



Chen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: THE VICE PRESIDENT

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Secretary Reich sent the attached to the President. The President was interested in the analysis and asked that a copy be sent to you for your review.

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY

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

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NOTE FOR: DAVE GERGEN

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

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

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See President's note - "I want to discuss when we return."

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NOTE FOR: BRUCE REED

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: SECRETARY HENRY CISNEROS

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and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: SECRETARY RON BROWN

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JOHN D. PODESTA
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(x2702)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: LAURA TYSON ET AL.

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JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
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(x2702)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: AL FROM

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Secretary Reich sent the attached to the President. The President was interested in the analysis and asked that a copy be sent to you for your review.

Thank you.

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

cc:

*sent to
Democratic Ldrshp Council
Ste 500
316 Penn. Ave. S.E.
20003*



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: BILL GALSTON

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

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

cc:



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: HRC

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Thank you.

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

cc:



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: BOB RUBIN

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

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WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: CAROL RASCO

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

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Thank you.

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

cc:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

July 16, 1993

93 JUL 27 09:24

To: The President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

From: Bob Reich

I thought you might find this of interest.

- CC Reich sent to me, ^{strong protest on this saying} think they should have
- (1) GS - Mac Lin - I want to discuss with her return
 - (2) Giger
 - (3) Ciesno - Mew / B Galton
 - (4) Al Fourn
 - (5) Eric Rubin
 - (6) Laura Tyson et al CEA
 - (7) Hilar
 - (8) Ron Brown
 - (9) Cisneros
 - (10) VP

MACK MCLARTY

June 10, 1993

Education and Skills for the U.S. Workforce

by Frank Levy¹

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1. Introduction

Begin with the forest and the trees. This paper is being written in the second year of a slow and grinding economic recovery which, in terms of the labor market, shows only modest recovery. According to media stories, this recession has been particularly hard on white collar and educated labor. It is easy to wonder, as these stories do, whether anybody can get a decent paying job, regardless of their skill.

In this paper, I will argue that these facts are the trees. For several reason this recession has been relatively hard on white collar workers. And more than in other recessions some of the lost positions, particularly in defense industries, will not reappear with the recovery. But much of what we see around us are observations from near the bottom of the business cycle. When the recession ends, the fact that remains will be a continuing shift in demand against less educated labor, a shift that was highly visible in the 1980's and continues beneath this "white collar recession".

The problem facing the country is to develop schools,

¹ Rose Professor of Urban Economics in M.I.T.'s Department of Urban Studies and Planning (DUSP). Paper prepared for the Aspen Institute Domestic Strategy Group. Support for the paper came from the Aspen Foundation and from the Spencer Foundation. Many of the paper's ideas come from my work with Professor Richard Murnane of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and from discussions with Lijan Chen of M.I.T.'s Department of Urban Studies and Planning.

training institutions and attitudes (among parents, students, and employers) to allow the "typical high school graduate" to move into higher-skilled occupations where future demand will be tight.

2. The Background of Current Events

If it is really less educated labor that is in trouble, how does one explain the current white collar recession? Why is it happening now what impact is it having?

Begin with origins which, in one sense, go back 20 years. It was in the fall of 1973 that the world experienced the first OPEC price shock. At the same time, industrialized countries entered a prolonged period of weak productivity growth which led to equally weak wage growth. U.S. productivity data after 1973 break into three periods (Table 1): From 1973-79, productivity growth was uniformly low across all sectors. From 1979 through the 1980's, productivity revived in manufacturing, but not in services. Only since 1990 (really 1992) has productivity begun to rise in services as well.

Table 1

Annual Growth of Non-Farm Labor Productivity

	Total (%/year)	Manufacturing Only	Non-Manufacturing *
1947-73	2.6%	3.0%	2.3%
1973-79	0.1%	1.4%	-0.2%
1979-90	0.8%	2.7%	0.0%
1990-92	1.2%	2.5%	.7% **

* Excludes government sector; Sources: All numbers = Bureau of Labor Statistics Tabulations except ** = author's estimate)

How does one explain these movements? At a simple level, low productivity growth reflects a failure to innovate - to adopt new

technology, to reorganize work and, in other ways to increase the value of output per hour of work.² When capacity is growing very fast - the U.S. immediately after World War II - it is possible to make innovations in the new capacity while keeping existing work organization intact. When markets are growing more slowly, adopting innovation can be a very painful process. As historian David Landes writes:

