rather than words, [to] convince you that I love you." And Henry David Thoreau wrote of men's friendship as "Two sturdy oaks . . . which side by side/Withstand the winter's storm. . . . Their roots are intertwined/Inseparably." As for Rose Cleveland and Evangeline Whipple, in 19th-century eyes theirs was a "romantic friendship," an attachment both high-minded and encouraged in an era when extramarital or premarital liaisons with men were unacceptable.

Were such friendships sexual? We ask the question easily, but the women themselves likely did not—being not yet baptized into a sexually explicit age. Historians are equivocal: "Many were not. Some probably were," they say. Sex, for most of Victorian society, required a male organ, and what women could do together was not deemed of great importance. "If sex entered into it," writes California State University English Prof. Lillian Faderman, "they may have considered it somewhat irregular, but they did not feel compelled to spend too many daytime hours analyzing its implications."

**End of innocence.** The arrival of sexology and its sequel, Freudianism, gradually put an end to such innocence. The boundaries of friendship narrowed. Affectionate links once seen as harmless—schoolgirl crushes, for example, or overt affection between men—began to arouse suspicion. Thus, in the 1800s, writers happily described "smashes" and "spoons" between college women, infatuations in-

volving elaborate courtship rituals. By 1928, a novel about Vassar asserted that "Intimacy between girls was watched with keen distrustful eyes. Among one's classmates, one looked for . . . the masculine girl searching for a feminine counterpart, and one ridiculed their devotions."

Homosexuality as a sickness, a perverse condition, could not just be ig-

and at times perplexing. One early medical text, for example, stated confidently that male homosexuals could not whistle and favored the color green. Popular culture was not much more optimistic. The publication of Blair Niles's "Strange Brother" in 1931 and Radclyffe Hall's "The Well of Loneliness," three years earlier, offered sympathetic



**ALL THAT JAZZ.** The Bohemian set in Harlem and Greenwich Village flirted with bisexuality during the 1920s. Ma Rainie, a jazz vocalist of the time, sang: "Went out last night with a crowd of my friends. They must've been women, 'cause I don't like no men . . ."

nored. Transferred into the arena of medicine, it demanded a cure, and doctors began an all-out campaign. Trying to locate same-sex desire in the body, they pointed to the structure of the pelvis, the size of the penis, to body hair. They warned of the deep-voiced female or the contralto male. They associated homosexuality with degeneracy, then genius and then misguided parenting. And with speculations about cause came attempts at treatment: castration, hypnosis, electric shock, hysterectomies, and later, in a slightly less brutal era, psychoanalysis.

To a young person, confused about sexual feelings and in search of information, the picture of same-sex love gleaned from books and articles in the early 1900s was uniformly depressing

portraits of homosexuality. But Tom, a gay character in Niles's novel, renounces his lover, explaining, "There's no happiness for such as us, Mark, except in overcoming. Put into your work all that you feel—all that you suffer. . . . Don't let our handicap destroy you."

Such portrayals did not provide promising soil for the growth of a "gay pride" movement. Yet the appropriation of homosexuality by the medical profession—and its increased visibility in popular writing—had unexpected consequences. Love between members of the same sex might be deplored and vilified, but it was publicly discussed, and through the accounts of "patients" and the tribulations of "twisted" characters in pulp novels, gay men and lesbians across the country



## SCIENCE & SOCIETY

discovered that there were others like them. They traveled to urban areas, where a burgeoning gay subculture awaited them. And eventually, they began to shift the terms of the dialogue, shedding the language of perversion and self-hate for a new vocabulary of self-respect, staking out a birthing ground for political awareness. It was a movement that would grow and solidify and finally come of age, its strength forged in the cries of young men dying of AIDS.

**Blurring boundaries.** "Same person, no difference at all. Just a different sex," says Orlando, the protagonist of director Sally Potter's newly released film, upon awaking one morning, looking in the mirror, and discovering that "he" has become a "she." Virginia Woolf, in her tongue-in-cheek 1928 novel upon which the movie is based, concedes that Orlando's transformation may strain credibility: "Many people . . . holding that such a change of sex is against nature, have been at great pains to prove (1) that Orlando had always been a woman, (2) that Orlando is at this moment a man," she writes. ". . . But let other pens treat of sex and sexuality; we quit such odious subjects as soon as we can." Woolf's literary exercise grew out of her affair with writer Vita Sackville-West, but her message is a contemporary one: Gender and sexuality are inextricably entangled, and a discussion of either one can quickly lead into perilous and uncertain territory.

Scientists who first studied homosexuality often confused the social niche that men and women occupied with their choice of whom to take to bed. In women, a desire for higher education or an interest in a professional career was seen as a mark of lesbian tendencies; in men, passivity a sure sign that they were "Urnings"—the term coined in 1864 by German lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs for a female soul trapped in a male body. Today, derisive names for homosexuals still reflect this confounding, focusing less on sexual orientation than on departures from accepted gender roles: Male homosexuals are "pansies" or "fairies," lesbians are "bitches" or "bull dykes."

Slowly, as openly gay men and women become more familiar, appearing on television sitcoms, on late-night talk shows, in newspapers and magazines, the rigidity of such conceptions is giving way. But the resistance to change is not surprising. It is never easy to admit that things were not always the way they are now, or that they might be different in the future. Once the crucial line divided procreative and nonprocreative sex; today, many forms of pleasure-driven sexuality

have lost their stigma; premarital sex, masturbation and a variety of erotic practices raise scarcely an eyebrow.

Yet the boundaries that persist are held tightly. They serve, it seems, other purposes, shoring up political arguments and providing reassurance that a kiss or fond embrace will not lead to polymorphous chaos. In part, suggests Brown University historian Lisa Duggan, homophobia may reflect the fear that if that

taboo, too, disappears, the distinctions between the genders will simply dissolve. For a culture where love between men and women is the norm, homosexuality traces a line of definition, an "Other" that demarcates what heterosexuality is and is not. As lesbian activist and poet Judy Grahn puts it: "We are essential to them knowing who they are."

BY ERICA E. GOODE WITH BETSY WAGNER



**CLOSET SEARCH.** The McCarthy era fed a "homosexual panic" in American society, as gays were linked with communism and portrayed as "predatory." Ironically, McCarthy chief counsel Roy Cohn, who hid his own homosexuality, worked to ferret out gays in government.





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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/30

## The Cousteau Society

Washington, DC - June 17<sup>th</sup> 1993 -

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

Mr. President,

May I first congratulate you for the important decisions you have recently made regarding the implementation of the Rio Spirit, the signing of the Biodiversity Convention, the creation of a US Sustainable Development Council etc... As a newly appointed U.N. expert, I applaud the return of the United States of America as the undisputed leader of the protection of the environment -

May I also dare inform you that I am preparing a very important filmed investigation of the role and declarations of major world leaders, to illustrate the Great Adventure of Humankind in the 21st century, and that your personal participation remains indispensable to me, as I mentioned to you when we met at the White House -

Hopefully waiting for your approval, I am,

Faithfully yours,

The Cousteau Society, Inc.



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June 29, 1993

3 7:29 P5:45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL *RE*

SUBJECT: 1994 Detroit Mayoral Race

Attached please find updates on the Detroit Mayoral Race. Please note the possible implications for senate and congressional races in 1994 through 1996. Of particular interest is the possibility of Rep. John Conyers getting into the mayoral race now that Mayor Young has announced his retirement.

Attachment (1)

RE:lh



June 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR RAHM EMANUEL AND JOAN BAGGETT

FROM: Linda Moore  
RE: Detroit Mayoral Race

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young announced 6/22/93 that he will not seek re-election to a sixth term. Young, age 75, has been plagued in recent years by emphysema and persistent lung infections, and stated that he can no longer put 100% into the job and did not want to lower his standard of service.

25 candidates will compete in the 9/14/93 open primary. Dennis Archer (D), an African American, former Michigan Supreme Court Justice and early Clinton supporter is widely believed to be the favorite. The other top contenders, all Democrats and all African Americans, include: Sharon McPhail, head of pretrial screening at the Wayne County prosecutor's office; Rep. John Conyers, who lost to Young in 1989; and Arthur Blackwell, Chairman of the Wayne County Commission.

The Democratic Party in Michigan is badly divided and those divisions will probably be visible in this race. Archer is backed by Wayne County Executive Ed McNamara, who represents the National Education Association/Democratic Leadership Council faction of the party. (In fact, McNamara's top political operative is running Archer's campaign.) Young's organization is closely allied with the United Auto Workers. The Young/UAW alliance has proven very formidable in the past and if they manage to stay together, they may be able to choose the next mayor.

The two factions of the party do not get along and relations between Young and McNamara are terrible. Some speculate that Young will wait on an endorsement in the race until it is clear which candidate he can endorse in order to do maximum damage to Archer. He would probably even consider endorsing Conyers -- his 1989 opponent -- in order to damage Archer. (Relations between Conyers and Young have been very strained in the past, but have improved somewhat in recent years.)

Many believe that McPhail is, at the moment, running a better campaign than expected, though some believe that Blackwell will ultimately emerge as the main challenger to Archer. The top two vote getters in the primary will compete in the 11/3/93 general election.

A poll conducted by Market Strategies 6/22/93 reports that Archer currently enjoys a sizeable lead over the other candidates. Among all Detroit voters, Archer leads with 37%, McPhail is in second with 13%, Conyers is in third with 11%, and Blackwell is in fourth place with 8%. Archer's margin is larger among likely voters. In this category, Archer leads with 42%, followed by McPhail (13%), Conyers (8%), and Blackwell (7%). 29% of all Detroit voters said that an endorsement from Young would make them more likely to support a candidate, while 32% said such an endorsement would make them less likely to support a candidate.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: BETTY CURRIE  
DATE: JUNE 28, 1993  
RE: LETTER TO MR. ROBERT FAUVER - RE. G-7 ENVIRONMENTAL  
ISSUES

Staff member found this letter on a table during the video  
tapings on Friday.

Do you want/need?

Letter can be filed?



ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND — FRIENDS OF THE EARTH  
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION — SIERRA CLUB

Mr. Robert Fauver  
Special Assistant to the President  
for National Security and Economic Affairs  
The White House  
Washington DC 20500

April 27, 1993

Dear Mr. Fauver:

When the leaders of the Group of Seven nations meet next July at the Tokyo Economic Summit, just over a year will have passed since the Earth Summit was held in Rio de Janeiro. They will face the important task of demonstrating with concrete actions their continuing dedication to the commitments and objectives they endorsed in Rio. By asserting bold, creative leadership, the G-7 can ensure that the Earth Summit's agenda of promoting sustainable development in both industrialized and developing nations will continue to possess sufficient momentum to move forward throughout the world.

The G-7 leaders have widely recognized, including at the Munich G-7 Summit, the need for aggressive follow-up to UNCED in order to render the Conference a true success. We urge that in your discussions with the other sherpas leading up to the Tokyo Economic Summit, you discuss specific, multilateral actions the G-7 is prepared to take on environmental issues. Below are some of our key recommendations; more detailed position papers are attached.

World Bank Reform

At present, the World Bank and the other public international financial institutions tend to act as impediments to, rather than catalysts for, sustainable development in developing countries. Outdated development strategies and poor design and implementation quality are resulting in many environmentally and socially damaging projects, and exacerbating the developing world's already crippling debt crisis. In this context, we are disturbed by indications that the Bank is weakening and reissuing its operational directives as more general, less-rigorous operational policies.

The G-7 nations should put forward an agenda for environmental reform and accountability at the World Bank in which the Bank makes project quality and sustainable development its first, over-arching priorities through the following initiatives:

- ⇒ Dramatically improving World Bank transparency and freedom of information in Bank operations, with establishment of a new information policy incorporating these changes at the Bank by December 1993. All information not specifically defined as confidential should be made available to the public in borrower and donor countries.
- ⇒ Promoting the creation of a permanent Independent Appeals Commission to oversee the World Bank, to hear appeals of citizens groups, and to investigate specific complaints of environmental and human rights abuses associated with World Bank financed projects or programs. The Commission would have access to Bank files, and would be competent to recommend suspension or cancellation of specific projects or programs.
- ⇒ Creating staff career incentives that reward project quality and conscientious incorporation of bank environmental and resettlement directives and policies in project and loan preparation, rather than the dollar amount of loans approved.



far few concerted, substantive measures have been taken. At the 1993 Tokyo Economic Summit, the G-7 should convert the declarations of the past into action, leading the way towards prompt implementation of the Climate Convention.

- ⇒ The G-7 should call for the immediate commencement of negotiations to implement and strengthen the Climate Convention. These talks should have the goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions from industrialized countries, e.g. by 25% from 1990 levels by the year 2005, and should proceed on an aggressive timetable.
- ⇒ The G-7 leaders should announce that as a first step until the Convention is strengthened, they will institute policies to cap their countries' emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases at 1990 levels by the year 2000, and will also undertake measures to reduce emissions below these levels.
- ⇒ The G-7 should discuss and adopt multilateral efforts to strengthen energy efficiency standards, by an average of 5% per year, and to shift towards renewable sources of energy supply. They should also act cooperatively to ensure that the price of energy more accurately reflects its environmental and social costs, including by harmonizing their energy-related tax policies, i.e. by increasing energy taxes an average of 5% per year. The G-7 should also work to ensure that GATT does not become an obstacle to the implementation of these types of measures at the national level.
- ⇒ The G-7 governments should agree to realign their bilateral development assistance with the goal of enhancing the implementation of the Rio accords and improving access to energy and transportation services in an environmentally sound and equitable manner. This would require replacing the current emphasis on large-scale construction of road projects and coal, hydroelectric, and nuclear power plants with a new emphasis on energy efficiency, renewable energy supply, non-motorized transport, and public transit systems.

### Population

UNCED's most glaring omission was its failure to address the critical issues of uncontrolled growth in population and consumption. World population, now at 5.5 billion, will double to over 10 billion within the next century, with most of this growth occurring in developing nations. The populations of the G-7 countries, despite their slower growth, have disproportionately high impacts on resources and the global environment because of their high levels of per capita consumption and pollution. The combination of rapid population growth, poverty, and wasteful consumption results in deforestation, migration pressures, and local resource depletion.

- ⇒ The G-7 should ensure that population and consumption implications are considered in economic deliberations, with the goal of attaining long-term sustainable development. Towards this end, the G-7 should increase aid to levels sufficient to meet the goals of the U.N. Amsterdam Declaration by the year 2000 to provide full access to family planning for all people, and address related issues of women's status, education, health care, and economic opportunities.

### Nuclear Plants and Energy Efficiency in Russia and Eastern Europe

There exists a particularly urgent need for G-7 countries to provide economic assistance to Russia and other young democracies in Eastern Europe as they struggle with the difficult objective of market-oriented reform. At the same time, international leadership is crucial in the effort to eliminate the hazards of unsafe nuclear reactors within these countries,



ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND — FRIENDS OF THE EARTH  
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION — SIERRA CLUB

CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES FOR THE TOKYO G7 ECONOMIC SUMMIT

April 27, 1993

Background

The Group of Seven nations collectively emit nearly 40% of the world's carbon dioxide, contributing disproportionately to the threat of global warming. In order to ensure the success of the Climate Convention, it is therefore critical that the G-7 undertake a leadership role in reducing their own carbon dioxide emissions. It is vital that the member countries take concrete measures at home to limit emissions of greenhouse gases; promote energy-sector reforms of both multilateral and bilateral financial institutions; and lead the way to the next stage of negotiations and implementation of the Convention.

Although every G-7 economic summit since the Summit of the Arch in 1989 has stressed the importance of addressing climate change in a cooperative manner among the Group of Seven nations, so far few concerted, substantive measures have been taken.

*"Decisive action is urgently needed to understand and protect the earth's ecological balance. We will work together to achieve the common goals of preserving a healthy and balanced global environment in order to meet shared economic and social objectives and to carry out obligations to future generations.... Therefore, environmental considerations must be taken into account in economic decision-making." (Paris, 1989)*

*"We are committed to undertake common efforts to limit emissions of greenhouse gases.... Work on implementing protocols [to the future Climate Convention] should be undertaken as expeditiously as possible...." (Houston, 1990)*

*"We will seek to expedite work on implementing protocols to reinforce the [future Climate] convention. All participants should be committed to design and implement concrete strategies to limit net emissions of greenhouse gases." (London, 1991)*

*"...Ministers commit themselves to substantial action on the enhancement and protection of greenhouse gas sinks and limitation of emissions of greenhouse gases aiming in particular, as a first step at a stabilization, individually or collectively, of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions...." (OECD Ministerial Meeting on Environment and Development, Paris, 1991)*

*"Rapid and concrete action is required to follow through on our commitments on climate change...." (Munich, 1992)*

At the 1993 Tokyo Economic Summit, the G-7 nations should convert the declarations of the previous economic summits into action, leading the way towards prompt implementation of the Climate Convention. In doing so, they would take a step towards achieving the Convention's objective of stabilizing atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases at levels that would prevent rapid climate change. They should also aim to achieve other long-term sustainable development objectives, as described in Agenda 21.

The case for immediate action to prevent rapid climate change has grown increasingly compelling. New evidence indicates that strong positive biological feedbacks could accelerate



### *Address Energy and Transportation Prices*

G-7 leaders should agree to pursue measures, individually or jointly, to address energy and transportation pricing, so as to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases and other pollutants while simultaneously improving economic efficiency. In no G-7 country do consumers pay the full environmental and social costs of the energy they use. Society subsidizes huge environmental "externalities" by shouldering the burdens of increased health care costs, decay of physical infrastructure, and degradation of ecosystems. Appropriate policy options for eliminating these types of subsidies include G-7 countries acting in harmony to adopt annual, multilateral increments in carbon or energy taxes, e.g. \$1/barrel of oil equivalent per year over a period of 20 years. These taxes should supplement the taxes that individual G-7 countries are now considering, and should exempt renewable sources such as wind, solar, biomass, and geothermal energy. In addition, G-7 countries should also consider other market-based mechanisms to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide. Such measures would be important steps in the implementation of the Climate Convention, as well as Chapters 8 and 9 of Agenda 21.

### *Implement Aggressive Efficiency Standards*

At the Summit, G-7 leaders should also discuss how to improve the efficiency of the basic machinery which runs their industrialized economies. New standards for enhancing the energy efficiency of lighting, refrigeration, electric motors, automobiles, building heating and cooling systems, and other appliances will drive technological innovation, save consumers money, and reduce carbon dioxide emissions well into the future. Options for regulating energy efficiency within individual product categories include establishing minimum standards for each individual item; "corporate average" standards for similar products by each manufacturer; "fleet average" standards for entire product categories; and combinations of these. In order to promote ongoing gains in efficiency, the G-7 countries should multilaterally increase these standards 3-5% annually over a 10-15 year period. Governments should also consider "feebate" and other incentive programs which encourage consumers to purchase the most efficient products on the market.

### *Develop and Deploy Renewable Energy Technologies*

In the long term, industrialized nations must shift their patterns of energy consumption away from fossil fuels and towards renewable sources of energy supply (wind, solar, biomass, and geothermal). G-7 leaders should commit to a shared set of goals for the development and utilization of renewable energy supply technologies, including specific commitments to derive at least 5% of electricity from non-hydro renewable sources by the year 2000.

### **Reinvent Foreign Assistance**

In the short- and long-terms, developing countries will need assistance in preparing greenhouse gas inventories; developing national plans; providing training to government employees, communities and the private sector; promoting sustainable energy development; and adapting to climate changes. At the 1992 Munich Economic Summit, the G-7 nations pledged "additional financial and technical support to developing countries for sustainable development through official development assistance (ODA)...." In order to fulfil this pledge, the G-7 countries must cooperate to ensure that effective mechanisms exist for delivering this aid in a manner which satisfies the requirements set down in the Climate Convention, as discussed below. At present, no adequate mechanisms exist.



Russia and other young democracies in Eastern Europe as they struggle with the difficult objective of market-oriented reform. At the same time, international leadership is crucial in the effort to eliminate the hazards of unsafe nuclear reactors within these countries. During the 1992 Munich Economic Summit, G-7 leaders emphasized their concern over the safety of these reactors, and expressed interest in establishing a program "for replacing less safe plants by the development of alternative energy sources and the more efficient use of energy...." Now is the time for the aggressive implementation of such a program. Elements of this program should include:

- Adequate funding to help close and decommission the most dangerous nuclear power plants in Russia and other former Soviet republics;
- Creation of a \$10 billion fund to help build the gas turbine units needed to replace these nuclear plants, as well as the largest coal-fired power plants; and
- Establishment of a loan guarantee program, operated out of the above fund, which would finance modernization of key industries, with the goal of achieving massive gains in energy efficiency.

The provision of low-interest loans to the emerging private sector in these countries for modernization of factories would have huge environmental, economic, and political benefits. It would save jobs and promote market-oriented economic growth by helping these industries become competitive on world markets. And it would dramatically reduce energy use in the extremely inefficient industrial sector, freeing up enough energy production capacity to enable dangerous nuclear reactors to be permanently closed.

the World Bank has invoked the principal of national sovereignty as a justification for virtual blanket confidentiality, including, for example, the withholding of information on major Bank projects with which grants from the Global Environment Facility are associated. Consultation with, and participation of affected populations in the development process is impossible without public access to documents and information. A compromise must be struck between those who advocate full public access to Bank files and reports and the Bank's current highly restrictive approach to information access.

Therefore, the G7 nations should promote the establishment of a new information policy by the World Bank by December 1993. The new policy should precisely define categories of information that will be treated as confidential in both Bank generated documents and in country generated documents which the Bank requires to be prepared. Each category of document which is designated as confidential should be justified by compelling policy reasons, such as national security, or prevention of procurement abuses. All information not specifically listed as confidential should be made available in its entirety to the public in borrower and donor countries. Such documents must include complete environmental impact analyses and cost-benefit studies, their appendices, and all supporting studies.

**2. The G7 nations should promote the creation of a permanent Independent Appeals Commission to oversee the World Bank.**

An Independent Appeals Commission is needed to promote greater transparency and public accountability in World Bank operations. The Appeals Commission would operate independent of the World Bank and would be empowered to investigate specific complaints of environmental and human rights abuses in Bank operations including violations of World Bank policies, procedures, and loan and credit agreements. The Commission would also be empowered to investigate violations of international human rights law associated with World Bank financed projects or programmes.

The Commission would be competent to recommend suspension or cancellation of a specific project or programme. Judgements of the Commission would be final unless vetoed by two thirds of the Board of Executive Directors.

The Commission would have access to all relevant Bank documents during the course of investigation into any specific project or programme. All judgements of the commission would be published independently of the World Bank and made available to the public.

**3. Staff career incentives should be put into place that reward project quality and conscientious incorporation of bank environmental and resettlement directives and policies in project and loan preparation.**

An important lesson of the Wapenhans report is that pressure on employees to lend money and push projects has often overwhelmed all other economic, social, and environmental considerations.

**4. The Bank should strengthen, implement and enforce its existing policies on environmental assessment, involuntary resettlement, wildlands protection, and forestry.**

Despite the existence of workable Bank policies on these issues, there is overwhelming evidence that these policies are not enforced. In order to be effective, these policies must



**ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND — FRIENDS OF THE EARTH  
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION — SIERRA CLUB**

**POPULATION ISSUES FOR THE TOKYO G7 ECONOMIC SUMMIT**

April 27, 1993

If current trends continue, world population, now at 5.5 billion, will double to over 10 billion within the next century. The G-7 nations have acknowledged the importance of population issues at previous summits:

*"High priority should be given to efforts to cope with population growth and to existing United Nations and other programs for supporting these efforts" (Venice, 1980)*

*"Supporting the efforts of developing countries to [achieve sustainable development by balancing population growth with expanding resources] is a priority. Improved educational opportunities for women and their greater integration into the economy can make important contributions to population stabilization programs" (Houston, 1990)*

*"We endorse the increasing attention being given to population issues in devising strategies for sustainable progress." (London, 1991)*

*"Global challenges such as population growth and the environment can only be met through cooperative efforts by all countries." (Munich, 1992)*

Participants at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, including all G-7 countries, further delineated the importance (and interrelatedness) of population and consumption issues:

*"The growth of world population and production combined with unsustainable consumption patterns places increasingly severe stress on the life-supporting capacities of our planet. The interactive processes affect the use of land, water, air, energy and other resources." (Agenda 21, 1992; ch. 5) —*

The populations of the G-7 countries have disproportionately high impacts on resources and the global environment because of high levels of per capita consumption and pollution. While the G-7 countries comprise only 12% of the world's population, they consume 44% of its commercial energy: the average per capita energy use in G-7 nations is nearly 4 times the global average. The United States, with 5% of the world's population, is responsible for using 25% of the world's commercial energy, for producing more garbage than any other country in the world, and for generating 21% of the world's total carbon dioxide emissions -- the major contributor to global warming.

The results from the combination of rapid population growth, poverty, and wasteful consumption include deforestation, migration pressures, and local resource depletion, amongst others. These problems may exacerbate existing regional and national conflicts, and put excessive demands on agricultural, water and energy resources.

Affording all people a dignified quality of life requires that population and consumption issues be addressed. Population sizes and locations, poverty, women's status, children's health and survival, and the well-being of the environment are all interconnected. All G-7 nations should demonstrate leadership on population and consumption issues by adopting or reaffirming policies which:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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G-7 SUMMIT

*we need further  
discussion -*

SCHEDULE

*B*

Wednesday, July 7

1:45 p.m. Welcoming Reception and Group Photo.  
2:30 p.m.- World Economy Overview (leaders only).  
5:30 p.m.  
7:30 p.m.- Working Dinner. Main Issues for Political  
9:30 p.m. Declaration

Thursday, July 8

9:15 a.m.- Leaders plus Foreign Ministers. Review Political  
10:00 a.m. Declaration.  
10:15 a.m.- Leaders Only. Russia. Reform of Summit Process.  
12:30 p.m.  
12:45 p.m.- Working Lunch. Developing Countries.  
2:30 p.m.  
3:00 p.m.- Leaders plus Foreign and Finance Ministers. Macro  
5:30 p.m. Policy Coordination, Trade, Environment.  
7:30 p.m.- Court Banquet. Non-working.  
10:00 p.m.

Friday, July 9

9:15 a.m.- Leaders plus Foreign and Finance Ministers.  
10:15 a.m. Finalize Economic Declaration.  
10:20 a.m.- Leaders only. Unfinished Business.  
11:20 a.m.  
1:00 p.m.- Working level G-7 plus Yeltsin.  
2:15 p.m.  
3:00 p.m.- Leaders plus Yeltsin. Global Political Issues  
6:00 p.m. and Russian Economy.



ANNOTATED AGENDA  
TOKYO ECONOMIC SUMMIT

Wednesday, July 7 - Day One

Arrival (1:50 p.m.)

You arrive at the vestibule of Akasaka Palace to be welcomed by Summit host Miyazawa, and will then be escorted to the Salon with Secretary's Christopher and Bentsen.

Then there will be a group photo session. With formalities over, proceed to the conference room for the first session.

First Session (2:30 - 5:30 p.m.)

The first session is an overview of economic issues by the leaders only. Secretaries Christopher and Bentsen have separate sessions with their colleagues.

Your opening intervention expresses your pleasure at attending your first Summit and touches on the three main issues of the Summit: 1) the World economy and G-7 efforts to improve global growth, 2) successfully concluding the Uruguay Round and 3) supporting reform in Russia. Each of these will be discussed in more detail throughout this first session and the rest of the Summit.

You want to push growth-oriented policies on the others: Japan to implement multi-year stimulus (including a tax cut); Europe to set the stage for rapid interest rate cuts (especially Germany). You want to emphasize structural problems in economics which hinder job creation (labor rigidities, education, low R&D, etc.). If the market access package isn't finalized, you will want to urge others to come to agreement.

Other issues that may be discussed include the developing countries and debt issues with the developing world.

Working Dinner (7:30 - 9:30 p.m.)

The dinner is at the Prime Minister's official residence for the heads of state only. Secretaries Christopher and Bentsen have separate dinners with their colleagues.

The dinner focuses on political issues. Topics at the dinner may include reforming the UN and strengthening international cooperation, conflict management and

peacekeeping, Russia, weapons proliferation, and regional conflicts (i.e., Yugoslavia, Cambodia and the Middle East.)

Your central theme is democratization and making the world safer. The message is a willingness to consider bold UN reforms to streamline its structure and make it more flexible and efficient. You want to highlight the need to stop weapons proliferation.

#### Thursday, July 8 - Day Two

##### Second Session (9:15 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.)

At the Akasaka Palace, Secretary Christopher will join you and the other leaders and foreign ministers from 9:15 to 10:00 a.m. to discuss and adopt the political declaration. The declaration, entitled "Joining Forces for a More Secure and Humane World," has been developed in advance by the G-7 political directors.

At 10:15 a.m., the subject switches to economic issues again with a focus on Russia and reform of the Summit process which continues until 12:15 p.m.

You want to summarize our assistance to Russia and urge more financial support from the others to the privatization of large-scale state enterprises. On Summit reforms, you want to support less formality and less "pre-cooking" of issues and communiques. You may want to invite the others to an informal Camp David-like meeting next winter to discuss current issues and a special focus on problems hindering job creation in our countries.

##### Working Lunch (12:30 - 2:30 p.m.)

Discussion of developing countries.

You want to announce our new ability to join the others in providing debt relief for the poorest LDCs and emphasize our concerns about excessive population growth.

##### Second Session - Continued (3:00 - 5:30 p.m.)

Full "plenary session" with Secretaries Christopher and Bentsen. You will receive a report from the Finance Ministers on their efforts to coordinate economic policy to improve global growth.



The report which Secretary Bentsen and Treasury have developed with their G-7 counterparts focuses on macroeconomic policies needed to enhance growth (fiscal, monetary and exchange rates), structural policies to increase employment and growth potential (labor market reforms, investment, health care, trade and others), and the G-7 coordination process.

You want to explain your budget, urge Japan to adopt growth-oriented fiscal policies (e.g., income tax cut), encourage Germany to reduce its budget deficit in order to facilitate rapid interest rate declines. On job creation problems, emphasize the need for structural reforms to increase labor market flexibility. On the environment, urge others to announce action plans to implement the climate change and biodiversity treaties, to encourage development banks to follow sustainable development strategies and to strengthen the Global Environmental Facility as the financial mechanism to help with the new costs of the new conventions.

Formal Court Banquet (7:30 - 10:00 p.m.)

The formal court banquet will be held at the Imperial Palace. Unlike last year, President Yeltsin will be invited. This is intended as a non-working event.

#### Friday, July 9- Day Three

Third Session (9:15 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.)

From 9:15 to 10:15 there is a plenary session with Secretaries Christopher and Bentsen attending to discuss and adopt the economic declaration (known as the Summit communique).

The communique, which has been developed in advance by the sherpas, reflects your discussions on promoting global economic growth, completing the Uruguay Round, and assisting Russia. Consensus on environmental issues, debt and developing countries and other issues will be included.

At 10:20, you and the other leaders have the chance to meet alone without any formal agenda. Unfinished business.

Announcing the Economic Declaration (11:25 a.m.)

PM Miyazawa will announce the Summit communique with you and the other leaders formally concluding the Summit. This will be broadcast by TV, and press questions and answers follow.

Lunch with President Yeltsin (1:00 p.m. - 2:15 p.m.)

Though the "Summit" has formally ended, you and the seven leaders (with Secretaries Christopher and Bentsen) proceed to the Hotel New Otani for lunch with President Yeltsin. There is a photo session with the G-7 leaders and Yeltsin as well.

Meeting with President Yeltsin (3:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.)

You and the other G-7 will discuss with President Yeltsin G-7 support for economic and political reform in Russia. It will also be a chance to review progress on the G-7 Foreign and Finance Ministers meeting on Russia that was held in Tokyo in May.

PM Miyazawa, as the Chair, will make opening remarks. You will then make a statement on global political issues, which will be followed by a statement from Yeltsin and then discussion. EC President Jacques Delors will make a statement on economic issues, which will be followed by a statement from Yeltsin.

After further unstructured discussion, PM Miyazawa will make concluding remarks. Miyazawa and Yeltsin will then hold a press conference.

You are leading the global issues discussion, emphasizing our focus on democratization -- both in regional problems and the newly independent states. Your aim is to include Yeltsin for the first time in discussions of global problems. Other leaders are likely to follow up with questions about Yeltsin's domestic political situation.



Abbreviated Schedule for Japan/Korea Trip

**Monday, July 5, 1993**

10:05 am- NEA Convention  
11:05 pm SAN FRANCISCO

**Tuesday, July 6, 1993**

5:00 pm- **Bilateral Discussion with Prime Minister Miyazawa**  
6:00 pm **IIKURA JPISE**

6:00 pm- **Photo op and Press Availability**  
6:30 pm

6:50 pm- **Meeting with Japanese Political Leaders**  
7:50 pm **AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE**

**Wednesday, July 7, 1993**

9:00 am- **Speech**  
10:00 am **WASEDA UNIVERSITY**

tba **Brief Announcement with Italian Prime Minister**  
**LOCATION HOTEL OKURA OR AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE**

1:30 pm- **Debriefing with Sec. Christopher, Sec. Bentsen, Amb. Kantor**  
2:00 pm **PRESIDENTIAL SUITE, HOTEL OKURA**  
**(tentative)**

2:30 pm- **Initial G-7 Meeting begins**  
6:00 pm **AKASAKA PALACE**

6:25 pm- **Debriefing with Sec. Christopher, Sec. Bentsen, Amb. Kantor**  
6:45 pm **PRESIDENTIAL SUITE, HOTEL OKURA**

8:00 pm- **G-7 Working Dinner**  
10:00 pm **PRIME MINISTER'S RESIDENCE**

**Thursday, July 8, 1993**

|                      |                                                                                                        |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7:30 am-<br>8:15 am  | <b>Live U.S. Evening Network Interview (tentative)</b>                                                 |
| 9:15 am-<br>5:45 pm  | <b>G-7 Conference / Working Lunch<br/>AKASAKA PALACE</b>                                               |
| 6:00 pm-<br>6:15 pm  | <b>Debriefing with Sec. Christopher, Sec. Bentsen, Amb. Kantor<br/>PRESIDENTIAL SUITE, HOTEL OKURA</b> |
| 7:30 pm-<br>10:00 pm | <b>Court Dinner<br/>IMPERIAL PALACE</b>                                                                |

**Friday, July 9, 1993**

|                      |                                                                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9:15 am-<br>11:45 am | <b>G-7 Conference<br/>AKASAKA PALACE</b>                              |
| 11:45 am             | <b>Announcement of Economic Declaration<br/>AKASAKA PALACE</b>        |
| 12:30 pm-<br>1:30 pm | <b>Bilateral with Prime Minister of Canada<br/>AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE</b> |
| 2:30 pm-<br>6:00 pm  | <b>G-7 Leaders meet with President Yeltsin<br/>AKASAKA PALACE</b>     |
| 7:30 pm-<br>8:00 pm  | <b>Press Conference<br/>HOTEL OKURA</b>                               |

**Saturday, July 10, 1993**

|                     |                                                                               |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7:00 am             | <b>Photo Op with President Yeltsin</b>                                        |
| 7:10 am-<br>8:30 am | <b>Working Breakfast with President Yeltsin<br/>AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE</b>    |
| 8:30 am-<br>9:00 am | <b>Press Availability<br/>GARDEN OR LIVING ROOM OF AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE</b> |
| 9:05 am             | <b>Meet and Greet with Japanese friends<br/>AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE</b>        |
| 10:30 am            | <b>Meet and Greet with Embassy staff<br/>U. S. EMBASSY</b>                    |



|                     |                                                                   |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11:30 am            | <b>Depart en route Seoul, Korea</b>                               |
| 2:30 pm-<br>4:05 pm | <b>Meeting with President Kim<br/>BLUE HOUSE</b>                  |
| 4:15 pm-<br>4:30 pm | <b>Press Conference<br/>BLUE HOUSE RECEPTION ROOM</b>             |
| 5:00 pm-<br>6:00 pm | <b>Speech to National Assembly<br/>NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BUILDING</b> |
| 7:30 pm-<br>9:30 pm | <b>State Dinner with President and Mrs. Kim<br/>BLUE HOUSE</b>    |

**Sunday, July 11, 1993**

|                       |                                                                                                      |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8:00 am               | <b>Jog with President Kim (tentative)</b>                                                            |
| 9:00 am               | <b>Breakfast with President Kim (tentative)</b>                                                      |
| 10:30 am-<br>11:30 am | <b>Meeting with American Chamber of Commerce Board Members<br/>OFFICER'S CLUB, YONGSAN ARMY BASE</b> |
| 1:10 pm               | <b>Tour of DMZ</b>                                                                                   |
| 3:40 pm-<br>4:30 pm   | <b>Address Troops<br/>CAMP CASEY</b>                                                                 |
| 5:40 pm-<br>6:30 pm   | <b>Meet and greet with Embassy Staff<br/>K-16 AIRPORT</b>                                            |
| 6:45 pm               | <b>Depart en route Hawaii</b>                                                                        |

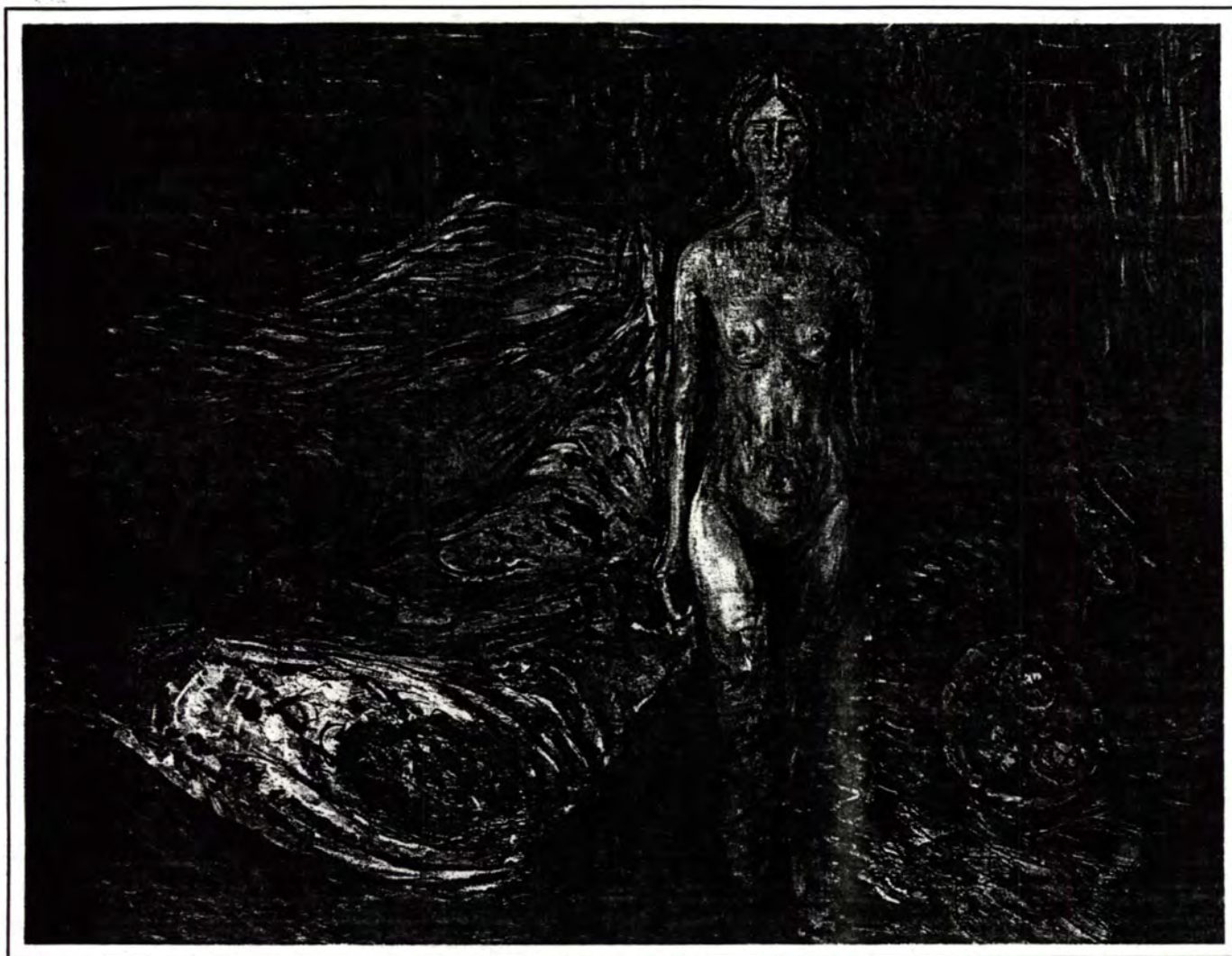
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 6/30

# JAMA<sup>®</sup>

The Journal of the American Medical Association

June 10, 1992



Crasco



# Television and Violence

## The Scale of the Problem and Where to Go From Here

Brandon S. Centerwall, MD, MPH

IN 1975, Rothenberg's Special Communication in *JAMA*, "Effect of Television Violence on Children and Youth," first alerted the medical community to the deforming effects the viewing of television violence has on normal child development, increasing levels of physical aggressiveness and violence.<sup>1</sup> In response to physicians' concerns sparked by Rothenberg's communication, the 1976 American Medical Association (AMA) House of Delegates passed Resolution 38: "The House declares TV violence threatens the health and welfare of young Americans, commits itself to remedial actions with interested parties, and encourages opposition to TV programs containing violence and to their sponsors."<sup>2</sup>

Other professional organizations have since come to a similar conclusion, including the American Academy of Pediatrics and the American Psychological Association.<sup>3</sup> In light of recent research findings, in 1990 the American Academy of Pediatrics issued a policy statement: "Pediatricians should advise parents to limit their children's television viewing to 1 to 2 hours per day."<sup>4</sup>

Rothenberg's communication was largely based on the findings of the 1968 National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence<sup>5</sup> and the 1972 Surgeon General's report, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence*.<sup>6</sup> Those findings were updated and reinforced by the 1982 report of the National Institute of Mental Health, *Television and Behavior: Ten Years of Scientific Progress and Impli-*

*cations for the Eighties*, again documenting a broad consensus in the scientific literature that exposure to television violence increases children's physical aggressiveness.<sup>7</sup> Each of these governmental inquiries necessarily left open the question of whether this increase in children's physical aggressiveness would later lead to increased rates of violence. Although there had been dozens of laboratory investigations and short-term field studies (3 months or less), few long-term field studies (2 years or more) had been completed and reported. Since the 1982 National Institute of Mental Health report, long-term field studies have come into their own, some 20 having now been published.<sup>8</sup>

In my commentary, I discuss television's effects within the context of normal child development; give an overview of natural exposure to television as a cause of aggression and violence; summarize my own research findings on television as a cause of violence; and suggest a course of action.