Technological change is never automatic. It means the displacement of established methods, damage of vested interests, often serious human dislocations. Under the circumstances, there usually must be a combination of considerations to call forth such a departure and make it possible: (1) a need or opportunity for improvement due to inadequacy, present or potential, of prevailing techniques; and (2) a degree of superiority such that the new methods pay sufficiently to warrant the cost of change.³

In the years following 1973, three factors shielded firms from pressure that might have forced organizational change and productivity growth. The first was inflation. From 1973 through 1980, the Consumer and Producer Price Indices both rose by more than 100%. Inflation increased uncertainty and raised the attractiveness of asset speculation vis-a-vis work reorganization. It also provided a "quiet" way to reduce real wage costs in which

² There are, of course, more detailed explanations including lack of investment, the entrance of inexperienced baby-boom workers into the labor force, etc. The most careful attempts to account for the productivity slowdown by these factors leave most of the slowdown unexplained. See Edward F. Denison, Trends in American Economic Growth, The Brookings Institution, 1985.

³ David Landes, "Technological Change and Development in Western Europe: 1750-1914", in H.J. Habakkuk, ed., Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire, Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 275.

money wages rise, but rise more slowly than the rate of inflation.⁴ Allowing inflation to reduce wage costs was an alternative to reorganizing work.

A second shield was the declining dollar. Between 1973 and 1979, the dollar fell by 31% against the mark, 20% against the yen, and 15% against a trade-weighted average of currencies.⁵ This was sufficient to keep our merchandise trade account in balance, thereby limiting international competition as a force for change.

A final shield was a favorable set of demographics which kept markets expanding at moderate rates despite the collapse of productivity growth and wage growth. Between 1973 and 1979, the labor force grew by the equivalent of 30.5% per decade reflecting rising women's labor force participation and the entrance of the baby-boom into the labor force. From the perspective of General Motors or the Ohio State Revenue Department, this growth partially compensated for post-1973 wage stagnation as more paychecks substituted for richer paychecks.⁶ But consumers in the 1970's were also "richer" ^{because} their paychecks were supporting fewer people.

⁴ In a non-inflationary environment, a real wage cut would involve givebacks or two-tier contracts, much more visible processes.

⁵ Council of Economic Advisors, Economic Report of the President, 1992 Table B-107.

⁶ In the 1950's, the labor force grew by 12% which, together with rapid real wage growth, produced an aggregate real wage bill that grew by about 45%. From 1973-79, real wages were basically stagnant but the labor force grew very rapidly producing an aggregate real wage bill increase of 30%.

Because the labor force was growing faster than the population,⁷ the ratio of dependents to workers fell from 1.44 1973 to 1.24 in 1979⁸ and per capita income could grow despite stagnant wages.

Inflation and the falling dollar soon disappeared. By 1982, inflation had stopped, the result of restrictive monetary imposed by Paul Volcker and strongly supported by President Reagan. A short time later, the interaction of tight money, falling inflation and the emerging budget deficits caused very high real interest rates and a sharp reversal of the dollar's fall. By 1984, the trade weighted value of the dollar was 55% higher than it had been 5 years earlier.

High real interest rates and the high dollar put many U.S. manufacturing firms in a double bind. The high dollar shrunk markets by making U.S. exports expensive and by making foreign imports cheap. As a result, U.S. manufacturing faced restricted opportunities for expansion. But at the same time, high real interest rates raised investors' standards for an acceptable rate of return, a standard which many manufacturers now couldn't meet.⁹

⁷ This occurred because of the two factors cited above - more women choosing to work and baby-boomers turning 21 - and the fact that birth rates were very low.

⁸ For simplicity, I define all non-employed as dependents even if they were looking for work. Both 1973 and 1979 were business cycle peaks.

⁹ See, for example, Margaret M. Blair and Martha A. Schary, "Industry-Level Pressures to Restructure" in Blair, ed. The Deal Decade, The Brookings Institution, 1993. As Blair and Schary note, high real interest rates help explain the start of the takeover boom but deals continued, pushed by a process of imitation and encouragement by investment bankers, long after interest rates subsided.