### TELEVISION IN THE CONTEXT OF NORMAL CHILD DEVELOPMENT

The impact of television on children is best understood within the context of normal child development. Neonates are born with an instinctive capacity and desire to imitate adult human behavior. That infants can, and do, imitate an array of adult facial expressions has been demonstrated in neonates as young as a few hours old, ie, before they are even old enough to know cognitively that they themselves have facial features that correspond with those they are observing.<sup>9,10</sup> It is a most useful instinct, for the developing child must learn and master a vast repertoire of behavior in short order.

Whereas infants have an instinctive desire to imitate observed human behavior, they do not possess an instinct for gauging a priori whether a behavior ought to be imitated. They will imitate anything,<sup>11</sup> including behaviors that most adults would regard as destructive and antisocial. It may give pause for thought, then, to learn that infants as young as 14 months of age demonstrably observe and incorporate behaviors seen on television (Fig 1).<sup>12,13</sup> (Looking ahead, in two surveys of young male felons imprisoned for committing violent crimes, eg, homicide, rape, and assault, 22% to 34% reported having consciously imitated crime techniques learned from television programs, usually successfully.<sup>14</sup>)

As of 1990, the average American child aged 2 to 5 years was watching over 27 hours of television per week.<sup>15</sup> This might not be bad, if young children understood what they are watching. However, up through ages 3 and 4 years, many children are unable to distinguish fact from fantasy in television programs and remain unable to do so despite adult coaching.<sup>16</sup> In the minds of such young children, television is a source of entirely factual information regarding how the world works. Naturally, as they get older, they come to know better, but the earliest and deepest impressions were laid down when the child saw television as a factual source of information about a world outside their homes where violence is a daily commonplace and the commission of violence is generally powerful, exciting, charismatic, and efficacious. Serious violence is most likely to erupt at moments of severe stress—and it is precisely at such moments that adolescents and adults are most likely to revert to their earliest, most visceral

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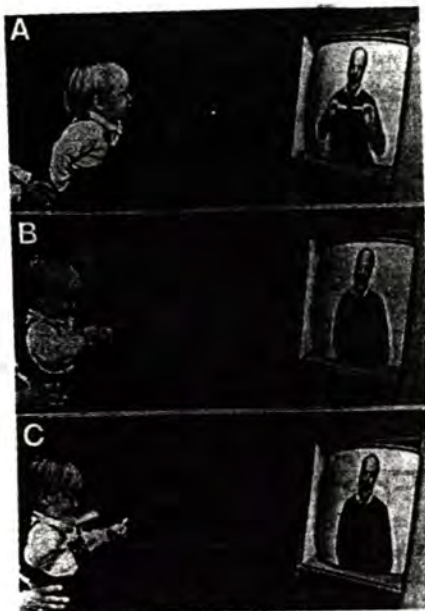


Fig 1.—This series of photographs shows a 14-month-old boy learning behavior from a television set. In photograph A the adult pulls apart a novel toy. The infant leans forward and carefully studies the adult's actions. In photograph B the infant is given the toy. In photograph C the infant pulls the toy apart, imitating what he had seen the adult do. Of infants exposed to the instructional video, 65% could later work the toy, as compared with 20% of unexposed infants ( $P < .001$ ) (reprinted with permission from Meltzoff<sup>12</sup>).

sense of what violence is and what its role is in society. Much of this sense will have come from television.

Not all laboratory experiments and short-term field studies demonstrate an effect of media violence on children's behavior, but most do.<sup>17,18</sup> In a recent meta-analysis of randomized, case-control, short-term studies, exposure to media violence caused, on the average, a significant increase in children's aggressiveness as measured by observation of their spontaneous, natural behavior following exposure ( $P < .05$ ).<sup>19</sup>

#### NATURAL EXPOSURE TO TELEVISION AS A CAUSE OF AGGRESSION AND VIOLENCE

In 1973, a small Canadian town (called "Notel" by the investigators) acquired television for the first time. The acquisition of television at such a late date was due to problems with signal reception rather than any hostility toward television. Joy et al<sup>20</sup> investigated the impact of television on this virgin community, using as control groups two similar communities that already had television. In a double-blind research design, a cohort of 45 first- and second-grade students were observed prospectively over a period of 2 years for rates of objectively measured noxious physical aggression (eg, hitting, shov-

ing, and biting). Rates of physical aggression did not change significantly among children in the two control communities. Two years after the introduction of television, rates of physical aggression among children in Notel had increased by 160% ( $P < .001$ ).

In a 22-year prospective study of an age cohort in a semirural US county ( $N=875$ ), Huesmann<sup>21</sup> observed whether boys' television viewing at age 8 years predicted the seriousness of criminal acts committed by age 30. After controlling for the boys' baseline aggressiveness, intelligence, and socioeconomic status at age 8, it was found that the boys' television violence viewing at age 8 significantly predicted the seriousness of the crimes for which they were convicted by age 30 ( $P < .05$ ).

In a retrospective case-control study, Kruttschnitt et al<sup>22</sup> compared 100 male felons imprisoned for violent crimes (eg, homicide, rape, and assault) with 65 men without a history of violent offenses, matching for age, race, and census tract of residence at age 10 to 14 years. After controlling for school performance, exposure to parental violence, and baseline level of criminality, it was found that the association between adult criminal violence and childhood exposure to television violence approached statistical significance ( $P < .10$ ).

All Canadian and US studies of the effect of prolonged childhood exposure to television (2 years or more) demonstrate a positive relationship between earlier exposure to television and later physical aggressiveness, although not all studies reach statistical significance.<sup>8</sup> The critical period of exposure to television is preadolescent childhood. Later variations in exposure, in adolescence and adulthood, do not exert any additional effect.<sup>23,24</sup> However, the aggression-enhancing effect of exposure to television is chronic, extending into later adolescence and adulthood.<sup>8,25</sup> This implies that any interventions should be designed for children and their caregivers rather than for the general adult population.

These studies confirm what many Americans already believe on the basis of intuition. In a national opinion poll, 43% of adult Americans affirm that television violence "plays a part in making America a violent society," and an additional 37% find the thesis at least plausible (only 16% frankly disbelieve the proposition).<sup>26</sup> But how big a role does it play? What is the effect of natural exposure to television on entire populations? To address this issue, I took advantage of an historical experiment—the absence of television in South Africa prior to 1975.<sup>8,25</sup>

#### TELEVISION AND HOMICIDE IN SOUTH AFRICA, CANADA, AND THE UNITED STATES

The South African government did not permit television broadcasting prior to 1975, even though South African whites were a prosperous, industrialized Western society.<sup>8</sup> Amidst the hostile tensions between the Afrikaner and English white communities, it was generally conceded that any South African television broadcasting industry would have to rely on British and American imports to fill out its programming schedule. Afrikaner leaders felt that that would provide an unacceptable cultural advantage to the English-speaking white South Africans. Rather than negotiate a complicated compromise, the Afrikaner-controlled government chose to finesse the issue by forbidding television broadcasting entirely. Thus, an entire population of 2 million whites—rich and poor, urban and rural, educated and uneducated—was nonselectively and absolutely excluded from exposure to television for a quarter century after the medium was introduced into the United States. Since the ban on television was not based on any concerns regarding television and violence, there was no self-selection bias with respect to the hypothesis being tested.

To evaluate whether exposure to television is a cause of violence, I examined homicide rates in South Africa, Canada, and the United States. Given that blacks in South Africa live under quite different conditions than blacks in the United States, I limited the comparison to white homicide rates in South Africa and the United States and the total homicide rate in Canada (which was 97% white in 1951). Data analyzed were from the respective government vital statistics registries. The reliability of the homicide data is discussed elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

Following the introduction of television into the United States, the annual white homicide rate increased by 93%, from 3.0 homicides per 100 000 white population in 1945 to 5.8 per 100 000 in 1974; in South Africa, where television was banned, the white homicide rate decreased by 7%, from 2.7 homicides per 100 000 white population in 1943 through 1948 to 2.5 per 100 000 in 1974 (Fig 2). As with US whites, following the introduction of television into Canada the Canadian homicide rate increased by 92%, from 1.3 homicides per 100 000 population in 1945 to 2.5 per 100 000 in 1974 (Fig 3).

For both Canada and the United States, there was a lag of 10 to 15 years between the introduction of television and the subsequent doubling of the ho-



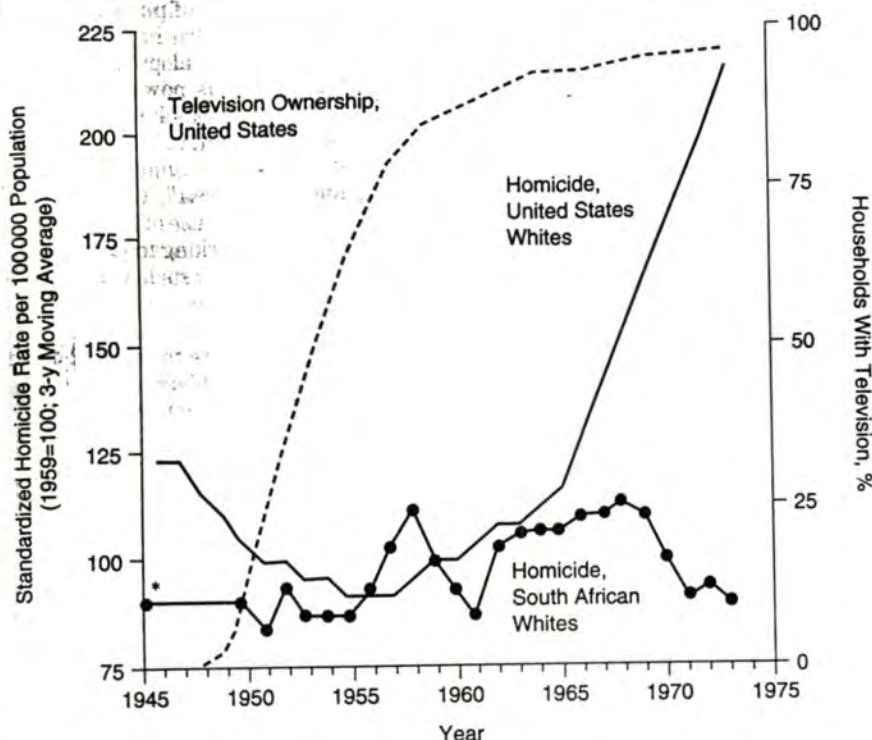


Fig 2.—Television ownership and white homicide rates, United States and South Africa, 1945 through 1973. Asterisk denotes 6-year average. Note that television broadcasting was not permitted in South Africa prior to 1975 (from Centerwall<sup>8</sup> and reprinted by permission of Academic Press).

micide rate (Figs 2 and 3). Given that homicide is primarily an adult activity, if television exerts its behavior-modifying effects primarily on children, the initial "television generation" would have had to age 10 to 15 years before they would have been old enough to affect the homicide rate. If this were so, it would be expected that, as the initial television generation grew up, rates of serious violence would first begin to rise among children, then several years later it would begin to rise among adolescents, then still later among young adults, and so on. And that is what is observed.<sup>8</sup>

In the period immediately preceding the introduction of television into Canada and the United States, all three countries were multiparty, representative, federal democracies with strong Christian religious influences, where people of nonwhite races were generally excluded from political power. Although television broadcasting was prohibited prior to 1975, white South Africa had well-developed book, newspaper, radio, and cinema industries. Therefore, the effect of television could be isolated from that of other media influences. In addition, I examined an array of possible confounding variables—changes in age distribution, urbanization, economic con-

ditions, alcohol consumption, capital punishment, civil unrest, and the availability of firearms.<sup>8</sup> None provided a viable alternative explanation for the observed homicide trends. For further details regarding the testing of the hypothesis, I refer the reader to the published monograph<sup>8</sup> and commentary.<sup>25</sup>

A comparison of South Africa with only the United States (Fig 2) could easily lead to the hypothesis that US involvement in the Vietnam War or the turbulence of the civil rights movement was responsible for the doubling of homicide rates in the United States. The inclusion of Canada as a control group precludes these hypotheses, since Canadians likewise experienced a doubling of homicide rates (Fig 3) without involvement in the Vietnam War and without the turbulence of the US civil rights movement.

When I published my original paper in 1989, I predicted that white South African homicide rates would double within 10 to 15 years after the introduction of television in 1975, the rate having already increased 56% by 1983 (the most recent year then available).<sup>8</sup> As of 1987, the white South African homicide rate had reached 5.8 homicides per 100 000 white population, a 130% increase in the homicide rate from the

rate of 2.5 per 100 000 in 1974, the last year before television was introduced.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, Canadian and white US homicide rates have not increased since 1974. As of 1987, the Canadian homicide rate was 2.2 per 100 000, as compared with 2.5 per 100 000 in 1974.<sup>28</sup> In 1987, the US white homicide rate was 5.4 per 100 000, as compared with 5.8 per 100 000 in 1974.<sup>29</sup> (Since Canada and the United States became saturated with television by the early 1960s [Figs 2 and 3], it was expected that the effect of television on rates of violence would likewise reach a saturation point 10 to 15 years later.)

It is concluded that the introduction of television in the 1950s caused a subsequent doubling of the homicide rate, ie, long-term childhood exposure to television is a causal factor behind approximately one half of the homicides committed in the United States, or approximately 10 000 homicides annually. Although the data are not as well developed for other forms of violence, they indicate that exposure to television is also a causal factor behind a major proportion—perhaps one half—of rapes, assaults, and other forms of interpersonal violence in the United States.<sup>8</sup> When the same analytic approach was taken to investigate the relationship between television and suicide, it was determined that the introduction of television in the 1950s exerted no significant effect on subsequent suicide rates.<sup>30</sup>

To say that childhood exposure to television and television violence is a predisposing factor behind half of violent acts is not to discount the importance of other factors. Manifestly, every violent act is the result of an array of forces coming together—poverty, crime, alcohol and drug abuse, stress—of which childhood exposure to television is just one. Nevertheless, the epidemiologic evidence indicates that if, hypothetically, television technology had never been developed, there would today be 10 000 fewer homicides each year in the United States, 70 000 fewer rapes, and 700 000 fewer injurious assaults.<sup>25,31</sup>

## WHERE TO GO FROM HERE

In the war against tobacco, the tobacco industry is the last group from whom we expect any meaningful action. If someone were to call on the tobacco industry to cut back tobacco production as a matter of social conscience and out of concern for the public health, we would regard that person as being at least simple-minded, if not frankly deranged. Oddly enough, however, people have persistently assumed that the television industry operates by a higher standard of morality than the tobacco industry—that it is useful to appeal to its social



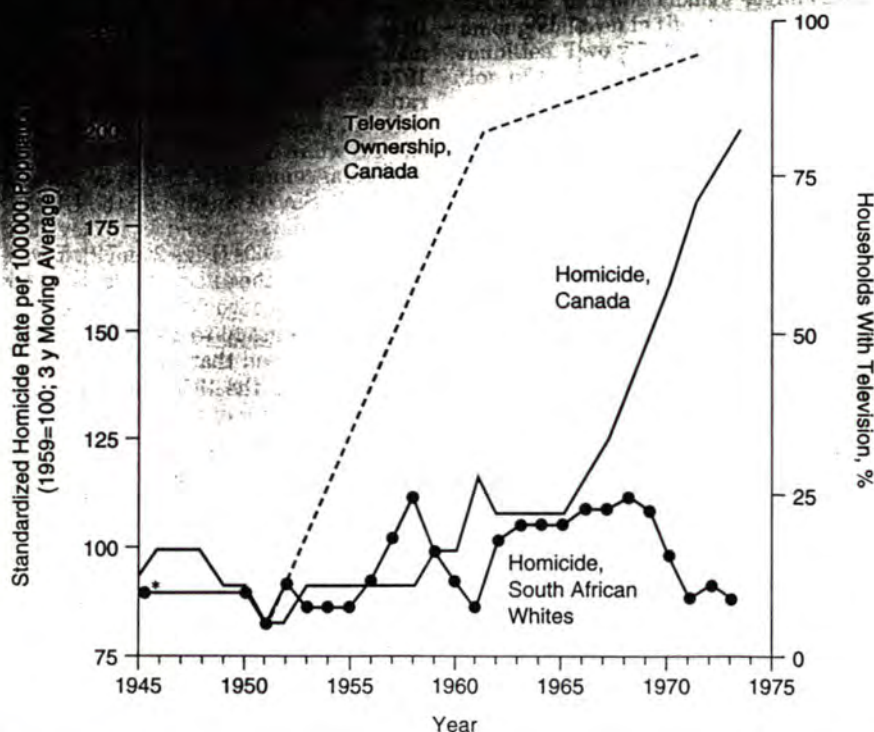


Fig 3.—Television ownership and homicide rates, Canadians and white South Africans, 1945 through 1973. Asterisk denotes 6-year average. Note that television broadcasting was not permitted in South Africa prior to 1975 (from Centerwall<sup>8</sup> and reprinted by permission of Academic Press).

conscience. This was true in 1969 when the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence published its recommendations for the television industry.<sup>32</sup> It was equally true in 1989 when the US Congress passed a television antiviolence bill that granted television industry executives the authority to confer on the issue of television violence without being in violation of antitrust laws.<sup>33</sup> Even before the law was fully passed, the four networks stated that they had no intention of using this antitrust exemption to any useful end and that there would be no substantive changes in programming content.<sup>34</sup> They have been as good as their word.

Cable aside, the television industry is not in the business of selling programs to audiences. It is in the business of selling audiences to advertisers. Issues of "quality" and "social responsibility" are entirely peripheral to the issue of maximizing audience size within a competitive market—and there is no formula more tried and true than violence for reliably generating large audiences that can be sold to advertisers. If public demand for tobacco decreases by 1%, the tobacco industry will lose \$250 million annually in revenue.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, if the television audience size were to de-

crease by 1%, the television industry would stand to lose \$250 million annually in advertising revenue.<sup>35</sup> Thus, changes in audience size that appear trivial to you and me are regarded as catastrophic by the industry. For this reason, industry spokespersons have made innumerable protestations of good intent, but nothing has happened. In over 20 years of monitoring levels of television violence, there has been no downward movement.<sup>36,37</sup> There are no recommendations to make to the television industry. To make any would not only be futile but create the false impression that the industry might actually do something constructive.

The American Academy of Pediatrics recommends that pediatricians advise parents to limit their children's television viewing to 1 to 2 hours per day.<sup>4</sup> This is an excellent point of departure and need not be limited to pediatricians. It may seem remote that a child watching television today can be involved years later in violence. A juvenile taking up cigarettes is also remote from the dangers of chronic smoking, yet those dangers are real, and it is best to intervene early. The same holds true regarding television-viewing behavior. The instruction is simple: For children, less TV is better, especially violent TV.

Symbolic gestures are important, too. The many thousands of physicians who gave up smoking were important role models for the general public. Just as many waiting rooms now have a sign saying, "This Is a Smoke-Free Area" (or words to that effect), so likewise a sign can be posted saying, "This Is a Television-Free Area." (This is not meant to exclude the use of instructional videotapes.) By sparking inquiries from parents and children, such a simple device provides a low-key way to bring up the subject in a clinical setting.

Children's exposure to television and television violence should become part of the public health agenda, along with safety seats, bicycle helmets, immunizations, and good nutrition. One-time campaigns are of little value. It needs to become part of the standard package: Less TV is better, especially violent TV. Part of the public health approach should be to promote child-care alternatives to the electronic baby-sitter, especially among the poor who cannot afford real baby-sitters.

Parents should guide what their children watch on television and how much. This is an old recommendation<sup>32</sup> that can be given new teeth with the help of modern technology. It is now feasible to fit a television set with an electronic lock that permits parents to preset which programs, channels, and times they wish the set to be available for; if a particular program or time of day is locked, the set won't turn on for that time or channel.<sup>38</sup> The presence of a time-channel lock restores and reinforces parental authority, since it operates even when the parents are not at home, thus permitting parents to use television to their family's best advantage. Time-channel locks are not merely feasible, but have already been designed and are coming off the assembly line (eg, the Sony XBR).