The result was a wave of takeovers and reorganization of work including, in particular, the use of new technology and, to a lesser extent, the outsourcing of parts to foreign producers.¹⁰

The immediate benefits of these changes accrued to investment bankers, managers and highly skilled workers. The burden fell heavily on semi-skilled workers. This pattern appears sharply in the case of durable good manufacturing (Table 2) which shows that job losses were concentrated in Machine Operators and Assemblers, jobs which high school graduates might have held.

Table 2
Selected Occupational Categories in Durable Manufacturing
(data in 1,000's)

	1979	1989	% Chg. (1979-89)
Total Employment	14,490	13,344	-8%
Precision Production Workers	2,641	3,081	+17%
Machine Operators Assemblers, Insptrs.	5,341	3,933	-26%
All Other Occupations	6,509	6,330	-3%

Source: Authors' Tabulation of the Current Population Survey

Slackened manufacturing demand forced semi-skilled men into the

¹⁰. A priori, declining demand for less educated workers could come from either new technology or the movement of jobs to low wage countries. Robert Z. Lawrence and Matthew J. Slaughter make a strong, if not ironclad, case that technology was the greater cause. See: "Trade and U.S. Wages: Great Sucking Sound or Small Hiccup?", forthcoming in Brookings Papers on Economic Activity-Microeconomics.

service sector where they had to compete with the rapidly growing number of women workers. The result was a pattern of earnings changes shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Median Annual Earnings of Younger and Middle Aged Men and Women
with Selected Educations: 1979, 1989, 1991
 (1991 dollars)

a) Younger Workers

Men 25-34	1979	1989	1991
12 years ed.	\$25,816	\$21,862	\$20,000 ¹¹
16 years ed.	\$30,052	\$30,634	\$30,000
Women 25-34			
12 years ed.	\$11,802	\$12,025	\$12,000
16 years ed.	\$18,924	\$23,854	\$23,000

b) Older Workers

Men 45-55	1979	1989	1991
12 years ed.	\$33,192	\$30,606	\$28,000
16 years ed.	\$47,944	\$49,734	\$48,000
Women			
12 years ed.	\$13,527	\$15,000	\$14,502
16 years ed.	\$23,734	\$27,327	\$29,000

¹¹ Source: Author's tabulation of Current Population Files. Figures include part-time and full-time workers. Note that most of the 1991 median earnings figures end in round numbers. Significant numbers of persons answer CPS income and earnings questions in round numbers and the median earnings level in such a sample is likely to be a round number. This is true for earlier years as well but those (initially round) dollar figures have been multiplied by an inflation adjustment to convert them to 1991 dollars.

In 1989, a 30 year old man with a high school diploma earned about 15% less, adjusted for inflation, than a similar man had earned 10 years before. The same comparison for 50 year-old men, more protected by seniority, showed an 8 percent decline. Earnings for high school educated women stayed roughly flat, a reflection of women's greater concentration in the service sector which did not face intense international competition and the resulting pressure to reorganize work.

The earnings of men and women college graduates behaved quite differently than the earnings of high school graduates. Where the earnings of male high school graduates fell, the earnings of male college graduates rose modestly. Where the earnings of female high school graduates rose slightly, the earnings of female college graduates rose sharply.¹² These patterns arose from several factors: the concentration of college graduates in the service sector that did not face international competition; a shift in demand within both manufacturing and services toward more skilled labor¹³; and, in the case of women, an erosion of occupational segregation.

(One aspect of the strong demand for college graduates deserves particular attention: the rapid expansion over the decade of managerial and administrative positions throughout the economy. In March 1979,

¹² Here, as in the previous paragraph, we are comparing similarly aged persons in 1979 and 1989 rather than following a cohort of persons as they age over the decade.