Closed captioning permits deaf and hard-of-hearing persons access to television. Recognizing that market forces alone would not make closed-captioning technology available to more than a fraction of the deaf and hard-of-hearing, the Television Decoder Circuitry Act was signed into law in 1990, requiring that, as of 1993, all new television sets (with screens 33 cm or larger, ie, 96% of new television sets) be manufactured with built-in closed-captioning circuitry.<sup>39</sup> A similar law should require that eventually all new television sets be manufactured with built-in time-channel lock circuitry—and for a similar reason. Market forces alone will not make this technology available to more than a fraction of households with children and will exclude poor families, the ones who suffer the most from violence. If we can make



television technology available that will benefit 24 million deaf and hard-of-hearing Americans,<sup>39</sup> surely we can do no less for the benefit of 50 million American children.<sup>35</sup>

Unless they are provided with information, parents are ill-equipped to judge which programs to place off-limits. As a final recommendation, television programs should be accompanied by a violence rating so parents can gauge how violent a program is without having to watch it. Such a rating system should be

quantitative and preferably numerical, leaving aesthetic and social judgments to the viewers. Exactly how the scale ought to be quantified is less important than that it be applied consistently. Such a rating system would enjoy broad popular support: In a national poll, 71% of adult Americans favor the establishment of a violence rating system for television programs.<sup>40</sup>

It should be noted that none of these recommendations impinges on issues of freedom of speech. That is as it should

be. It is not reasonable to address the problem of motor vehicle fatalities by calling for a ban on cars. Instead, we emphasize safety seats, good traffic signs, and driver education. Similarly, to address the problem of violence caused by exposure to television, we need to emphasize time-channel locks, program rating systems, and education of the public regarding good viewing habits.

Figure 1 was provided by A. N. Meltzoff, University of Washington, Seattle.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1993

Ms. Rose M. Zamaria  
Chief of Staff  
Office of George Bush  
Suite 900  
10000 Memorial Drive  
Houston, TX 77024

Dear Ms. Zamaria:

Thank you for passing on the correspondence  
President Bush received in Switzerland. I  
have forwarded to the NSC for a response.

Sincerely,



John D. Podesta  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary

bcc: Will Itoh (with original incoming)



Office of George Bush

June 12, 1993

Office of the Staff Secretary  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Sir:

The attached correspondence was handed to former President Bush in Switzerland.  
Mr. Rosastro asked that it be passed on to President Clinton.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Rose M. Zamaria".

Rose M. Zamaria  
Chief of Staff

All'attenzione del Signor GUIDO GHIRINGHELLI.

Ho parlato con l'ambasciata degli STATI UNITI a Berna presso cui volevo inviare la lettera in allegato in occasione della visita del Senatore Georges Busch a Lugano.

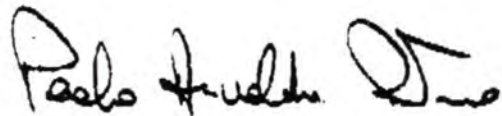
Mi è stato suggerito di rivolgermi a Lei.

Leggendo il contenuto della lettera capirò la ragione per cui ho scritto la presente. La ringrazio per l'attenzione con cui esaminerà la stessa.

Ho scritto in lingua italiana in quanto non ho una padronanza della lingua inglese tale da dare il medesimo significato espresso nella mia madre lingua.

Qualora sia indispensabile la traduzione provvederò a far fare la traduzione. Ne sarei grato se fosse possibile da parte Sua provvedere.

Colgo l'occasione per porgerLe i migliori saluti



Paolo Arnaldo Rosastro  
via Vela 24  
6850 Mendrisio (CH)



MENDRISIO, 2 Giugno 1993

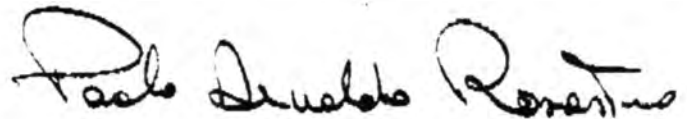
Egregio Senatore GEORGES BUSCH,

mi permetto di consegnare a Lei personalmente questa lettera con preghiera di farla pervenire, qualora Lei lo ritenga opportuno, all'attuale Presidente degli STATI UNITI, ~~BILL CLINTON~~.

La prego di scusarmi se mi rivolgo a Lei ma non conosco gli usi della Sua nazione e non desidero creare problemi all'attuale Presidente.

Pertanto ho ritenuto presentare a Lei per un giudizio insindacabile quanto ho scritto onde definirne la validità.

Nel ringraziarla per il Suo interessamento, la saluta cordialmente



Paolo Arnaldo Rosastro  
via Vela 24  
6850 - Mendrisio (CH)  
SWITZERLAND

MENDRISIO 1 Giugno 1993

All'Attenzione Dell'Egregio  
Presidente Degli STATI UNITI~~Bill Clinton~~

Colui che Le scrive e' uno sconosciuto agente assicurativo della Svizzera Italiana consulente tecnico per il Medio Oriente e l'Africa, che desidera assicurare il futuro migliore dei suoi assicurati.

Perchè Signor Presidente Lei si è battuto per una minoranza che la natura ha disposto anormale onde evitare un'inutile aumento della popolazione e non contro la pena di morte che colpisce molti disgraziati, indipendentemente dalle anomalie, vittime anche d'una società crudele ed egoista, che ha fatto della televisione il mammoni del benessere?

Nell'ex Unione Sovietica milioni d'esseri umani patiscono la fame, strumentalizzati da individui senza scrupoli, con un dollaro statunitense si può visitare Mosca per una giornata in taxi; percependo un ingegnere al massimo 200 usd al mese, ma per quanto tempo ancora ?

In Medio Oriente la situazione economica è assolutamente precaria e strumentalizzata, la povertà si scontra con le immagini televisive anche pornografiche del consumismo occidentale, mentre i palestinesi vengono uccisi quotidianamente dagli Israeliani protetti e mantenuti dai loro fratelli Americani con le loro lobbies.

Ancora circa 300 dei 400 espulsi da Israele vivono nella terra di nessuno.

Saddam Hussein attende una falsa mossa una debolezza per colpire e divenire il paladino dell'Islam.

Il suo predecessore Mr. BUSCH ha perso le elezioni per non aver voluto o potuto abbattere il crudele tiranno dell'Islam.

Nell'ex Jugoslavia vi sono stati casi di antropofagia, si uccide giornalmente senza che nessuno osi fermare questa guerra fratricida.

Solo un uomo coraggioso può cambiare il destino che ci attende e ridare fiducia e speranza.

Ma che cosa è il coraggio?

A mio giudizio è donare la vita per un ideale, per un amore puro e sincero, come fece anche J. F. KENNEDY e suo fratello ROBERT lottando contro la mafia del potere. Lei è pronto a far ciò ?

Spero di sì, perchè qualora non lo fosse l'Occidente è spacciato. ma se l'Occidente



Un solo errore con il Medio Oriente e la bandiera dell'odio si alzerà forte e potente.

Signor Presidente visiti Marocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egitto, Arabia Saudita, Iran, Turchia, poi i paesi dell'Est soprattutto l'ex Unione Sovietica e le sue turbolente repubbliche con ELTSIN ed infine l'EUROPA OCCIDENTALE.

Parli alle persone cerchi di comprendere, dia un senso alle speranze che sono nate con la Sua elezione.

Signor Presidente dia un senso al non senso della morte dei due ragazzi IUGUSLAVI lui serbo lei mussulmana, vittime di una guerra bestiale senza amore.

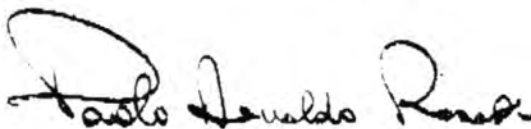
L'amore quello vero non è sensuale ma dei sentimenti, quello che ogni essere umano si porta dentro disinteressato da bambino, volto al bene dell'altro a dare senza nulla volere in cambio.

Il tempo è tiranno molto poco ne resta per cambiare le regole di vita della Società. Le mie parole sono inutili ed indegne d'esprimere i sentimenti che altri hanno espresso in modo pratico e concreto con una vita degna d'essere vissuta.

Sono un profondo ammiratore di Ghandi, l'anima dell'INDIA.

Dell'uomo che con un'azione costante applicata alla vita di ogni giorno ha lottato per ideali di verità e giustizia e dignità indipendentemente da religione razza o ceto sociale, per gli esseri umani tutti, lasciandoci un messaggio di verità umano senza frontiere, dogane o blocchi militari un messaggio di fratellanza. E' con questa visione della vita che mi auguro questa lettera venga da Lei, Signor Presidente, letta e meditata.

la saluta sinceramente



Paolo Arnaldo Rosastro  
via Vela 24  
6850 Mendrisio (CH)  
SWITZERLAND

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/29/93

**NOTE FOR:** DAVE GERGEN

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 WAS SEEN

6-29-93

4649 Garfield Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

June 29, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President

Newspaper photographs of and interviews with the informant in the case of the arrested terrorists in New York outraged me. If operational methods and identities of sources are permitted to be made public in such cases, the tools our intelligence people need to fight terrorism will be struck from their hands. Security service collaborators in foreign countries will be loath to share sensitive information with us. In short, the boastful announcement about the identity of the informant in New York should be the last of these "he stuck in his thumb and pulled out a plum" gestures. Who in the gaggle of law enforcement authorities in New York is responsible this time, I do not know, but the Justice Department and the FBI must take responsibility.

As I mentioned to you when we talked at baseball opening day in Baltimore, our country has been enormously lucky not to have had serious terrorist problems before this. The only defenses we have are CIA and FBI operations. They need secrecy, particularly on methods. The scourge is both domestic and foreign. Please give orders to your team to clam up.

Respectfully yours,

*Rich*

Richard Helms

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/29/93

**NOTE FOR:** MACK MCLARTY

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

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

cc:



Duke University  
Durham  
North Carolina 27708-0871

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
6.29.93

Terry Sanford  
President Emeritus

June 22, 1993

Hand  
R

Dear Mr. President,

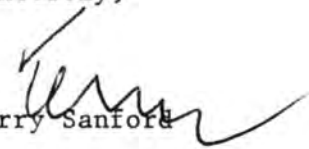
✓ Thank you for your letter. I make the case once more for Senator David Pryor.

✓ The people of Arkansas are generous and always glad to help the Nation. They would be delighted to have their Senator helping their President in the White House in a crucial period--when, among other things, we need to balance the budget and reduce the debt, to develop a sound medical care program, to make the U.N. the instrument of real peace, to challenge poverty and crime in America, and to get our economy humming.

The citizens of Arkansas would be pleased to be an even greater part of all that, and the Democratic Governor could find another good Arkansas Democratic Senator.

With best wishes always,

Sincerely,

  
Terry Sanford

The Honorable Bill Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

93 JUN 29 P5:20

June 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~JOHN PODESTA~~  
~~STEPHEN NEUWIRTH~~  
~~MARSHA SCOTT~~

FROM:

TERRY GOOD *TG*

RE:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

*Steve*  
*you hand*  
*John*  
*6-29-93*

Tomorrow, unless notified otherwise, I will send this memorandum to John Fawcett at the National Archives. NARA is expecting something from the White House verifying that the computer tapes transferred to NARA constitute the complete Presidential record tapes. NARA will then give its approval to delete the data from the mini-computer.

Jane Weaver, Maureen Hudson and Bernie Silverstein have offered suggestions which have been incorporated in this draft.



June 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN FAWCETT  
ASSISTANT ARCHIVIST FOR PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

FROM: TERRY GOOD  
DIRECTOR  
OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT

RE: DISPOSITION OF DUPLICATED PRESIDENTIAL DATA

Enclosed are copies of two letters certifying that certain electronic data created during the Bush Administration have been completely duplicated in electronic form via transfer from a mini-computer to tape cartridges.

This matter arises now due to an inadvertent oversight during the Transition period. The White House Correspondence Office neglected to erase the data on its mini-computer after all the information had been copied and transferred in the form of Presidential record tapes to the National Archives. As you know, the National Archives has verified the records' readability.

As you might guess, the Clinton White House is anxious to free up the computer memory for its ongoing needs but wishes to delete the Bush material only with the assurance that the National Archives is aware of and approves of this procedure.

Therefore, I have been asked to request from the National Archives written assurances that our deletion of the original Bush correspondence database has its approval.

cc: John Podesta  
Steve Neuwirth  
Marsha Scott  
Jane Weaver  
Maureen Hudson  
Bernard Silverstein



January 25, 1993

Jane D. Weaver  
Assistant General Counsel  
Office of Administration  
Old Executive Office Building, Room 468  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Via Facsimile: 456-7921  
(Original Mailed)

Dear Ms. Weaver:

Bernard Silverstein, the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative (COTR) for the contract under which we provide service to the White House Office of Correspondence, has requested that I provide information concerning backups made of the computer system which is used to answer general correspondence.

I hereby certify the following concerning this system:

- 1 R. Michael Foster, an employee of Intelligent Solutions, Inc. who provides support to the White House Office of Correspondence, performed a complete tape backup of every byte of data on every file system of the correspondence system on January 8, 1993, which was the cutoff date after which incoming correspondence was no longer processed by the correspondence unit. The backup process began at approximately 10:30 p.m. on that date, and required 2.5 hours to complete. No access to the system was permitted from 7:00 p.m. on the 8th until after the backup was complete.
- 2 The backup method which was employed created a tape which generates an exact duplicate of the original system when restored on another similar computer system (a "bootable backup". To verify the integrity of the backup, and to make an exact duplicate, Mr. Foster restored the original backup tape on a system at our facility and then made a tape from the restored system. This process confirmed the validity of the original, and made an exact duplicate.
- 3 Both the master and duplicate tape were delivered to Maureen Hudson by Mr. Foster.
- 4 After the bootable backup was made on January 8, Mr. Foster and Walter Hockestaller of our staff created a tape of the data stored on the correspondence system for the purpose of generating tapes in a format which could be readily loaded on any computer system. The data saved for this purpose included:
  - All correspondence information for citizens who received mail from the correspondence system, including name and address, and detailed information on the responses sent;
  - All texts, formats, and other word processing documents;
  - User-defined validation files used to verify data entry



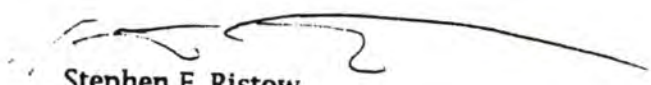
Jane D. Weaver  
Page Two

Unlike the bootable backup described in paragraphs 1-3, the tape made at this time included only data, and excluded the various licensed software programs which operate on the correspondence computer. This data is in the process of being converted into exportable format on industry-standard 9-track tapes at our facility so that it can be delivered to the Archives; the conversion process and format are at the request of, and are in accordance with specifications discussed with, Mr. Silverstein.

All original backups were performed on standard 2 gigabyte 8mm tape cartridges; the correspondence system operates on an IBM RISC System/6000 server which runs AIX (IBM's version of UNIX). Should you have any further questions concerning this matter, please do not hesitate to call on me.

With all best regards I am,

Sincerely,



Stephen F. Ristow  
President

SFR/des

 **INTELLIGENT  
SOLUTIONS**

January 25, 1993

Bernard Silverstein  
IRMD  
Executive Office of the President  
New Executive Office Building  
725 17th St., N.W., Room 5235  
Washington, D.C. 20503

Via Facsimile: 202 395-7239  
(original mailed)

Dear Mr. Silverstein:

This letter is to confirm our telephone conversations concerning tape copies made of information on the computer system used to process general correspondence at the White House Office. I am directing this information to you in your capacity as the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative (COTR) for the contract under which we provide the software and support on this system.

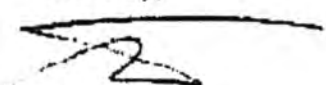
I hereby certify the following concerning this system:

- 1 That Intelligent Solutions, Inc. (ISI) personnel performed a complete tape backup of every byte of data on every file system of the correspondence system on January 8, 1993, which was the cutoff date after which incoming correspondence was no longer processed by the correspondence unit;
- 2 That both a master and duplicate copy of this tape were made, and delivered to career staff of the correspondence unit;
- 3 That the tapes were created in such a manner as to allow a full and complete restoration of all data and programs as they existed on January 8, 1993 onto a like computer system.

The backups were performed on standard 2 gigabyte 8mm tape cartridges; the correspondence system operates on an IBM RISC System/6000 server which runs AIX (IBM's version of UNIX). Should you have any further questions concerning this matter, please do not hesitate to call on me.

With all best regards I am,

Sincerely,

  
Stephen F. Ristow  
President

SFR/des



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/29/93

TO: BILL BURTON

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

Please have a more substantive reply prepared for Mr. Cunningham than the one that is attached (the President did sign it; but was not mailed out).

The President specifically asked why Harrison would get money and not Helena. Please answer that and Mr. Cunningham's other questions.

Return the draft to me for forwarding to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1993

The Honorable Ernest Cunningham  
Member of the House of Representatives  
of the State of Arkansas  
727 Columbia Street  
Helena, Arkansas 72342-2813

Dear Ernest:

I appreciate your letter. My commitment to the Delta remains strong. Thanks for the reminder. I'll stay on top of this.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.





STATE OF ARKANSAS

*House of Representatives*

Representative ERNEST CUNNINGHAM  
727 Columbia Street  
HELENA, ARKANSAS 72342-2813

June 14, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing an article that appeared in the May 29 Arkansas Democrat. This article names Harrison, Arkansas, as the location of an Air Force training site at a cost of several million dollars, with 67 employees.

Aren't these the kind of projects that you promised for the Delta? From an economic standpoint, we all know how Harrison and Northwest Arkansas is booming. Even their Chamber of Commerce spokesman acknowledged the difficulty in finding housing for the new employees.

The Delta area desperately needs this project and others to show our people someone cares and that eventually we can catch up with the rest of the nation.

Mr. President, one of the last things you told me after your election was to keep reminding you of the Delta. Perhaps you need someone on your staff to look for things such as this and have the agencies let you know before announcements such as this are made.

From a purely political standpoint, when did the Congressman from the third district ever support you and your efforts to improve our economy? When did Harrison ever support you? When they both receive a reward for not doing the right thing, why would they ever do differently.

Best Wishes and Remember the Delta!

Ernest Cunningham  
State Representative  
District #98

EC/fk  
Enclosure

Former Speaker

# Harrison 'thrilled' to get radar center

## Air Force training site to pump \$5 million into city

BY SANDY DAVIS

Democrat-Gazette Jacksonville Bureau

HARRISON — A Harrison official said Friday he was "elated" an Air Force radar training center for B-1B Lancer bomber training missions will be locating in the city.

"It's just like locating a new industry, but without any of the environmental problems," said Brent Stevenson, executive vice president of the Harrison Chamber of Commerce.

Stevenson estimated that the 67 airmen scheduled to move to the city will have an annual payroll of about \$1.3 million.

"Each one of those dollars will turn over in the community five or six times," Stevenson said. "That means the economic impact to the area is about

\$5 million to \$6 million. We're thrilled to get them."

The Department of the Air Force announced plans for the center Thursday along with scores of other changes that will be made at Air Force bases across the United States as the Air Force tries to reorganize with a shrinking budget.

The radar center will be used to track and monitor the bombers as they perform training operations over Northwest Arkansas. The B-1B is a long-range bomber capable of carrying multiple nuclear weapons.

The bombers will fly over the Ozark Mountains to check their equipment and find mock bombing targets. The radar center will track the planes and

monitor the effectiveness of the practice runs.

About 65 servicemen and two civilians are scheduled to work at the center.

Stevenson said the Chamber of Commerce would be working with the Air Force "to help make the transition into Harrison as smooth as possible."

"There is a small housing crunch here," Stevenson said. "Trying to house 65 people at one time could exacerbate things if we don't work on it ahead of time."

Stevenson said that while he did not know the radar-center was coming to Harrison until the announcement was made Thursday, he did know the Air Force was looking at the area.

See RADAR, Page 3B

## Radar

• Continued from Page 1B

"I'm not sure why they picked us. Geography probably had a lot to do with it and along with what their mission is," he said.

"Also, I know they were very impressed with our medical facilities."

Harrison has a hospital, the North Arkansas Medical Center.

Stevenson said the radar center would be located about six miles southeast of Harrison just off of U.S. 65.

"They've leased about six acres out there. I don't think they're going to build any kind of housing, probably just some administrative offices. We really won't know that until we talk to them."





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached is in preparation  
for your 4:30 p.m. Meeting.  
Tony Lake has a copy and will  
be forwarding his thoughts  
separately.



John Podesta

cc: Mack McLarty  
George Stephanopoulos  
David Gergen  
Dee Dee Myers  
Mark Gearan



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1993 JUN 29 P4: 48

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *RLV*

SUBJECT: **Secretary Reich Memorandum Regarding U.S.  
Leadership on Structural Unemployment and Labor  
Market Policies in G-7 Nations**

Bob Reich asked me to pass on to you the attached memorandum. I agree with Bob's recommendations, although I would allow each country to designate three representatives rather than specify the Ministers of Labor, Education and Technology. In two of the governments that I knew reasonably well before I came here, the most appropriate representatives would have included individuals who were not occupants of those three Ministries, and I think the same is true of our government today.

I would also add that my own instinct is that there may well be another dimension of historic importance to the unemployment problem, to wit a disconnect between GDP growth and employment due to technology, new ways of organizing workforces and globalization. Quite a few members of your economic team don't feel there is a new phenomenon, but all agree that if there is, appropriate additional policy prescriptions are not at all clear.

Finally, the world is currently in a negative economic cycle, which is likely to last at least through the better part of 1994. Laura Tyson and I were discussing this just this morning, and we both agreed that whatever you do can at best have relatively little impact on hastening the return of more favorable cyclical conditions, although we should certainly pursue macro-economic coordination. The Administration's economic programs, including investments, deficit reduction, regulatory review, trade, and micro-economic measures, can, on the other hand, have a significant impact over the long run. We also agreed that difficult conditions give rise to quick fixes, like President Ford's famous WINS buttons, which are unsound and counterproductive.

Attachment



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUN 29 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LABOR SECRETARY ROBERT B. REICH *bsr*

SUBJECT: U.S. LEADERSHIP ON STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND LABOR  
MARKET POLICIES IN G-7 NATIONS

**PROPOSAL**

You should propose that the G-7 establish a Commission on Structural Unemployment. The Commission would seek to achieve a "new consensus" on the dimensions and causes of structural unemployment in G-7 nations, and on the preferred means for dealing with the problem. The consensus would reject protectionism and rigid labor-market policies in favor of worker adjustment and education and training policies.

The Commission would be chaired by the United States, and would involve ministers from labor, education, and technology within each of the G-7. The Commission would present an interim report to the G-7 leaders within six months and a final report in one year, containing specific recommendations for how the G-7 together can reduce structural unemployment and enhance the incomes of their citizens.

**THE PROBLEM: HIGH AND PERSISTENT UNEMPLOYMENT IN G-7 NATIONS**

Structural unemployment is becoming an increasingly important problem in the G-7.

While the U.S. recession officially ended over two years ago and while employment growth has picked up in recent months, unemployment and underemployment remain high; the current U.S. unemployment rate of 6.9% is higher than the 6.8% rate at the supposed trough of the recession in March 1991. The number of Americans who are unemployed, involuntarily underemployed, or too discouraged to continue looking for work remains over 16 million. Much of the unemployment and underemployment appears to be structural, as indicated by the fact that an unprecedented 80 percent of U.S. workers who have been laid off this year are not expected to be called back to their old jobs. The pace of permanent worker dislocation appears to be increasing.

The current unemployment situation is even bleaker in most other G-7 nations. In fact, overall unemployment in the G-7 is higher today than at any time in the past 40 years. European industrialized economies are the most seriously affected. Eleven

percent of the labor force in the nations of the European Community is unemployed; unemployment has averaged 9.9 percent for the past decade. European unemployment is largely a structural problem: nearly half of those unemployed in the European Community have been without work for over a year. These European economies appear to be on a dangerous trajectory where the unemployment rate increases dramatically in recessions but fails to decline substantially in recoveries. Canada has also experienced an upward unemployment trajectory with double digit unemployment rates for the last three years.

Japan continues to have the lowest unemployment rate in the G-7 (still below 3 percent), but it has a substantial number of discouraged workers. Japan's structural unemployment also is hidden in a highly-inefficient distribution and retail sector, whose ranks continue to grow.

#### THE CAUSES

The unemployment problem facing G-7 nations partially reflects cyclical unemployment arising from a weak macroeconomic situation. But even with a complete macroeconomic recovery, it is likely that unemployment will remain stubbornly high in Europe, and that even in the United States dislocated and disadvantaged workers will continue to have difficulty finding new jobs.

The structural unemployment problem in the G-7 reflects not so much increases in productivity (which historically, always have created more jobs rather than fewer) as it does a shift in relative labor demand against less-educated workers and those doing routine tasks and toward workers with problem solving skills. In most G-7 nations, structural unemployment has taken its greatest toll on manual workers and non-college workers.

- o Challenged by global competition and labor-saving technologies, American, European, and Japanese companies have been forced to move beyond high-volume, standardized mass production, and focus instead on products and services tailored to the individual needs of customers: specialized materials, customized computer chips, specialized banking and insurance services.

- o Increased globalization and skill-biased technological change have raised the knowledge content of goods in which advanced industrial nations have a comparative advantage.



## THE FALSE CHOICES

If properly managed, this shift in demand can lead to rapidly-growing economies that produce high-wage, high-skill jobs. But the economic policies undertaken in Europe and the United States in the 1980s created a Hobbesian choice between job quality and job growth, and invited protectionism.

o The continental European pattern of explicit government intervention in the wage setting process and inflexible employment security and protection rules succeeded in the 1980s in preventing the gap between high-wage and low-wage workers from widening, but ran into severe economic difficulties by not directly addressing profound changes in the demand for skills. Such policies maintained wages and job security for the employed, but they greatly burdened new job creation especially in small and medium-sized businesses. Largely because of inflexible wage structures and restrictions on the ability of firms to redeploy and change their work forces in response to a changing world economy, employment growth has stagnated in these nations and unemployment continues to grow. Only substantial public sector employment expansion prevented even worse unemployment problems in many of these countries during the 1970s and 1980s. In fact, there has been almost no net private sector employment growth in the European Community over the last twenty years.

o The U.S. and British pattern treats labor like other commodities and allows earnings and working conditions to decline as demand for unskilled work has declined. The result has been substantial increases in wage inequality. In the United States, non-college workers' real earnings have substantially declined. Both nations have allowed wages to fall and permitted employers relative freedom to adjust their labor markets to demand shifts. Because of this flexibility, the United States, in particular, has experienced job growth over the last two decades that has been the envy of European nations. Nevertheless, job growth in both the United States and Britain has been punctuated by high unemployment in recessions and increasing problems of structural unemployment for disadvantaged and displaced workers.

o Protectionism. It is perhaps natural in these turbulent times for advanced industrial nations to blame imports from other nations -- especially developing nations whose workers are willing to toil for much lower wages -- or to blame immigrants entering the country. But escaping from global markets through protectionism is not the solution. Technology will operate to reduce the demand for less-skilled workers even if the borders are sealed. Open international markets have historically been related to rapid economic growth and expanding employment. World trade is not a zero-sum game. Many of the high-wage jobs of the



future will be associated with exports and jobs that service the export industry. Export sector and related jobs pay substantially higher wages than jobs in the rest of the economy. Economic expansion in the rest of the world strongly stimulates U.S. exports and creates high-wage jobs in the United States. Protectionism is a third false choice that will have little impact on job creation but will certainly harm the efficiency of the economy and the growth of incomes.

## THE PREFERRED CHOICE

### o Macroeconomic Policy

The first and most obvious policy priority to reduce unemployment is to ensure that the G-7 economies enjoy a swift and complete recovery from the recession of 1990-92. The sharp proposed reduction in the U.S. budget deficit should remove a significant source of uncertainty about the stability of the world economy and aid such a recovery. A strong commitment to fiscal expansion in Japan and monetary easing in Europe could also help.

### o Investments in People and in Flexibility

But once an improved macroeconomic environment is created, policies will be needed to deal with the longer-term problem of structural unemployment. Policies to address structural unemployment must directly address changes in the global economy that have shifted labor demand in the G-7 away from routine tasks and towards problem-solving skills. Such policies require active intervention to improve skills and ease the transition from contracting industries into new jobs in expanding ones. But such policies also require wage flexibility and employer discretion over when to terminate employment.

A complete jobs strategy would operate on five dimensions: the supply of skills, the composition of the demand for skills, the matching of supply and demand, the flexibility to respond to market forces and the overall level of demand for labor.

(1) First, good education, training, and retraining must be available to all citizens, not only the children of the privileged few.

(2) Second, firms must be encouraged to adopt high-performance work practices -- providing on-the-job training to their front-line workers, and giving them significant responsibility.

(3) Third, up-to-date employment information, job-counselling, and job-search assistance must be available to all new entrants to the labor force and all newly unemployed workers.



(4) Fourth, firms should be allowed maximum flexibility in setting wages and terms of employment, above a minimally-decent floor.

(5) Finally, fiscal policy should provide for a balanced expansion in investments in human capital, physical capital, infrastructure, and technology. Such investments are necessary to maintain a strong overall level of job creation and demand for skilled labor.

o Toward a "New Consensus" On Courses and Remedies

This overall strategy requires different policy changes in different G-7 countries. In the United States, the major required changes are increases and improvements in investments in education and training, an effective school-to-work transition, a worker adjustment system, and the capacity for lifelong learning on the job. Japan and many European countries have already put into place some of these workforce investment systems. But other, relatively inflexible labor policies and wage-setting restrictions in these nations hinder both the incentives of the unemployed to find jobs and the incentives of employers for job creation. In Europe, the emphasis should be on reducing restrictions on wage setting and employment adjustment and in improving active labor market policies to quickly move the unemployed into new jobs. Japan can contribute best by improving the world macroeconomic condition. All G-7 countries need to focus on changes in tax and transfer systems to make work pay.

#### ADVANTAGES OF ASSERTING LEADERSHIP ON THIS ISSUE

G-7 structural unemployment already is fanning the flames of racism and protectionism in several G-7 nations, and must be faced directly. The United States' commitment to open markets, ethnic diversity, internally flexible labor markets, and education and training, places it in an excellent position for G-7 leadership in framing the issue and seeking "positive sum" solutions. You are personally committed to the education and training of nations' workforces and have a great deal of credibility on the issue.

#### DISADVANTAGES

Structural unemployment is a complex and increasingly emotional issue in many G-7 nations, provoking demagoguery on the left and the right of the political spectrum. Inappropriately managed, the Commission could be a source of embarrassment for some nations, or worse, a platform for irresponsible ideas.

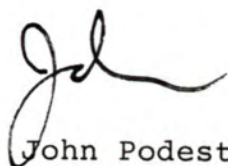


THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Dee Dee and Mark Gearan have  
cleared the talking points  
included in this memo.

  
John Podesta



cc: The Vice President  
David Gergen  
George Stephanopoulos





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BERNARD W. NUSSBAUM  
Counsel to the President

STEPHEN R. NEUWIRTH  
Associate Counsel to the President

RE: Supreme Court decision in North Carolina  
Voting Rights Case

33 JUN 29 PM 10:26

In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court yesterday reversed a lower court's dismissal of claims relating to the creation of a majority-black voting district in North Carolina.

Specifically, the Court held that white plaintiffs in North Carolina stated a valid claim under the Equal Protection Clause when they alleged that North Carolina's reapportionment scheme -- which created two majority-black Congressional districts, including one along a 160-mile stretch of an interstate highway -- is so "bizarre" on its face that it can be understood only as an effort to segregate voters into separate districts on the basis of race.

The Court only remanded the case for further proceedings, and did not invalidate North Carolina's redistricting scheme. But the Court set a very high standard -- the so-called "strict scrutiny" standard -- for the state government defendants to satisfy as the case moves forward: unless the defendants can contradict the plaintiffs' allegations of racial gerrymandering, the redistricting plan can be upheld only if the defendants can establish that it is "narrowly tailored" to further a "compelling governmental interest."

Justice O'Connor wrote the Court's opinion, and was joined by the Chief Justice and Justices Scalia, Kennedy and Thomas. Four justices -- White, Blackmun, Stevens and Souter -- dissented vigorously. The dissenters observed, among other things, that no prior decisions of the Court had ever suggested that a voting district's "bizarre" shape could, of itself, provide the basis for a constitutional claim. (In prior cases, the only state practices held to give rise to valid constitutional claims were direct and outright deprivations of the right to vote (e.g., by means of a poll tax), or practices that had the intent and effect of unduly diminishing a political or racial group's influence on the political process.)

We recommend that you do not comment on the substance of the case at this time, and that you instead ask Attorney General Reno and her department to review the decision and its implications.

Voting rights advocates consider this decision a substantial defeat -- particularly given that the redistricting plan at issue was adopted pursuant to the Voting Rights Act, was not objected to by the Department of Justice, and led to the election of the first black representative from North Carolina since Reconstruction.

On the other hand, Justice White, though dissenting, observed that "[b]ecause the holding is limited to such anomalous circumstances, it perhaps will not substantially hamper a State's legitimate efforts to redistrict in favor of racial minorities."

If asked about the decision, we recommend that you respond along the following lines:

- I have been, and remain, fully committed to full implementation of the Voting Rights Act in letter and in spirit.
- Attorney General Reno and the Justice Department will continue to work to ensure the protection of the voting rights of all Americans.
- The Justice Department and the White House staff will be reviewing the Court's decision to assess its meaning and ramifications.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DATE:** 06/29/93

**NOTE FOR:** HILLARY CLINTON

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

62993

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1993

93 JUN 29 A8:54

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HOWARD PASTER *HP*  
SUBJECT: LETTERS FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Attached are several letters of appreciation and support which you received from various members of Congress.

- 1) Joe Biden (D-DE),
- 2) John McCain (R-AZ), *→ cc to (HRC)*
- 3) Jill Long (D-IN),
- 4) Dan Glickman (D-KS),
- 5) Pat Schroeder (D-CO),
- 6) Craig Washington (D-TX).



JOHN MCCAIN  
ARIZONA

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES  
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE,  
AND TRANSPORTATION  
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

## United States Senate

93 JUN 25 P3:32

June 15, 1993

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for taking the time to meet with us last Friday to discuss U.S. relations with Vietnam. I fear we took far too much time from your crowded schedule to make our case. You were exceptionally gracious to permit us this transgression.

\* I want to also commend you again for attending Memorial Day ceremonies at the Vietnam War memorial. Your presence there was entirely appropriate and deeply appreciated by the vast majority of Americans who understand the true purpose of that memorial. I am confident that the few individuals who sought to disrupt your remarks were perceived by most Americans to be disrespectful not only to you and your office, but to the spirit of healing which the memorial was intended to represent.

\* If you will forgive a little unsolicited personal advice, Mr. President, I want to say that your facility for long hours of hard work is admirable. But Americans don't require that their president be fatigued in body or spirit. I suggest you make more use of Camp David or any other restful place outside the beltway. I am confident that the Republic will survive your occasional use of a Sunday to just relax.

Moreover, everyone in this town takes the month of August off. So should you. I hope you do have plans to vacation during August in whatever location you find restful. If you do not, I suggest you consider a Colorado River raft trip through the Grand Canyon with your friend, Bruce Babbitt. Speaking from personal experience, few forms of recreation are more enjoyable, more restful or more inspiring.

Again, thank you for your patience and generosity last Friday. And please consider my advice seriously, it is offered with your best interests and the best interests of the country in mind.

Sincerely,

*John McCain*  
John McCain

111 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0303  
(202) 224-2235

151 NORTH CENTENNIAL WAY  
SUITE 1000  
MESA, AZ 85201  
(602) 835-8994

5353 NORTH 16TH STREET  
SUITE 190  
PHOENIX, AZ 85016  
(602) 640-2567

5151 EAST BROADWAY  
SUITE 170  
TUCSON, AZ 85711  
(602) 670-6334

TELEPHONE FOR HEARING IMPAIRED  
(202) 224-7132  
(602) 248-0174

Charles  
Sumner: Tim

BS.

**FIRST CLASS MAIL**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/29





STATE OF ARKANSAS  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
State Capitol  
Little Rock 72201

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/29

Bill Clinton  
Governor



October 18, 1990

Mike Kinard  
Attorney at Law  
Kinard, Crane & Butler, P. A.  
118 East Calhoun  
P. O. Box 727  
Magnolia, AR 71753

*Re: Contra Republic  
Sawyer Case*

Dear Mike:

I've heard that this is a very complicated, detailed situation; as time goes on, the more interesting it becomes.

Congressman Beryl Anthony may have some information about who on Capitol Hill has been vocal or concerned about this issue and might be willing to assist you in your efforts. Another person who's had a longstanding interest in this area is Congressman Bill Alexander, and he may have some guidance as to who might wish to pursue this further.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

*Bill*  
Bill Clinton

BC:cts:rf

.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

June 9, 1989

Employment Standards Administration  
201 Varick Street  
New York, New York 10014

File #: 2-99548

Re : Wallace B. Sawyer, Jr.  
Vs : Southern Air Transport  
Inj : Fatal Death-10/5/86

Mrs. Kasnaee Sawyer  
1130 North Washington  
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Winslow Drummond/McMath  
Law Firm  
711 West Third Street  
P.O. Box 1401  
Little Rock Arkansas 72203

Robert M. Beckman, Esq.  
Beckman & Kirstein  
Attorneys at Law  
2445 M Street  
Suite 340  
Washington, D.C. 20032

Gentlemen:

Based on Mr. Drummond's 5/2/89 letter and attachments, claimant death appears to be covered by the Defense Base Act and benefits are due.

Sincerely,



Richard V. Robilotti  
District Director

is



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 26, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: R. PAUL RICHARD

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM FOR MARTHA RAYE

You will recall that the President approved giving the Medal of Freedom to Martha Raye at the same time as he approved Arthur Ashe and Thurgood Marshall. You may be aware that Raye's husband, Mark Harris, has been actively lobbying for the award, and has hired an attorney to represent him in his efforts.

When the President approved Raye as a recipient, he wondered if there was a way to award the Medal without Harris being the picture. I have talked with both the Executive Clerk's office and the Military Office to see if there are any precedents for a non-presidential award ceremony. The Medal has been presented by the President's representatives in the past, and has even been mailed to the recipient when necessary. I would suggest that we employ a similar technique in this case, and deputize a Los Angeles based military officer of sufficient rank to present the Medal to Martha Raye. The Military Office says they can locate some suitable presenter candidates.

Let me know what you think, and any ideas you have on when to do this.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/28/93

**NOTE FOR:** MARCIA HALE  
NSC

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

Information ☐

Action ☒x

Thank you.

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

cc:



March 1, 1942

The President says  
he wants to see some  
of his Japanese friends.  
Nakamura & Que are  
the 2 he mentioned -  
last

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 24, 1993

M. Nakamura  
President and Chairman of the Board  
Daiwa Steel Tube Industries Co., Ltd.  
Nakanoshima Center Building 22nd Floor  
6-2-27 Nakanoshima  
Kita-ku, Osaka  
Japan

Dear Mr. Nakamura:

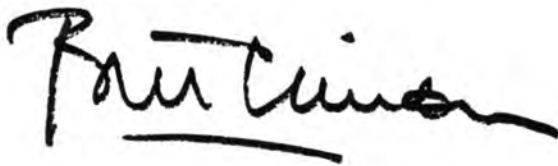
Thank you for your letter of June 15. It was good to hear from you.

I appreciate your kind offer of assistance on my upcoming trip to Japan. You have good ideas, which I will consider. Also, I have taken the liberty of sharing your letter with the White House staff members who are planning next month's trip.

Your suggestion that communicating with the Japanese people as well as with the leadership is a good one, and I have shared your letter with George Stephanopolous, David Gergen, and others involved in the planning of the Tokyo trip.

As you probably know, my time in Tokyo is very short and filled with G-7 meetings, but I hope I have an opportunity to visit with you personally. If not, then we shall meet again another day.

Sincerely,









**DAIWA STEEL TUBE INDUSTRIES CO., LTD.**

NAKANOSHIMA CENTER BLDG. 22ND FL., 6-2-27 NAKANOSHIMA, KITA-KU, OSAKA 530, JAPAN

PHONE (06) 448-5201 FAX (06) 448-6415 CABLE DAIWASTEELTUBE OSAKA TELEX 63877 DAITUBE

June 15, 1993

The President of the United States of America  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C., 20500  
U. S. A.

Dear President Clinton,

Five months have already passed since you have been inaugurated as the President of the United States of America in January, 1993. I suppose that you have been very busy, and have been tested by many hardships during that period. In these days, severe criticism toward Mr. President has been reported also in Japan as news from U. S., but these hardships have been already experienced when you served as a Governor of the State of Arkansas in the past, and your attitude of always keeping step with your citizens, and the result of the "change and reunification of the United States of America" will be highly valued in four years by all the people.

At this time in the last year, you have almost lost your voice, running so hard Presidential nomination campaign prior to the Democratic Meeting in New York. And now, you are the President of the United States of America, active and powerful leader of the world. This seems to me a dream event. I suppose that many troubles and hardships may arise at the initial stage after the inauguration as President, but these troubles and hardships are no match for those during your last election campaign now you gained the steadfast position of the President. Please go ahead dynamically with what you believe is right for the sake of the welfare of the American citizens and the peace in the world.

Present America seems to hold a lot of issues — especially, reduction of the huge financial deficit and reformation of the medical insurance program, etc.

Regarding the reduction of the huge financial deficit, rectification of the trade imbalance with world countries, especially with Japan, is the biggest issue. You are visiting Japan to attend the Summit meeting in Tokyo in coming July, and I think it is very important for you to listen to the ideas and the opinions which Japanese common people have toward America as well as those of Japanese politicians and government officials, in order to properly understand the U.S. - Japan economic issues. There is a big gap between Japanese national sentiments and central politicians' ideas. From the foregoing standpoint, if you can find time, I think it is very profitable for you to hold a joint conference with the Japanese people in a variety of fields — managements of the smaller-to-medium-sized enterprises, people concerned with education, people concerned with agriculture, students etc. — and let them understand your ideas, and in your turn to understand what kind of feelings those Japanese people have toward America, and then to make a decision of the US-Japan economic policy.

If you are agreeable to my proposal, I am ready to prepare for such conference after negotiating with each organization in Japan. It seems to me effective and essential that such conference is to be held before the Summit meeting in July, but this may be impossible with respect to time. However, I suggest you hold such conference at early opportunity as possible. I have manufacturing plants both in America and in Japan, and the number of the employees there are nearly 300 each. Therefore, I always think not only from Japanese standpoint, but also from American standpoint. I also think it is important for both America and Japan to mutually understand, rely on, and cooperate to prosper. I think you should always keep a way open to directly listen to the voice of the general citizen in America, in Japan, and also in Europe.