¹³ On changing skill demands within manufacturing, see Eli Berman, John Bound and Zvi Grilliches, "Changes in the Demand for Skilled Labor within U.S. Manufacturing Industries: Evidence from the Annual Survey of Manufacturing", N.B.E.R. working paper 4255, January 1993.

there were 109 million employed persons of whom 11.3 million (10.3%) were managers and administrators. Over the next ten years, the number of employed persons increased by 23.8 million of whom 4.3 million (18.1%) were managers and administrators.¹⁴

In simple economic theory, the growth of managers and administrators could arise from either of two sources: an outward shift in the demand curve which would raise wages and attract additional workers, or an outward shift in the supply curve which would lower wages and stimulate employer interest because the managers were now cheaper. Analyses of Census data for 1979 and 1989 show the earnings of college educated managers and administrators rose sharply among both men and women - more sharply than the earnings of similarly educated men and women in most other occupations. Consistent with these data is an analysis of the earnings of recent college graduates by Jeff Grogger and Eric Eide which shows that much of the strength in college graduates' earnings in the 1980's came from undergraduates who had majored business administration - the kind of people who could enter managerial and administrative positions.¹⁵

¹⁴ A second expansion, affecting both college and high school workers, occurred in sales occupations. In two-digit Census occupational codes, a sales occupation covers a spectrum from a minimum-wage fast food worker to a million dollar-a-year bond salesman. Like managers and administrators, sales positions accounted for about 10 percent of all 1979 employment but they accounted for one-quarter of all net new jobs between 1979 and 1989.

¹⁵ Jeff Grogger and Eric Eide, "Changes in College Skills and the Rise in the College Wage Premium", Department of Economics, University of California, Santa Barbara, November 1992. Note that business majors could also fill sales positions in the financial sector.

These data are consistent with a picture of industry that decided that adding managerial and administrative positions was the way to improve performance. My colleague, Richard Murnane, notes that this route to performance was, in today's buzzwords, far closer to Taylorism and Fordism than to the strategies of best practice firms. Roughly speaking, Taylor-Ford organizations are built around frontline workers who do what they are told and improved performance requires hiring more managers to tell them what to do. Best practice firms - Diamond-Star Motors, Federal Express - teach front line workers to make their own decisions which leads to a flatter administrative hierarchy.

In sum, there was strong "twist" at both ends of the demand for labor during the 1980's. Demand for less educated labor - particularly men - decreased, a decrease that put downward pressure on their earnings. Demand for college educated managers and administrators increased, an increase that helped to buoy the average earnings of college educated workers. But, consistent with our discussion in Section 2, the contexts of the two changes were different. The declining demand for less educated labor apparently had its origins in manufacturing firms who were reorganizing work under severe financial pressure. The increasing demand for managers and administrators came from a rapidly growing service sector who believed adding managerial talent was the best way to expand. Both strategies were supposed to improve productivity. But until quite recently only manufacturing productivity showed improvement (Table 1).¹⁶

¹⁶ The data are not as neat as this story suggests. Detailed BLS statistics show that within the manufacturing sector, productivity gains were heavily concentrated in one industry, Non-

3. The White Collar Recession

Shrinking blue collar jobs and a booming service sector are a "1980's thing". The 1990's, if the media are to be believed, are quite different. Now, the reorganization of work has penetrated the service sector including marquee firms like Aetna and Sears and has extended in all industries to white collar workers. The precipitating event is the long and grinding nature of the recession, a recession whose length has been attributed to the collapse of the real estate market, high levels of consumer debt, cutbacks in defense industries, the over-expansion of retailing and the simultaneous recessions in Europe and Japan.

To this list of causes, I would like to add one more: the ending of favorable demographics. By the end of the 1980's, the rate of labor force growth had slowed to about 11% per decade, far less than the 30% per decade rate in 1973-79. At the same time, the ratio of dependents to workers had stabilized at about 1.05.¹⁷ Absent a revival of wage growth, these demographics point to slow future growth in both per capita income and aggregate consumer spending.¹⁸ A service sector firm

electrical Machinery (computers). Numerous anecdotes from automobile producers and other industries suggest gains were spread more widely. But official statistics say the occupational mix changed throughout manufacturing and most of the changes - outside computers - were ineffective.

¹⁷ The stabilized rate of dependents to workers came from three sources: a levelling off of women's labor force participation, the completed entrance of the baby boom into the labor force, and a rising birth rate which reflected, in part, men and women in their late 20's and early 30's who previously had postponed children.

¹⁸ In technical terms, these demographic changes are too gradual to constitute a macroeconomic "shock". Nonetheless, they may have made the economy more vulnerable to the negative consumption shock which Blanchard argues was a the cause of the recession. See Olivier Blanchard, "Consumption and the Recession of

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(or any other firm) confronting these projections would think it was time to scale back. In considering how to scale back, a logical target were the new managerial and administrative positions which firms had done without a decade earlier.