If you successfully settle the present US - Japan economic issues, and improve the present financial situation of America, your reelection as President in four years is no doubt. If you have any requests or any questions, please tell me anything. If you agree with me on the foregoing proposal, I am ready to visit you in Washington on any date you specify.

I am very proud of that a person like you, who have a good understanding toward Japan, has been elected as a President of the United States of America, and that



I could have kept company with you for many years as a good friend. I feel myself a sense of mission for US-Japan friendship. I wish you to become a great President, for both America and Japan, whose name shall be transmitted to posterity, and I also wish you to have a successful Summit in Tokyo in coming July, by all means, and to go back to America, leaving a favorable impression to Japanese people of a wonderful President.

In the last of this letter, I wish to thank you very much for inviting us to your Inauguration ceremony in January 1993. I regret that I could not offer my congratulations directly to Mr. President during such occasion because of many attendants, but as you see enclosed pictures, I could celebrate such a wonderful event with all my family. Mr. President, I wish I could have a private dinner party including the families either in Tokyo, or in Osaka to celebrate your Presidential Inauguration if you could spare me your time before or after the session of the Summit meeting, and I would be very happy if I could do so.

I suppose you are busy every day, and there are many things to keep your nerves strain. Please take a good care of your health and perform your task as the world leader.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Nakamura', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

M. Nakamura  
President and Chairman of the Board  
Daiwa Steel Tube Industries Co., Ltd.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DATE:** 06/28/93

**NOTE FOR:** HILLARY R. CLINTON

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:



cc NRC - 747  
Dease

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1993

William R. Horner  
Horner & Isaacs, P.C.  
271 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

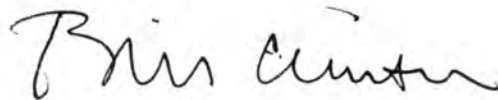
Dear William:

Thank you for your recent letter.

I read it carefully, and I appreciate your suggestions on how we might better achieve our agenda for the country.

We're making progress daily, and I look forward to more in the weeks ahead. I hope you will continue to share your good advice with me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".



MM  
D  
✓ 15

HORNER & ISAACS, P.C.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW  
271 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

212-953-2288

WILLIAM R. HORNER\*

MARC J. ISAACS\*\*

\*ALSO ADMITTED IN MASSACHUSETTS

\*\*ALSO ADMITTED IN CONNECTICUT

FACSIMILE: (212) 953-2476

JEFFREY MARCUS

DANIEL A. EIGERMAN

DAVID GALANTER

RICHARD M. ROSENBERG

OF COUNSEL

May 24, 1993

President and Mrs. William J. Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Re: Politics in America

Dear Hillary and Bill:

I know that the purported topic of this letter may seem a bit presumptuous of me, but I am afraid that your effort to sell your economic and health care reforms to the public is losing a little steam. This is a great tragedy because, based on the contact I had with both of you at Yale Law School, I think that the two of you are far and away the brightest people we have ever had leading our great country. What I see going on reminds me of what I used to call "Yale Law Schoolitis" - a tendency to focus on policy solutions to the exclusion of policy implementation. In this vein, I hope that my comments may be of use to you.

I believe that the general thrust of your economic and health reform proposals represent a giant step forward on the needed path of reform in both of these areas. What worries me is that your whole Administration seems to believe that it can get these programs adopted solely on their own merit. As someone who was an undergraduate major in political "science" and has continued to follow the political scene closely ever since, I simply do not believe that it will be possible to get your programs enacted solely on the basis on their intrinsic merit.

You may think that the very reason the American people elected you over the incumbent was that they wanted major changes in economic and health care policies. This is not necessarily so. Political scientists and polling experts have long known that people are more likely to vote to express their feeling against something rather than for something. In this context, your election really represented a vote against four more years of government by a man who was telling the American people that the economy was really getting much better when their pocketbooks were telling them just the opposite.

I am sure that you know that your admirable economic and health reform proposals represent very major changes in the



President & Mrs. William J. Clinton, May 24, 1993, page 2.

status quo in both these areas. What you may not recognize is that the vast majority of the electorate is afraid of any policy which represents a major departure from the status quo. Such fear is not inconsistent with voting against Bush. One reason why the electorate seems to be so conservative is because voters commonly assume that any major change is as likely to worsen their own personal situation as it is to improve it. Indeed, this very instinct gives rise to the familiar adage "Better the devil you know than the one you don't." Thus, the American people would ideally like you to make everything better, but without making any major changes.

In trying to get your programs adopted, you must take into account this very basic fear of major changes. Because of it, you will not be able to get your programs adopted simply by convincing the American people that the changes you propose will be beneficial in the long run. This positive approach works only with those as intellectually gifted and courageous as you and your close advisors. INSTEAD, to sell your programs to the public you must GO NEGATIVE! By this I mean that you must convince the public that continuing with the present course in managing the economy (ever increasing deficits) and in providing health care (ever increasing costs which leave many without adequate coverage) will be so disastrous to everyone in the long run that it is worth the risk of making major changes to try to avert THE INEVITABLE DISASTER WHICH IS UPON US! In short, you must try to be a revivalist preacher for change. You must use the fear of hell-fire and brimstone (figuratively, of course) to lead the public to where they know in their hearts they really want to go, i.e., a government that can pay for what it spends (just like the rest of us have to) and a health care system that provides quality care for all.

On another level, I know that you recognize that your economic and health care proposals will require sacrifices on everyone's part. I get the feeling that you believe that the public will be willing to make the needed sacrifices (higher taxes, etc.) so long as the sacrifices are spread fairly among all citizens. Indeed, you may feel that in voting for you, the American public was expressing its willingness to make the required sacrifices. Again, I must respectfully disagree. From



President & Mrs. William J. Clinton, May 24, 1993, page 3.

a psychological viewpoint, few people are willing to volunteer to make sacrifices. In fact, the Republicans have made a living on convincing the voters that the government can take care of their needs and desires with "No New Taxes." I believe that American political history shows that people will make sacrifices only when they know who is to blame for the ensuing discomfort. Thus, you must again GO NEGATIVE! Let the public know who they should blame for the painful sacrifices that now must be made. If you don't, they may blame you!

You must blame the Republicans for the new taxes needed to reduce the deficit. The Reagan-Bush Administrations spent hundreds of billions of dollars to build up America's military might while the USSR was on the verge of collapsing, and did so without raising taxes to pay for the outlays! Forget the fact that the Democratically-controlled Congress went along for the ride because all those billions were spent in their districts and States creating defense jobs for their constituents. The perhaps sad truth is that the public is less interested in sophisticated analysis than it is in having a bogeyman to blame for the pain.

Likewise, with health care you should point out that national expenses for health care were increasing like a sky rocket during the Reagan-Bush years, while more and more people lost basic health coverage. The Republican attitude was simply that a person's health was a private matter between each individual and his or her doctor. Even though it is certainly not the sole cause, the Republican "keep the government out of my private business" attitude on health care should be blamed as directly responsible for the current health care crisis.

Finally, you are obviously aware that your economic and health care programs will disadvantage many groups who benefit from the status quo and that these groups will use all legal means at their disposal to thwart your efforts. Accordingly, I respectfully suggest that you might be well advised to give further consideration into the relationship between passage of your programs and the need for making fundamental changes in the political system. Right now, you seem to be devoting more effort to selling your programs to Congress than selling them to



President & Mrs. William J. Clinton, May 24, 1993, page 4.

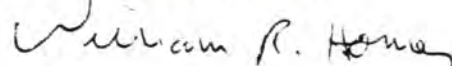
the American people. While some Congressmen are certainly willing to put the country's best interests ahead of their own, human nature suggests that many Congressmen will find it difficult to do so.

Running for election to Congress now costs so much that many Congressmen (especially Representatives who have to run every two years) are forced to devote more effort to raising money for reelection than to considering what measures need to be adopted to promote the public welfare. Moreover, since special interest groups contribute more campaign dollars than individual voters, there is a regrettable tendency to raise campaign funds by catering to special interests instead of serving the public at large. In short, it will be much easier for Congressmen to raise campaign funds by opposing your programs than by supporting them.

Now, I do not suggest that you immediately go negative on Congress and accuse that part of our government of being the cause of all problems. I only suggest that you need to preserve that option in case Congress starts to emasculate your programs (if it has not already done so). You should be prepared for the possibility that the only "changes" Congress will support are those which require no sacrifices from any individuals or groups. Accordingly, I think that you should begin to move in the direction of publicly supporting total public financing of Congressional elections (primaries and general elections). At the same time, you should let key Congressmen know privately that you will not make this a number one priority if they support your other programs.

Best Personal regards.

Very truly yours,



William R. Horner, '71L

WRH/ss

cc: Dean Guido Calabresi, Yale Law School



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/28/93

NOTE FOR: TONY LAKE  
BOB RUBIN

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1993

Joseph R. and Kathleen A. Baczko  
144 Alexander Palm Road  
Boca Raton, Florida 33432

Dear Joe and Kathy:

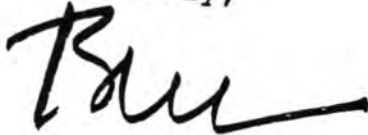
Thank you for your letters. We had a wonderful time during the reunion, and Hillary and I were really glad you stayed with us in the White House.

Joe, I appreciate having the benefit of your experience with Japan. Your insight helps me understand the issue in a different light. Thanks a lot.

I also appreciate your recommendations, Kathy. Nobody ever said this job would be easy. Real change is nearly always frustrating and slow. I'm working hard at it, and I think we make promise each day.

Thanks again for writing. We hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill", written in a cursive, flowing style.



# THE BLUNT COMMISSION

"Somebody has to say it like it is. It might as well be us - the F.O.B.'s of Georgetown University's Class of 1968 dedicated to the support of their classmate, President William Jefferson Clinton."

Founded  
January 18, 1993  
Washington, D.C.

June 10, 1993

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Jim Moore  
Maureen Mills Murtagh  
Tom Murtagh  
Lois Spotila  
John Spotila  
Sally Sweetser  
Peter Sweetser

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. ~~President,~~ *Bill,*

No words can adequately express the gratitude I have for the privilege you afforded Kathy and me by inviting us to spend the Reunion Weekend at the White House. I will always look back on our 26th wedding anniversary with fond memories of good fellowship in the company of old friends. It is a memory which will burn bright and extend my lifetime. Thanks for making it happen for us.

The last several weeks haven't been the easiest ones for you, but I sense that the tide of public opinion is turning. I believe that the press has come very close to self-destructing in their one-sided coverage recently. People of all political persuasions appear to have reached the limits of tolerance for the media's tabloid coverage. Even Ross Perot seems to be hunkering down. I'm convinced that the majority of American people want desperately for you to succeed at this point simply because they recognize the consequences to this country otherwise. I'm no political pundit but I encourage you to make greater use of prime time press conferences and one-on-one interviews than you have so far. I recommend that you do so even at the expense of some town meeting formats which, in my opinion, appear orchestrated and less credible than jousting with the press. I know of no President since JFK who can handle the medium of regular press conferences and interviews better than you.



I know that you are going to Japan soon, and that the meetings there will play a large part in your economic plans here. The short term reality of the deficit reduction plan is an elimination of jobs here. That prospect can be ill sustained while we are looking at \$45 billion annual trade deficits with Japan. Reducing that deficit with them will create jobs here provided that we can open their market for American goods and services. The answer is not to buy less from them but to sell more to them.

Over the years, I've developed a lot of scars from waging battles in Japan for Max Factor, Toys-R-Us, and Blockbuster. I'm not at all hopeful about the prospects of success in the ensuing round of talks. We've been engaged in righting the trade deficit since the seventies when it stood at a mere \$5 billion. In spite of some real successes on our part in selling products and services there and some reductions in tariffs and barriers on their part, the deficits persist. They have averaged more than \$40 billion a year for the last decade even though the yen has nearly doubled in value over the same time. All of this has taken place while we have had countless rounds of negotiations, finger pointing and sermonizing under several administrations from both sides. For whatever the reasons, competitive American products and services find their way into Japan at a much reduced flow than comparative Japanese products and services do into our home markets. As you know, that is not the case for our trade position with any other developed country.

There are indeed real differences, structural and otherwise, between our countries but they should not serve as points of rationalization for the status quo. The Japanese are old hands at that game. They can point to the sanctity of rice in Japan's history as reason enough not to buy our production. They can point to the preponderance of small stores in defence of not allowing larger ones. They've even gone so far as to make seemingly sound arguments about the inferiority of American made products. When all else fails, the Japanese will revert to simply stating that "This is Japan" and expect you to accept it. I fear that not much of consequence will happen in future talks simply because the government of Japan's policies towards trade - with any country - is to give as little as possible. The last twenty-five years have proved them right and that they can get away with it.

I know that I sound like a "Japan-basher." I am not. In the fifteen years that I've been involved there with various companies, I have come to respect the Japanese, built significant businesses together with them and count many of them as good friends. I won't go so far as saying that I understand them as fully as I do, say, Hungarians. I know no Japanese businessman, however, who would tolerate Japan



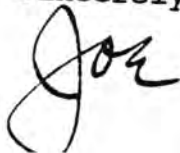
having a trade deficit of the relative magnitude we have with them. I know no Japanese businessman who, in private discussions, is not perplexed by our own tolerance of the imbalance. The press aside, there is an enormous reservoir of goodwill towards us on the part of most Japanese which no other country enjoys to the same degree. I don't believe that they will ever feel as secure about their growing commercial relationships in Asia as they do with ours. The irony is that they hold us up as the number one global power while, on the issue of trade, we act, in their eyes at least, as an also ran. That has many Japanese worried about the long term.

The net of all of this is that the only promise of change in our bilateral trade lies with the government of Japan. We can acknowledge, as we have in the past, that Americans need to spend less, save more, produce better products, improve our educational standards, and so on. We should do all that. All these mea culpas, however, have little to do with the issue that Japan imports a third less as a percentage of their economy than any other developed country. I know, first hand, that American products and services can compete with the best of Japan's own. The millions of Japanese who buy in American stores from Honolulu to New York prove that point all too well. We just have to get past the administrative controls and government sanctioned business practices to do so. The reality, though, is that there is no incentive nor political will for change on the part of the government of Japan unless and until they experience punitive consequences for their trade policies. The government of Japan should be made to understand that satisfactory relationships between us are far too important for the long term to allow their markets to remain as impenetrable as they are today. They should be made to understand that sanctions are coming and that they are imminent. They should know that, while we have tolerated the position for more than two decades, the issues facing us at home make it impossible to do so any longer. There will be a lot of flack about this and everyone will wait to see how it shakes out. Very little positive will happen, however, until we take some major action. The end game is that we will have a stronger and fairer relationship for the long term, and the Japanese public will thank us for it.

I didn't mean to presume on your time but Japan is on my mind. I'll be in Washington on June 18 as a panelist at a Department of Commerce session on doing business in Japan. I'll call in to see if I can join you in a jog and talk about the Sebes Chair as we run.

All of us send their best wishes to the First Family. As always, you remain in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/29/93

TO: DAVE GERGEN

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

The attached has been forwarded  
to the President.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4613

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1993 93 JUN 28 P6:18

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE  
CAROL RASCO *CR*

SUBJECT: Chinese Student Protection Act (CSPA)

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *DB* NARA, Date *5/11/18*  
*2018-0602-5*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 06/28/93

NOTE FOR: RON KLAIN

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:



# Chance to Alter Conservative Judiciary Beckons, But Seats on Federal Benches Remain Unfilled

By PAUL M. BARRETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Ruth Bader Ginsburg not only holds the distinction of being President Clinton's first Supreme Court nomination — she's his first nomination to any federal bench.

Five months after taking office, Mr. Clinton has failed to fill even one of the 123 vacancies — 15% of the total — on the federal appellate and district court benches around the country. So far, the only judgeship he has filled is one on the District of Columbia Superior Court, which handles day-to-day criminal and civil matters in the nation's capital.

All those vacancies represent a giant opportunity to stem the court's rightward tide after 12 years of Republican appointments. The Bush and Reagan administrations put an entire generation of conservative lawyers in black robes, filling more than two-thirds of the federal system's 846 trial and appellate judgeships. This conservative cadre has made life more difficult for elements of the Clinton constituency in areas such as civil rights, environmental regulation and sex discrimination.

The delay worries liberal court-watchers. If Mr. Clinton "fails to move quickly," says Nan Aron of the liberal Alliance for Justice, "a conservative-dominated bench may frustrate his ambitious agenda." Members of the Senate Judiciary Committee also are concerned. "It is disappointing that we are sitting here in the middle of June with not a single judicial nomination having been sent to this committee," Chairman Joseph Biden of Delaware said at a hearing last week.

White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum blames some of the delay on the 88-day Supreme Court search, as well as problems getting key people in place: The official designated to oversee judge-picking at the Justice Department, Eleanor Dean Acheson, had her confirmation hearing only last week, after a hold-up caused in part by concern over her past membership in an all-white country club.

## Clinton's Personal Involvement

But another factor is the desire of Mr. Clinton, a former constitutional law professor at the University of Arkansas, to be personally involved in approving judges — something his Republican predecessors left entirely to aides. The president's sporadic participation in discussions about the lower courts has slowed the selection process, much as it did the Supreme Court search.

Senate Democrats are also part of the problem. Senators of the same party as the president by tradition make recommendations for district court judges in their states. Some Democrats are out of practice and are only now beginning to send candidates' names to the administration, according to White House aides.

Mr. Nussbaum vows that "once we begin announcing judicial appointments in July, we will be doing that on a continual basis." He promises to have all the vacancies filled by the middle of next year, adding, "if we do that, that will be an all-time record."

Many are skeptical, though. "That

promise is just as good as any other promise made by this administration," says William Schwarzer, director of the Federal Judicial Center, the judiciary's education and research arm. "It would be a miracle if they get anybody confirmed this year." In addition, since about 50 judgeships come open annually because of deaths and retirements, Mr. Clinton will likely be scrambling to catch up for the foreseeable future.

Mr. Clinton, to be sure, isn't alone in failing to capitalize on lower-court vacancies. President Bush appointed only 15 judges in his first year, and his administration's lethargy was chiefly responsible for allowing so many openings to remain unfilled for so long. Mr. Bush never took full advantage of 85 new judgeships that Congress created in December 1990; dozens of those remain unfilled.

## Conservative Stamp

Still, the Bush and Reagan administrations together left a distinctly conservative stamp on the federal bench. For example, Republican appointees now have majorities on all of the federal system's 13 regional courts of appeal.

"You'd think [the Clinton administration] would want to get going," addressing the imbalance, says U.S. District Judge Lucius Bunton, a Carter appointee based in Midland, Texas. Apart from politics, the vacancies are exacerbating delays in civil trials that stretch to three years or more in some parts of the country.

"It's kind of frustrating out here," says Judge Bunton, who officially went on semiretired status when he turned 68 last December, but hasn't been able to reduce his workload because three of the 10 judgeships in western Texas are vacant.

With hearings on Judge Ginsburg's nomination scheduled for late next month, followed by the Senate's August recess, the Judiciary Committee won't begin serious work on lower-court nominees until fall at the earliest. Sen. Biden, the committee's chairman, has suggested that the White House not dump dozens of names on the committee at once, but instead send them up a few at a time so that Senate staffers of both parties aren't overwhelmed.

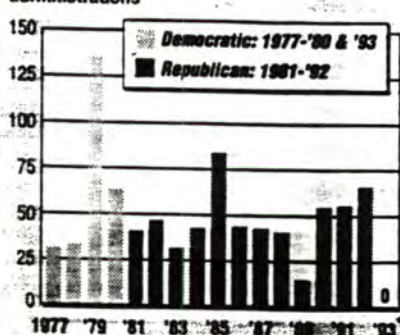
The committee's ranking Republican, Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah, has signaled that he is willing to cooperate, as long as the White House doesn't send up "controversial candidates." One such potential Clinton nominee who would provoke a fight is Laurence Tribe, an outspoken liberal professor at Harvard Law School whose opposition to the 1987 Supreme Court nomination of Robert Bork still evokes bitterness among many Republicans.

Outside conservative legal activists, meanwhile, are salivating over the prospect of attacking Clinton appointees in order to avenge Mr. Bork and other conservative judicial nominees shot down by liberals during the Reagan-Bush years.

"We intend to force [Mr. Clinton] to expend the maximum political capital on his nominees," says Clint Bolick, who galvanized opposition to Lani Guinier's failed appointment to the Justice Depart-

## A Generation of GOP Judges

Appointments to the federal trial and appeals courts by Democratic and Republican administrations



\*Year-to-date

Source: Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts

ment's top civil rights job. Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation, which was a key player in the behind-the-scenes battle over the confirmation of Justice Clarence Thomas, now claims 100 regional affiliates for its satellite-television network and is devoting an increasing amount of programming to warnings about a liberal retaking of the judiciary. The idea, according to Thomas Jipping, Free Congress's chief legal strategist, is to make senators' votes for liberal judicial nominees a significant issue in re-election campaigns in 1994 and 1996.

Modifying the cadence of homosexual-rights protest chants, Mr. Jipping says that the message to the White House is: "We're here. We're in your face. Get used to it."

## THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-28-93  
Made/BC  
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Gather we'll not  
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Box 12 - As read all 3  
carefully to let husband

Your Own Account/Mary Rowland

# Watch the Clinton Pension Bill

Like other measures aimed at 'fat cats,' this one could backfire.

**B**URIED in President Clinton's tax plan, which has passed the House and is working its way through the Senate, is a measure that could affect the funding and security of retirement accounts for hundreds of thousands of Americans.

Little attention has been given to this provision because it is viewed as a change that would affect "fat cats" only. The proposal would reduce the amount of annual compensation that can be considered for calculating retirement benefits to \$150,000 — compared to the current limit of \$235,840.

But it's not just fat cats who would feel the pinch. "This is a good example of how a policy can be construed to affect one group of people — namely the highly paid — but in fact it has a very great effect on people in lower-income categories, often a much greater effect than it does on the highly paid," said Sylvester J. Schieber, who is in charge of research and information at the Wyatt Company, benefits consultants in Washington.

For example, people earning much less than \$150,000 may be forced to cut back their 401(k) contributions. "The most serious impact of this change is on the 401(k) side," said Yale D. Tauber, managing director at William M. Mercer Inc., New York-based benefits consultants.

The new provision is expected to have a more impact on the contributions of people who make slightly more than \$64,245 than it will on those whose salaries exceed \$150,000.

Although the legal limit on employee contributions to 401(k) plans is \$8,994 for 1993, few employees in the \$64,000 to \$90,000 salary range are allowed by their companies to contribute that much. That's because the Government bans employers from giving a far greater percentage of benefits to higher-paid workers than to those who are lower-

Legislation that would limit salary for benefits calculations at \$150,000 a year would probably affect 401(k) contributions for employees at much lower salaries. In this example, regulations limit the average contribution to 6.6% of salary while individual contributions are limited to \$8,994 (the 1993 maximum).

| Employee's Salary | CURRENTLY           |                   | WITH PROPOSED CHANGE |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
|                   | 401(k) Contribution | Percentage of Pay | 401(k) Contribution  | Adjusted Percentage |
| \$200,000         | \$8,994             | 4.5%              | \$8,994              | 6.0%*               |
| 150,000           | 8,994               | 6.0               | 8,994                | 6.0                 |
| 100,000           | 6,000               | 6.0               | 6,000                | 6.0                 |
| 70,000            | 7,000               | 10.0              | 6,020                | 8.6                 |
|                   |                     | 6.6%              | AVERAGE              | 6.6%                |

Source: Hewitt Associates

\*Percentage based on \$150,000 salary cap.

paid. To comply, companies must apply a nondiscrimination test to their 401(k) plans.

Here's how the test works: Contributions made by employees earning less than \$64,245 in 1993 — the number is indexed — are tossed into a pool to determine the average percentage of their salaries contributed. Then the average salary contribution is calculated for people who earn more than \$64,245.

The spread between the two groups is regulated. In most cases, it is limited to 2 percentage points. If the lower-paid group contributes 4 percent of salary, on average, the higher-paid group can contribute no more than 6 percent, on average.

Suppose a company discovers that its highly paid group is contributing an average of 7 percent and its lower-paid group only 4 percent. It must then return some money — which is then taxable income — to the higher-paid group.

The company returns the money to those who contribute the highest percentage of pay rather than those who contribute the most dollars. "You look at the highly paid group and go to the highest contributor on a percentage basis and return some of that em-

First of three articles on pensions.

ployee's money," said Frank Roque, a partner at Hewitt Associates, benefits consultants based in Lincolnshire, Ill.

In the example, an employee who makes \$150,000 and is contributing the full \$8,994, or just under 6 percent, would not be affected. But an employee earning \$70,000 and contributing \$7,000, which is 10 percent of his or her salary, would be cut back. The proposed legislation would magnify the problem.

Under current law, compensation up to \$235,840 can be considered for nondiscrimination testing purposes. At that salary level, the maximum contribution of \$8,994 is just 3.8 percent of pay. That means that people at the lower end of the highly paid group can contribute more than 6 percent and still maintain a 6 percent average.

Under the proposed law, no matter how much an employee makes, only \$150,000 of his or her salary will be considered for the purposes of the nondiscrimination test. Assuming highly paid executives contribute the maximum, the contribution becomes 6 percent rather than 3.8 percent of salary for test purposes. If the high-paid group's overall contribution is limited to 6 percent, the people at the lower end of the group could no longer contribute 10 percent without skewing the group.

"The guy who is earning \$250,000 will contribute exactly the same amount next year as he did this year," Mr. Schieber said. "He is constrained by the \$8,994 limit. It is the people right above the \$64,000 salary range who will see their contribution go down."

There is a simple way to fix this part of the legislation. "If they're trying to get the heavy hitters in the 401(k) plans, they're not doing it," Mr. Roque said. "But it's a simple fix. They could just cut back on the contributions of those at the highest salary levels first rather than those who contribute the highest percentage of pay."

## Companies May Just Say 'No'

**A** NUMBER of consulting firms have looked at the new piece of pension legislation and wondered whether they should attempt to head it off. But most have decided that this is not the right political climate to be viewed as a friend of the rich.

One consultant who has argued against the legislation is Bruce J. Temkin, a consulting actuary at Louis Kravitz & Associates Inc., a benefits consulting firm based in Encino, Calif. As Mr. Temkin, whose specialty is pension plans for small businesses, describes it, lawmakers say, "Are you telling us that peo-

ple who make over \$150,000 can't manage to save money on their own?"

Like many other consultants, Mr. Temkin believes the legislation, which would reduce the compensation that can be considered for retirement benefits, is a "done deal" and will have long-term effects, encouraging companies to simply get out of pension plans.

"The Government thinks it's getting Mr. Big," said Jerry Y. Carnegie, a partner in the Rowayton, Conn., office of Hewitt Associates. "But Mr. Big just might say, 'Let's get out of this business altogether.'"



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

clean

DATE: 6/28

NOTE FOR: Carol Rasco

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

Information

☒

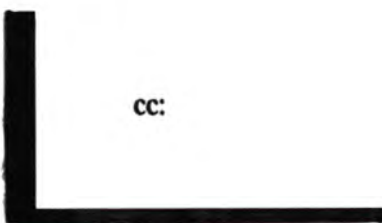
Action

☐

Thank you.

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

cc:



BERNARD SANDERS  
MEMBER OF CONGRESS  
VERMONT, AT LARGE

213 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4501  
TELEPHONE: 202-225-4115  
FAX: 202-225-6790

# Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-1501

June 7, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6.28.93

COMMITTEES  
BANKING, FINANCE AND  
URBAN AFFAIRS  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

1 CHURCH STREET, SECOND FLOOR  
BURLINGTON, VT 05401-4417  
TELEPHONE: 802-862-0697  
TOLL FREE: 800-339-9834  
FAX: 802-860-6370

*C. Sanders*  
*Fur*

## DON'T ALLOW THE CHILDREN OF THE U.S. TO TRAIL THE WORLD, URGE THE PRESIDENT TO SIGN THE U.N. CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Dear Colleague,

Don't stand by and watch the children of the United States continue to fall behind children in Mexico, India, Thailand, Uganda -- it is time for the United States to stand by its children and support the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Join the 105 co-sponsors of H.Con.Res.15, and declare your commitment to the health and well-being of our children. The United States must join the other 150 nations, including every Western industrialized country, in signing the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. This article from *The Washington Post* details just how far we trail behind.

A8 SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 1993 ...R

THE WASHINGTON POST

## U.S. Trails Poor Nations in Early Inoculation

### 1-Year-Olds in Mexico More Likely to Be Immunized, UNICEF Finds

Associated Press

Children in many poor countries are more likely to be immunized against major diseases in the first several years of their lives than are toddlers in the United States, the head of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported yesterday.

"Sadly, the U.S. has stagnated or regressed over the past decade with respect to children even while much of the developing world has been making impressive progress," James P. Grant wrote in an article in the quarterly journal *Foreign Policy*.

UNICEF figures show that in 1991, 1-year-old children in many poorer countries were more likely to be fully immunized for measles, polio and diphtheria than 2-year-olds in the United States.

U.S. children must be immunized by the time they start school at the age of 5 or 6, and by then U.S. immunization rates rise sharply. But many experts say that is too late because younger children are more vulnerable to these diseases.

According to the agency's "The State of the World's Children 1993" report:

■ Ninety-five percent of 1-year-olds in Mexico were immunized against polio, 78 percent against measles and 64 percent against diphtheria.

■ In India, 86 percent had been vaccinated for measles while 89 percent were inoculated for both diphtheria and polio.

■ In Thailand, 90 percent of 1-year-olds were immunized against diphtheria, 91 percent against polio and 79 percent against measles.

■ In Uganda, 76 percent were vaccinated for diphtheria and polio, and 73 percent for measles.

The UNICEF report provided no U.S. figures because the government does not compile comparable figures for 1-year-olds. But the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) estimated that only 37 percent to 56 percent of 2-year-olds in the United States were fully immunized, spokeswoman Kay Golan said.

In the CDC's view, vaccinations against nine infectious diseases including measles, mumps, rubella, diphtheria and polio are needed for full immunization.

The lower end of the CDC figures would put the United States on a par with Haiti, Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia, according to the UNICEF report. And in some U.S. inner cities, the immunization rates for 2-year-olds were as low as 10 percent, Golan said. Although the Clinton administration proposed providing free immunizations to all children, many health experts say the main problem is getting parents to take their children to clinics.

Where does the U.S. rank in other indicators of children's health and well-being?

|                                                     |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
| Infant Mortality rate (1989)                        | --19 |
| Mortality rate for children younger than five(1989) | --19 |
| Low-birthweight babies (1980-1988)                  | --29 |

Contact Katie Clarke on my staff at 5-4115 if you are interested in co-sponsoring H.Con.Res.15 urging the President to sign the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Sincerely,

*Bernard Sanders*

Bernard Sanders, M.C.

OVER FOR CO-SPONSORS

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**H.Con.Res. 15 -- (105)**

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52:4d 82 JUN 28 86

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6.28.93

Major Issues in Time-Limited Welfare

by

David T. Ellwood  
(December 2, 1992)

Chas

Back to you

from me  
B.

*"We will scrap the current welfare system and make welfare a second chance, not a way of life. We will empower people on welfare with the education, training and child care they need for up to two years so they can break the cycle of dependency. After that, those who can work will have to go to work, either by taking a job in the private sector or through community service."*

Bill Clinton

The President-elect has called for an "end to welfare as we know it", by empowering people to leave welfare during a two year transitional period, followed by some sort of mandatory work. The language of the campaign is consistent with a variety of strategies.

Consider two extreme alternatives:

Spend modest amounts seeking to make work pay and try to collect more child support. Expand the existing JOBS program by adding somewhat more money for employment and training programs. Then mandate states to require community work experience for people who stay on more than two years. Work hours would ordinarily be determined by dividing benefits by the minimum wage. No recipient would be expected to work more than 35 hours, and some recipients, such as those with a young child or with a disability might have to work fewer hours or be excused from the program altogether.

Concentrate on finding ways to move people off of welfare by using non-welfare support strategies including expanded programs to make work pay, child support enforcement and assurance, and expanded education and training. Seek to minimize the number of people who end up on welfare for more than two years. Terminate welfare for employable recipients who remain past two years and offer them some sort of government or publicly subsidized job.

While both of these strategies are consistent with the rhetoric of the campaign, they



reveal a fundamental difference in emphasis. The first strategy would concentrate most of the money and energy into the creation and supervision of the community jobs program through which welfare recipients would work off their welfare check. The second would focus much more heavily on non-welfare support strategies to move people off welfare and keep them off, would have a stricter limit on welfare, and would offer people who exhausted their welfare benefit a job instead of welfare.

In my view the ultimate goal ought to be to genuinely transform the welfare system. The starting point is to make work pay and guarantee that everyone has medical protection just as Clinton proposes. The ending point could be some sort of time limited welfare and jobs program. The focus surely ought to be on finding ways to empower low income families, on finding ways to eliminate the need for welfare. This seems to make moral, economic, and practical sense. For one thing that becomes abundantly obvious when one looks hard at the details of any time-limited welfare and work program is that there will be many weaknesses. The best time-limited welfare program is one in which no one hits the limit.

Candidate Clinton made clear that the goal was to find a way to help people move off welfare first. He called for making work pay, for stricter child support enforcement, and for some form of universal medical protection. There is no doubt that, coupled with a stronger economy, these measures will reduce the welfare rolls. However, no one believes that these measures alone can reduce the caseload more than about 25%, and even that may be quite optimistic. Thus, in the Clinton proposal, the call for time-limits loom large.

This paper examines three key issues in a time-limited welfare system:

1. What is the nature of additional income supports, services, and training that accompanies the time-limited welfare plan?

★ 2. Will the work program represent work *in exchange for* welfare or work *instead of* welfare?

3. Will eligibility rules for determining who must go to work after some time limit be loose or strict?

There are an astonishing number of questions which must also be answered, but in my view, these are the big three. I look at each in turn.

### **Additional Services and Supports**

The impact, cost, and moral legitimacy of time-limited welfare hinge critically on what happens in concert with such a program. It is hard to justify time-limited welfare on any grounds if there is no viable alternative to welfare for many women. I, along with many others, have repeatedly emphasized that the current system of supports for single mothers puts them in an impossible position.

All parents, married or single, face a difficult task of nurturing and providing for their children. Two parent families can balance these duties in a variety of ways. Indeed the most common arrangement today is for both parents to work. Usually only the father works full-time all year, while the mother works part time or part year. Only about a third of married mothers work full time all year. Single parents, on the other hand, don't have that kind of flexibility. They really only have two choices: they can either work all the time or they can go on welfare.

If single parents choose full-time work, they must simultaneously meet the demands of work and the need for child care, the many daily crises involving doctor visits, school holidays, sick children, to say nothing of maintaining a safe and happy household. Women



from highly advantaged backgrounds find these demands very heavy. For mothers with a limited education, little or no work experience, and young children, it can be an almost impossible task. Is it really realistic or fair to expect all single mothers to work longer hours than more than 70% of married mothers do?

The only alternative at present is welfare. And it is a not a very attractive option. No state pays enough in welfare and food stamps to keep a family out of poverty. Adjusting for inflation, benefits are vastly lower than they were 15 years ago. The welfare system frustrates, isolates, humiliates, and stigmatizes. Welfare offices are designed in large part to prevent fraud and abuse, to deliver aid in the right amount at the right time. Applying for welfare is a major undertaking. Inevitably, welfare clients must return repeatedly to the welfare office. Welfare, food stamps, housing, and social services are separate programs, each with its own rules, demands, and sometimes its own office.

Worse still is the way welfare treats people who try to play by the rules, people who attempt to work their way off welfare. Welfare benefits are reduced dollar for dollar with earnings. In a state like Pennsylvania, a woman working full-time at the minimum wage earns only \$2,400 extra. That is like working for \$1.20 per hour. And half of that \$2,400 comes from the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)--money she collects only at the end of the year if she bothers to submit a tax return. On a day to day basis, she seems to be working for 60 cents per hour. Even if she can work full-time at \$5.00 per hour, her income is only \$3,400 higher and she loses her Medicaid--something worth several thousand dollars. No wonder administrators in states like California and Massachusetts find that unless a woman is placed in a full-time job which pays \$6 per hour or more, with full-medical benefits, and low day

care costs, she is likely to come right back onto welfare.

It should come as no surprise that only a small fraction (20-25%) of women leaving welfare actually "earn" their way off, nor that most of that small fraction are better educated and more experienced women who can command a relatively high wage. Other women try to leave. Indeed recent evidence suggests that a very large fraction, even of newly enrolled young welfare recipients, leave welfare for work early on. But there is almost always some setback, often something relatively small, such as a sick child, which causes them to lose their job and return to welfare. No wonder the most common way to leave welfare permanently is via marriage, not work.

If we are truly to "end welfare as we know it", we must make it realistic for single parents to support themselves outside the welfare system. There are three basic methods for doing so: make work pay for every low income worker, increase the earning capacity of single parents through training programs, and insure single parents have some non-welfare support.

The *make work pay* strategy has been developed in detail elsewhere. Ideally it uses a combination of tax credits, higher minimum wages, and universal medical protection to ensure that a full-time worker can realistically support a family of four at least at the poverty line.

The medical protection is particularly important, since a host of anecdotal evidence suggests that working poor families are most concerned about their lack of medical protection. There is both statistical and anecdotal evidence that a fear of losing Medicaid is major deterrent for women considering leaving welfare for work. Making work pay and universal medical coverage were central elements in the Clinton proposals. One element that was talked about



but not addressed with much specificity was increased support for child care. Though the current poverty line does not deduct child care costs from income, the cost of child care reduces the real income of families. Again, both anecdotal and statistical evidence suggest that child care costs play a crucial role in the lives of many working or would-be working poor families.

Increasing earning capacity via *education and training* has long been the darling of social reformers. If people can get sufficient training to raise their earnings to a level where they can realistically support themselves through work, they have no need for welfare, and they achieve real control and independence. There has been some demonstrated success with employment and training programs for single parents. Annual earnings gains of from \$100 to \$1000 have been found in various programs, depending on the nature and intensity of the program. However, most programs with a moderate per recipient cost rarely increase earnings more than \$300-\$500 per year, and most of the earnings gains come from increased work, not higher pay.

These employment and training gains are useful and important, but we have yet to find a training program which alters the fundamental economics of single-parenthood and welfare. It still takes a full-time job at 50-100% above the minimum wage with good medical benefits and low day care costs to allow a single mother to support her family and be better off than welfare in most states. It is possible that the expansion of the EITC, indexing of the minimum wage, and the expansion of medical coverage will improve the effectiveness of training programs in getting women off welfare. Still, it is hard to see how any program lasting only a few months can make a profound difference for a woman who has fared poorly

in other educational systems. And it will still require full-time work for a woman to adequately support her family. Is such a requirement realistic for a young, never married mother without any previous work experience?

The third strategy is to provide some *additional income support* to single mothers in some form. One plan is to increase work incentives within the welfare system.

Unfortunately, experience to date suggests that such plans have little impact on work and that women find mixing work and welfare to be the worst of all worlds, offering neither independence and control, nor much improvement in income. The other major strategy that has been proposed is child support enforcement and assurance. Clinton has endorsed dramatically improved enforcement, but not the assured benefit.

If single parents could count on some sort of child support or other non-welfare income support, then it becomes quite possible for them to work even part-time at the minimum wage and do better off than on welfare. This level of work seems realistic and fair. Unfortunately, improved enforcement alone cannot guarantee that single mothers will get support at a reasonable level and in a timely fashion in many cases which, of course, is the argument in favor of an assured benefit. Recall that an assured benefit that is fully offset against welfare offers no net gain in income to the non-working mother on welfare. It merely changes the form of the payment (more from child support, less from welfare). What an assured benefit does on net is to dramatically change the position of someone who goes to work, for that person can keep the assured benefit along with their earnings.

Ultimately I believe that we will have to use all three strategies together. Training programs will work much better if recipients don't need to work full time at 50% above the



minimum wage to escape welfare and poverty. Child support enforcement and assurance alone cannot do the trick, but together they could make real the principle that all healthy, employable single mothers really can support themselves and their children without welfare.

Policymakers who ignore the need for services and non-welfare income supports will find a time limited plan far less viable. Effectiveness, cost, and moral legitimacy are all undermined without strong supports. Consider effectiveness first. The easier it is for people to leave welfare for work, the more likely it will be that training programs will be successful. Past training programs have shown a capacity to increase work hours, but not wages. If increased work hours make work a viable alternative to welfare, then work is likely to increase. It is likely that the *make work pay* ideas alone will increase the viability of work for an important segment of the welfare population. However, as long as self-support requires full-time work and day care costs, many women will be unable or unwilling to move from welfare to work. That's why a combination of all three strategies (make work pay, training, and non-welfare income sources) seem likely to create the greatest effect.

Consider also the impact on cost. If only a few women are able to move from welfare to work, then the number of people who will need to be put to work will be massive. At least 3 million women have probably been on welfare for two years or more. If half of these are required to work, the cost and mechanics could be staggering. Also recall: all these women would still be in the public support system. At the same time, providing services and non-welfare income supports costs money. No one has any clear idea of the tradeoffs between spending more on supports and the cost of creating jobs, but surely these tradeoffs deserve very close study. A strategy that costs the same but puts people to work in private,

non-subsidized jobs should surely be preferred to one which places people in long term government jobs.

Finally, one comes to the question of moral legitimacy. Some, such as Larry Mead, argue that it is morally legitimate and socially desirable to insist on work even if there are few viable alternatives to welfare. Still, the moral basis for a time-limited welfare program is significantly greater if single mothers can unambiguously support themselves through a realistic level of work outside the system. If only 1/3 of all married mothers work full year full time, is it fair to ask all single mothers to work fully in order to realistically support their family out of poverty? If a woman can realistically support her family through a combination of half or two-thirds time work and child support or some other form of support, then one has a very strong basis for time-limiting welfare in many cases. On the other hand, if onerous or unrealistic demands are placed on people who are highly disadvantaged, who clearly will need real support to reach independence, claims of moral legitimacy are severely reduced.

#### **Work In Exchange for Welfare or Work Instead of Welfare**

The second major design question concerns the form of the work program. Will welfare recipients work off their welfare checks or will the plan be one where recipients are cut off welfare completely after some period and are offered jobs which pay a wage for services rendered, the way jobs traditionally do.

*Work-for-Welfare.* This is often called workfare. Work-for-welfare is quite simple in theory, and endlessly complex in practice. Persons receiving public assistance must work in order to receive their benefits. The usual formula is that the expected hours of work is calculated by dividing the benefits received by the minimum wage. In principle, the person is



"working off" or "working for" their welfare check. Thus depending on the welfare benefits paid in the state and on other income which the welfare recipient has, the mandatory work could range from a few hours to full-time work. Some work-for-welfare plans limit the number of mandatory weekly work hours to something less than 40 depending on circumstance. In general such plans limit not only the minimum number of hours, but also the maximum. These are not jobs that one can work at for 40 hours per week and earn extra money if the welfare payment is covered by working just 10 hours.

The jobs provided under such plans could range from public to private, but the most obvious and best understood strategy uses "community work experience" program (CWEP), whereby jobs are created in the non-profit or the public sector.

*Work-Instead-of-Welfare.* Work-instead-of-welfare suggests a fundamentally different sort of support system. For at least some group of people, welfare would no longer be available after some period. Instead, they would be guaranteed some sort of government created or subsidized job. In principle, these would be more like "traditional" jobs, with well defined hours (full or part-time) and work expectations. There would be no artificial limits on maximum and minimum hours worked. The nature of such public jobs might range from something like the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps to community service jobs, not so different from CWEP.

The major distinction between the two types of work plans can be summed up by the words used to caricature them: *workfare* and *public jobs*. While these are properly considered two ideal types, there are quite naturally a wide range of intermediate cases. Work-for-welfare need not limit the maximum number of hours worked. The jobs provided may be

will have to be excused from work. If day care is unavailable, persons will have to be excused from work. The client need not fear loss of income in such cases.

Fifth, it is relatively easy to phase in such a plan. One can start by requiring work for welfare from a relatively few persons. As capacity expands and administrative knowledge grows, one can lower the threshold gradually and require work of more and more people.

Finally, while administering such a program on a large scale will be a massive undertaking, we have considerable experience with smaller scale community work experience programs (CWEP). Thus, there would be a reasonable basis for initial program design.

At the same time, however, there are several real disadvantages with this sort of plan. First, precisely because work hours are tied to benefits, a variety of troubling questions arise. In some states, such as Mississippi, required hours might be very low, 8 or 10 hours per week. For people with outside sources of income such as child support, some outside earnings, or benefits from other programs, work hours may also be relatively short even in high benefit states. People with one child will be working fewer hours than those with two. A rise in the welfare benefit level of the state would immediately translate into the need to expand work hours for all obligees. High benefit states will require more work than low benefit ones. Worse yet, since outside income often fluctuates considerably month to month, mandatory work hours will fluctuate.

Designing jobs that are so flexible that they can accommodate some people with a large number of mandatory work hours and others with very limited hours will severely influence the type of job and its administration. The jobs are unlikely to be ones of real content or import, for the employer or administering agency will not be able to predict how



much work any particular employee will deliver. In addition, the cost of creating and administering jobs, often with small obligations, could be very high relative to the benefits.

Second, workfare normally imposes a fixed work obligation. If the welfare recipient is highly motivated and wants to work more hours, that is not allowed--an unfortunate and awkward signal regarding work.

Third, precisely because the work is linked to welfare receipt and any sanctions will be subject to elaborate due-process protections, there is likely to be little of the rigor of a real work place. In the New York State workfare program for employable general assistance recipients, court orders now require that the state demonstrate that the recipient intentionally sought to avoid work without good cause before any sanction can be applied. The closer the program is tied to welfare, with work a part of the obligation for receiving welfare, the less likely ordinary obligations associated with regular employment will be applied. There will be a significant portion of the caseload that learns to game the system to avoid the obligation.

Fourth, because something less than a regular job is being offered, and because the person will still receive a welfare check rather than a paycheck, recipients will not get nearly the satisfaction or feeling of accomplishment nor the useful work experience that a "real" job would offer. Welfare recipients in current CWEP programs report that they think it is fair that they work, but that they feel like the employers are getting a much better deal since they "work for free". Outside employers will not regard workfare employment as real employment. Rightly so. The inevitably loose nature of the jobs, which must accommodate the differences in obligations across recipients and over time, coupled with the variety of exemptions and protections, will render the jobs very different from traditional private sector

employment.

Fifth, major questions arise as to how the program interacts with other programs. Assume that the work-for-welfare program is for AFDC recipients. Do AFDC recipients who have food stamps have to work off that benefit also? If so, there are serious horizontal equity questions if other food stamp recipients are not required to do so. If not, states with low benefits are rewarded with a much smaller work program to administer, and recipients in low benefit states are partially advantaged since they get more from food stamps (since food stamps are reduced as welfare benefits rise) and less in AFDC payments and thus must work off a smaller portion of their total government benefits. Similar questions arise with housing subsidies.

Sixth, CWEP has been repeatedly demonstrated and evaluated. The demonstrations uniformly show that there are little or no private gains to recipients from CWEP. That is, earning capacity is not increased by working in a CWEP job, nor is there much impact on the likelihood of finding or retaining a private sector job. Nor is there any evidence of a welfare deterrent effect from current CWEP programs. In short, it is an obligation which carries no discernable long term benefit to either the recipient or the government.

Finally, and very importantly, the public perception of welfare may be little affected. Since CWEP jobs may not really look or feel like real jobs, there is a high likelihood that the public will regard the program as something of a sham. Recipients are still on welfare, though some are working somewhat. Exemptions are likely to be legion. Stories will abound about people not really working, "leaning on shovels" and just putting in their time. This may be perceived as another form of welfare fraud. If workfare jobs are seen as different



from "real" jobs, the workfare program will do little to reduce the sense of *us versus them* which is so damaging to the welfare system and its clients. Work-welfare recipients may not get the respect they deserve. They may not be counted among the working poor.

In sum, the advantages and disadvantages of a work off welfare program revolve largely around the fact that workfare jobs almost certainly will be very different from traditional private sector jobs. Hours, obligations, protections, expectations will all be very different. These plans may be less expensive to mount, but they have severe limitations. They mainly appear to be a way to impose some additional obligations on welfare recipients. *What is being offered is not an alternative to welfare, but an additional rule for receiving it.*

Work-instead-of-welfare also carries significant pluses and minuses. The most obvious advantage is that one can set up a system of real jobs with regular hours and ordinary work rules. Welfare has ended for some recipients, and they are offered a last resort job. Because this is not a program of obligations in exchange for an entitlement, far less due process will be involved in the work part of the program. These can be something akin to private jobs.

Last-resort jobs may not have rules as rigid as traditional private sector jobs perhaps, but since the person is paid a paycheck, can be docked pay, and should have a fixed set of work hours, this will look and feel like work for pay. More motivated workers can work longer hours so long as work is available. Low income people in low benefit states would have the same opportunity to work part or full-time and earn money to support their family as those in high benefit states.

A related advantage is that there will be no elaborate calculation about hours worked. Persons who have exhausted their welfare benefits must find a job or come to government

subsidized private or public jobs. Work hours are set by the employer, not based on other sources of income or the welfare benefit level of the state.

Similarly the question of interaction with other programs is straightforward. Earnings from the last resort jobs are treated the same as earnings from any job when calculating eligibility and benefits for other programs.

Moreover, for the public, a program that actually ends welfare benefits and offers a job in its stead will feel and look like a fundamental change in the welfare system. This really would appear to be an "end to welfare as we know it."

Nonetheless, these plans carry major limitations. The biggest one is cost and scale. If one really is going to offer a set of genuine last resort jobs, the program might be very large indeed, especially if there were few additional non-welfare supports. If there were rather few limits on work hours, the cost could be considerably greater than the current welfare system or a CWEP plan. The extreme case is a last resort jobs program for all comers, regardless of welfare, family, or income status. Mickey Kaus recommends such a plan, and suggests the cost would be \$40 or 50 billion dollars or more. Mounting and funding a large scale jobs program seems almost impossible. There seems little support for such a massive program.

~~I recommend a very different plan whereby people qualify for the jobs only after they~~  
have exhausted their time-limited welfare. Moreover, if there are sufficient non-welfare  
supports, relatively few people might need last resort jobs. Properly administered, relatively  
few public sector jobs would be needed. It is without non-welfare support and tight rules for  
participation that public sector jobs seem unworkable. Another way to limit costs is to limit  
the number of available jobs. The obvious problem then is that people who cannot find



private jobs are left without a means of support. Again, this problem is most serious when there are few non-welfare supports available to a family.

A related problem involves displacement--drawing people who otherwise would have been working in private jobs into the public work force. The magnitude of displacement depends on the desirability of the last-resort jobs relative to private jobs. If the last resort jobs pay the minimum wage, then private jobs would seem at least as attractive. Still, since the last resort jobs would be available to all welfare exhaustees, they might appear less rigorous and easier to retain than private jobs. On the other hand, since the possibility for advancement would presumably be greater in private jobs, there would be a good reason to prefer them.

Another problem involves displacement of public sector jobs and the potential opposition by labor unions and government workers. The more real and reasonable the jobs are, the more they will be seen as competing with traditional employment for workers who earn considerably above the minimum wage. This could lead to pressure to raise the effective wage and expand eligibility which would drive up costs and raise fears of private job displacement.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, nothing like a truly time-limited welfare system has ever been tried in this country. Other countries have systems somewhat like this, but we have no experience with it. Administrative and equity questions loom large.

This discussion highlights the severe limitations to any time-limited welfare/jobs system. The design issues are gargantuan. While the theory of work-instead-of-welfare has great appeal, in practice it has never really been tried, and many issues remain, especially if it

is to be mounted on a large scale. Work-in-exchange-for-welfare is easier to implement, but its appeal and impact are much more dubious.

Indeed, the most important lesson from this discussion may be that before we concentrate too heavily on how to time limit welfare, we should work very hard to find out what best moves people from welfare to work *before* a time limit ends. The preferred time-limited welfare system would be one where nobody came. That requires far greater attention to non-welfare supports. If we do not find more and better ways to move people from welfare to work, time-limited welfare will pose very serious dilemmas.

#### **Loose versus Tight Rules About Who is Time-Limited**

The third and equally crucial element in a time-limited welfare scheme involves the question of who is expected to work. A program that requires work from 10% of the caseload which has been on welfare for more than two years is very different from one which requires work from 80%. One obvious difference is cost, but much more fundamental questions are raised as one obligates work for a larger and larger portion of the caseload.

My estimate is that with a steady state of 5 million AFDC cases, at least 3 million have been on welfare for 2 years or more to date.<sup>1</sup> If the economy improves or if *make work*

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<sup>1</sup> A number of people have looked at my figures for the distribution of total time on welfare for those on welfare at a point in time to infer that over 85% of the cases on welfare would be affected by time limited welfare. There are two problems with that approach. The first is that the data I report are for the number of calendar years in which the person will receive welfare for at least two months. That is quite different from the total time on welfare since some people on in two years, may only have a few months welfare in each year. A reasonable approximation might be that persons who receive welfare in three different calendar years might be assumed to received welfare for at least 24 different months. Secondly, and more importantly, the proper measure for cost purposes is the fraction of people who have *already* receive welfare for more than 2 years, not the fraction who will eventually do so. Thus what one wants is the uncompleted total time on welfare for those on



pay proposals and non-welfare supports are adopted, these figures are likely to fall. On the other hand the continued increase in single parent families will cause caseloads to rise. If the caseload remained at 5 million, the number of jobs required would be 300,000 if just 10% of the two year plus caseload was mandatory, but 2.4 million if 80% was mandatory. Paul Offner estimates that CWEP and day care costs would be \$3,500 per case, leading to a cost estimate of \$1 to \$8 billion. While it is hard to imagine a program which required work from 80%, half such a number could certainly be affected, and it would not be at all difficult to create a set of exemptions that lead to just 10% of the caseload being required to work.

It is much harder to estimate costs for a work-instead-of-welfare program. Fewer people would probably actually enroll in the private jobs, but when they did, the costs would be higher in low benefit states since one is allowing participants to work more hours than would be required to work off welfare benefits in that state.

The more difficult issues involve who should and should not be expected to work. What sort of exclusion should there be for women with young children? What about people already working part time? What about people who live more than 1 hour from the job site? What sorts of rules will apply in the case of illness or disability? How are short-term disabilities handled? Toughest of all, what about people in families that have trouble functioning and coping with day-to-day existence in their often exceptionally complex and crisis-laden worlds? Are they to have additional burdens placed on them?

It is not hard to determine the impact of relatively objective exemptions like the age of

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welfare at a point in time. I did not report that table, though it is easily derived from the tables I did publish. That data show that roughly 60% of recipients on welfare at a point in time have collected welfare in three different calendar years.

youngest child, but no one has a clear idea of how many people are in a poor position to work because of their physical, social, or mental status. Making rules too flexible will lead to easy possibilities for gaming the system. Making them too strict could significantly increase homelessness and stress for people living right at the margin. Indeed both outcomes are likely in any serious system.

For me, the greatest fear is that desperately needy people will be cut off welfare and hurt. If some people are terminated from welfare and told where to report for work if they desire to earn money, there is a much greater probability that some people will fall through the cracks. Some people who are terminated may not be able to work, may suffer some temporary crisis, or face some other complication in their lives. The moral legitimacy of such a plan is open to serious question unless very careful protections are built into the process of determining who is expected to leave welfare and go to work.

One could imagine designing non-income and emergency support systems for people who have been put in last resort jobs and for those who left welfare for work. The dangers are reduced and the moral legitimacy increased if there are many non-welfare sources of income support. Still, one would have to be much more careful to build due process and other protections into the decisions about who is actually taken off welfare, especially in a welfare-instead-of-work plan.

Observers differ in their assessment of the fraction of the caseload which is employable. We are aware of no good studies that are very helpful in determining how realistic work is for various parts of the caseload. The morality and efficacy of a time-limited welfare program hinges critically on who is determined to be employable and how it is done.



Moreover, workers who are given discretion will inevitably exempt large numbers of recipients. The tragic reality of poverty in America today is one of crisis, stress, and despair. It will seem unfair to insist on work in a family that has undergone real tragedy, where children are at risk, and where mothers plead that they need to be home to protect their children. This is not *do-goodism*. This is confronting the complexity of life on the wrong side of the tracks.

Yet if the goal is ultimately to find a genuine alternative to cash welfare, then one must make some attempt to push beyond the easy cases and impose serious demands on some important segment of the welfare poor. Work is important to dignity and independence in our society. Furthermore, the welfare program will not finally command even the modest political support it now has, if few recipients work.

Here again, I believe the choices regarding other supports and type of work program influence the economic, political, and moral logic of experimenting with tough work rules. If sufficient supports are in place so that anyone can be better off working part time than being on welfare, then there is strong logic to moving some distance beyond the easy cases when considering rule for work. If people who go to work really can effectively provide for and nurture their families, then a strong moral case exists for time limiting welfare for many people. However, if the level of work and pay necessary to be better off than when on welfare, and to *stay* out of poverty, are excessive, then it seems unlikely that one can justify tough workfare.

#### **Where Does It All Lead? A Proposal for the Next Steps**

President elect Clinton has called for bold changes in the welfare system. Yet his

rhetoric is consistent with two very different types of approaches. The easiest and probably least expensive course in the short run is to have modest non-welfare supports, a CWEP type workfare program, and fairly loose eligibility rules. A true transformation of welfare, however, will almost certainly require significantly more non-welfare supports, a time-limited program followed by last resort jobs for some, and relatively strict eligibility rules.

Some are calling for a vast expansion of the CWEP program creating upwards of 1.5 million jobs. Given what we know about CWEP, I think this would be a real mistake. It would do little to help welfare recipients or reduce caseloads, and there will be strong pressures to keep the participation rate low to start with. Creating even half a million jobs will be no small problem. I find it almost inconceivable that a CWEP type national program initiated by a Democratic President and Congress would ever reach more than 20-30% of the post two year caseload--that translates into 12-18% of the total caseload. The rhetoric of an "end to welfare as we know it" suggests strongly that the program will touch more than a handful of welfare clients. It seems unlikely that a program where only a modest fraction of the caseload is expected to work will be perceived as a transformation.



In my view, a far stronger alternative would be to phase in Clinton's plan using much bolder welfare alternative plans in a modest number of states, and gradually add more states over time. Participating states would get more federal support in exchange for radical reforms in their welfare system. In the first period, up to a dozen states would be allowed to create major welfare alternatives. Later more states would be expected to join and over an extended period, all states would be required to participate. States who choose to start early would get a much higher Federal match. They would have considerably more flexibility over funding



and support strategies than they do now, but all plans would be required to have several key elements:

1. All participating states would be required to design a set of policies to reduce the fraction of recipients who receive welfare for greater than 2 or 3 years by at least 25% (or some other figure) without cutting welfare benefits. In other words, they are forced to come up with credible policies to move people from welfare to work in far larger numbers than have been moved in the past. States will be given considerable latitude in redirecting existing funds for AFDC, food stamps, housing assistance and other aid, so long as the plan clearly will encourage work and independence without reducing the incomes of the bulk of recipients. Such policies could include alternative training programs, child care, integrated services, child support enforcement and assurance, altered work incentives, subsidized private employment, etc.
2. All participating states would be required to design some system for tracking welfare recipients' participation in various employment and training activities and for setting up a system of determining who is employable after several years of welfare receipt. Some states would be allowed to adopt very strict definitions of employability, while others would be given more latitude.
3. All participating states would be required to adopt some form of time-limited cash assistance for the employable. Some states would be allowed to adopt a CWEP type work-for-welfare plan, while others would be expected to implement true time-limited welfare followed by public/private jobs program.
4. All states would be required to dramatically improve their child support enforcement system. Some would be allowed and encouraged to adopt a system of child support enforcement and assurance, but all would have to move rapidly to adopt a series of major reforms.
5. A comprehensive evaluation plan will have to accompany the state proposal.
6. Federal matches for these programs would be high--in the range of 90% or even more.

The reality is that we simply do not have all the answers about how to transform the welfare system. Serious time-limited welfare followed by last resort jobs has never been tried. Even workfare has never really been seriously implemented for this group. The strategy of phasing in the new plans while learning about them will likely avoid many costly

mistakes. It also offers a far greater chance of moving the system in an appropriate direction.

One major advantage of this strategy is that the new administration can pick and choose its experimental states. The best states always do an excellent job of implementing new plans. Moreover, by asking states to voluntarily design new programs and compete for scarce federal dollars and flexibility, a great deal of excellent thinking will go into the design of the transformed welfare systems. By contrast, if all states are forced to implement a mandatory national CWEP program, most will approach the task with far less enthusiasm and many will consciously resist attempts to force adoption of the program.

Another major advantage to this strategy is that state plans can and will be much bolder than some form of national plan could be. There are a number of states that would leap at the opportunity to make very dramatic changes in welfare if the financing and political support were available from Washington. The politics of the Congress and the uncertainty about the impact and appropriateness of various changes will force a national program to be pale and cautious. On the other hand, some states will be willing to be quite bold. From them, we can learn about a true transformation of the welfare system.

Yet another advantage is cost. If one starts in perhaps a dozen states, the same money will go much further. Then with the lessons of the initial states, more cost effective plans can be adopted in other states.

There is some danger that a state-by-state phase-in will appear to be backing off on the Clinton promises of the campaign. That would be an unfair perception. If the states involved really try dramatic changes, Clinton can rightfully point to the experimental states as the kind of transformation he envisions for the whole country. Given the budget deficit and



the difficulty of adopting such a bold new program, a state-by-state phase-in strategy is a natural way to move to full scale implementation. States can try even bolder strategies than were talked about in the campaign. Any governor knows the limitations of having Washington dictate the details of a new welfare system and the importance of learning what works and does not work before we spend a fortune on welfare reforms. Clinton would not be backing off of major welfare changes. Quite the contrary, this is the only viable strategy for achieving them.

I think there is vastly more political danger from trying to go with a full-scale CWEP/workfare type program. The odds of success in 3-4 years is very low. It will be controversial in the Congress, the administration, and the press. In the end, a watered-down plan is likely to be adopted. No one will believe that welfare has been transformed if a tiny fraction of people are actually forced to work, nor if a great deal of money is spent with no noticeable effect on anything other than government payrolls. Governors and state officials will strongly prefer a state-by-state phase-in. They want more, not less, flexibility.

Still the most important reason to go with a state-by-state phase-in is that it is economically and morally the right direction to go in. Serious reform which involves millions of the most vulnerable Americans should, indeed must, proceed slowly at first. The danger of missteps here are legion. There are literally hundreds of key questions which must be answered. We will never transform welfare by legislating national changes of policies that have never been fully tried at the state level. Thus we will not be bold if we try to move nationally too fast. More importantly, we will hurt people and waste federal dollars.

Let me close by emphasizing one point. The best time-limited welfare system is one

where no one reaches the limit. I hope the new administration concentrates most of its energy on finding ways to help all employable recipients move off welfare within a few years. Rather than putting most of our money or attention on the work component, let us begin by exploring much bolder ways to move people off of welfare.