Table 4

Unemployment Rates for Men and Women with Selected Education

	March 1983	March 1992
Men, 25-34		
High School	16.9%	10.4%
College or More	4.7%	3.7%
Men, 35-44		
High School	9.7%	8.1%
College or More	3.3%	2.9%
Men, 45-55		
High School	7.8%	7.5%
College or More	2.9%	3.2%
Women, 25-34		
High School	11.1%	9.1%
College or More	3.9%	2.3%
Women, 35-44		
High School	7.6%	6.3%
College or More	4.2%	2.8%
Women, 45-55		
High School	5.0%	4.4%
College or More	2.2%	2.8%

Sources: Authors' tabulations of the March 1983 and March 1992 CPS Files

The result was "the white collar recession" but it is important to understand what this phrase means. What it doesn't mean is that the white collar unemployment rate (or the unemployment rate for college

1990-1991", American Economic Review, May 1993, pp. 270-274.

graduates) exceeds the unemployment rate for blue collar (or high school graduates¹⁹) (Table 4).

What it does mean is three different things:

-White collar and blue collar unemployment rates are now closer than in earlier recessions. Traditionally, the blue collar rate is about 3 times as large as the white collar rate. In the current recession, the blue collar rate is only twice as large as the white collar rate.²⁰

-The numbers of white collar and blue collar newly unemployed are relatively equal. White collar workers now comprise about 59 percent of the labor force; blue collar workers comprise 29 percent²¹ - i.e. white collar workers outnumber blue collar workers by two-to-one. Because of this size difference, white collar and blue collar unemployed have increased by roughly equal numbers even though the blue collar unemployment rate was twice as high.²²

- In most recessions unemployment falls most heavily on the young and uneducated. Compared to earlier recessions, current unemployment is falling relatively more heavily on older and more educated workers.²³ *leading to more urgency*

¹⁹ White Collar-Blue Collar and High School-College are overlapping, but separate classifications. A significant number of white collar positions in, for example, clerical and administrative support functions, are held by high school graduates. At the same time, many high school graduates are in Service Occupations, (guards, cooks, barbers) which are not classified as white collar or blue collar.

²⁰ See Erica L. Groshen and Donald R. Williams, "White- and Blue-Collar Jobs in the Recent Recession and Recovery: Who's Singing the Blues?", Economic Review, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, 1992, Quarter 4, pp. 2-12.

²¹ Again, the missing third category is Service Workers - guards, cooks, janitors, etc.

²² See Groshen and Williams, op. cit., and Lawrence Mishel and Jared Bernstein, "Testimony before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress of the United States; Hearing on American Workers at Labor Day 1992" reprinted by the Economic Policy Institute.

²³ Henry S. Farber, "The Incidence and Costs of Job Loss: 1982-1991", Brookings Papers on Economic Activity (Microeconomics), forthcoming, 1993.

This last point is illustrated in Table 4. By the overall unemployment rate, the 1981-83 recession was significantly deeper ($U = 9.5\%$) than the current recession ($U = 7.5\%$). But the unemployment rate among older college graduates - men and women, ages 45-55 - is larger in this recession than the earlier one. And the unemployment rate among older high school graduates is almost as high as it was in that "blue collar recession". Unemployment rates among 25-44 year-olds, regardless of education, are lower in this recession than the last one as we would expect. Relatively high unemployment rates among older workers are the most telling indicator of restructuring - the idea that when the recovery arrives, firms do not plan simply to add back the jobs they have recently shed.

This is, then, a white collar recession in a relative sense. But beneath the recession, the trends of the 1980's continue. An analysis of weekly earnings (not reported here) indicates the college-high school earnings gap stayed constant between 1989 and 1991.²⁴ The annual earnings gap continued to widen through 1991 because unemployment fell more heavily concentrated on less educated workers (Table 3).

4. Summary Earnings Distributions

It is useful to step back to visualize the evolution of the men's and women's earnings distributions since 1979, the last pre-1980's business-cycle peak. These distributions are a kind of bottom line to the story I have been telling.

²⁴ This is progress of a kind since the gap didn't widen further. The weekly earnings gap between high school graduates and workers with some graduate training continued to widen.

Figure 1. Earnings of 25-to-55-Year Old Men: 1979 and 1991

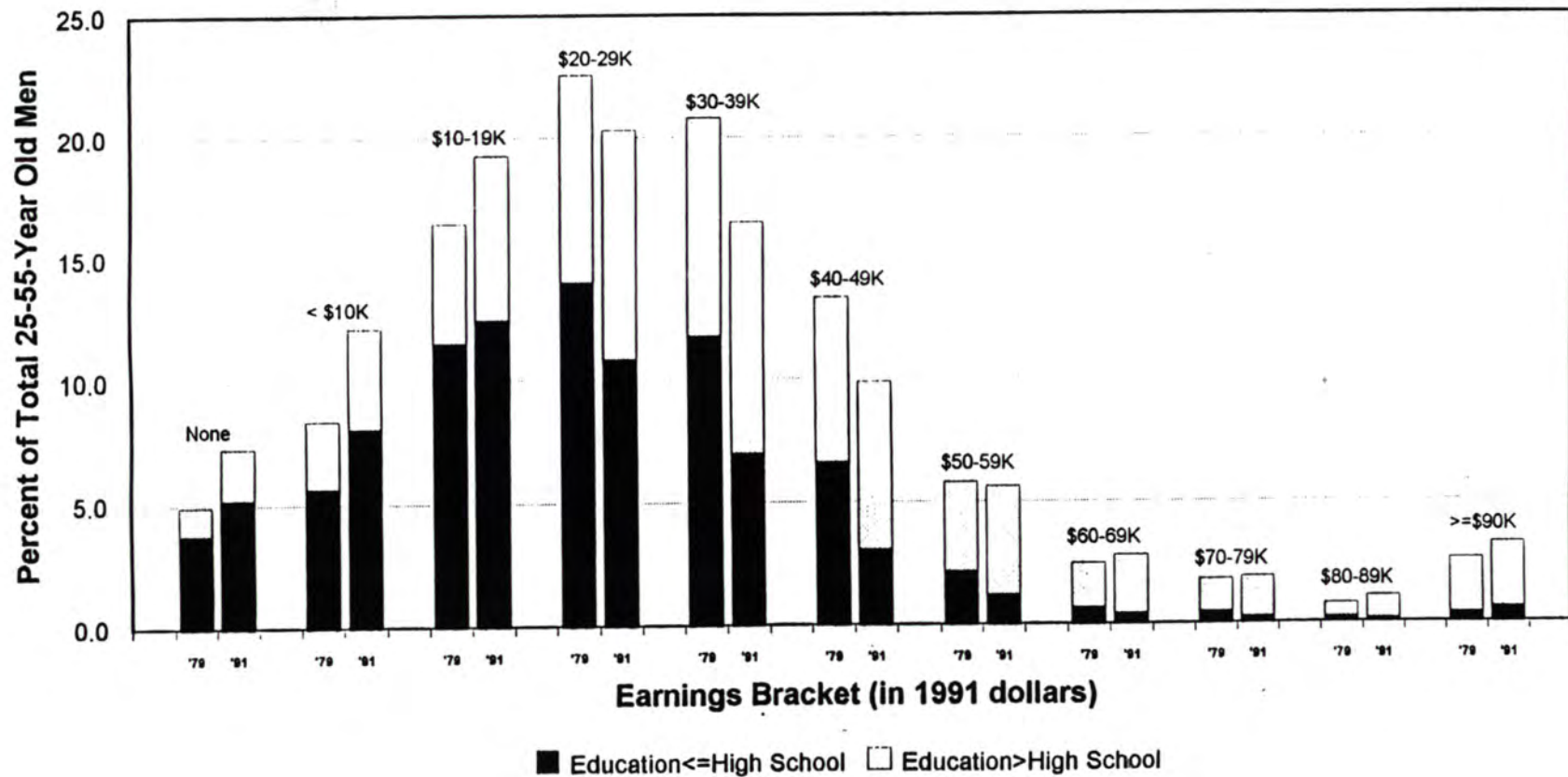


Figure 2. Earnings of 25-to-55-Year Old Women: 1979 and 1991

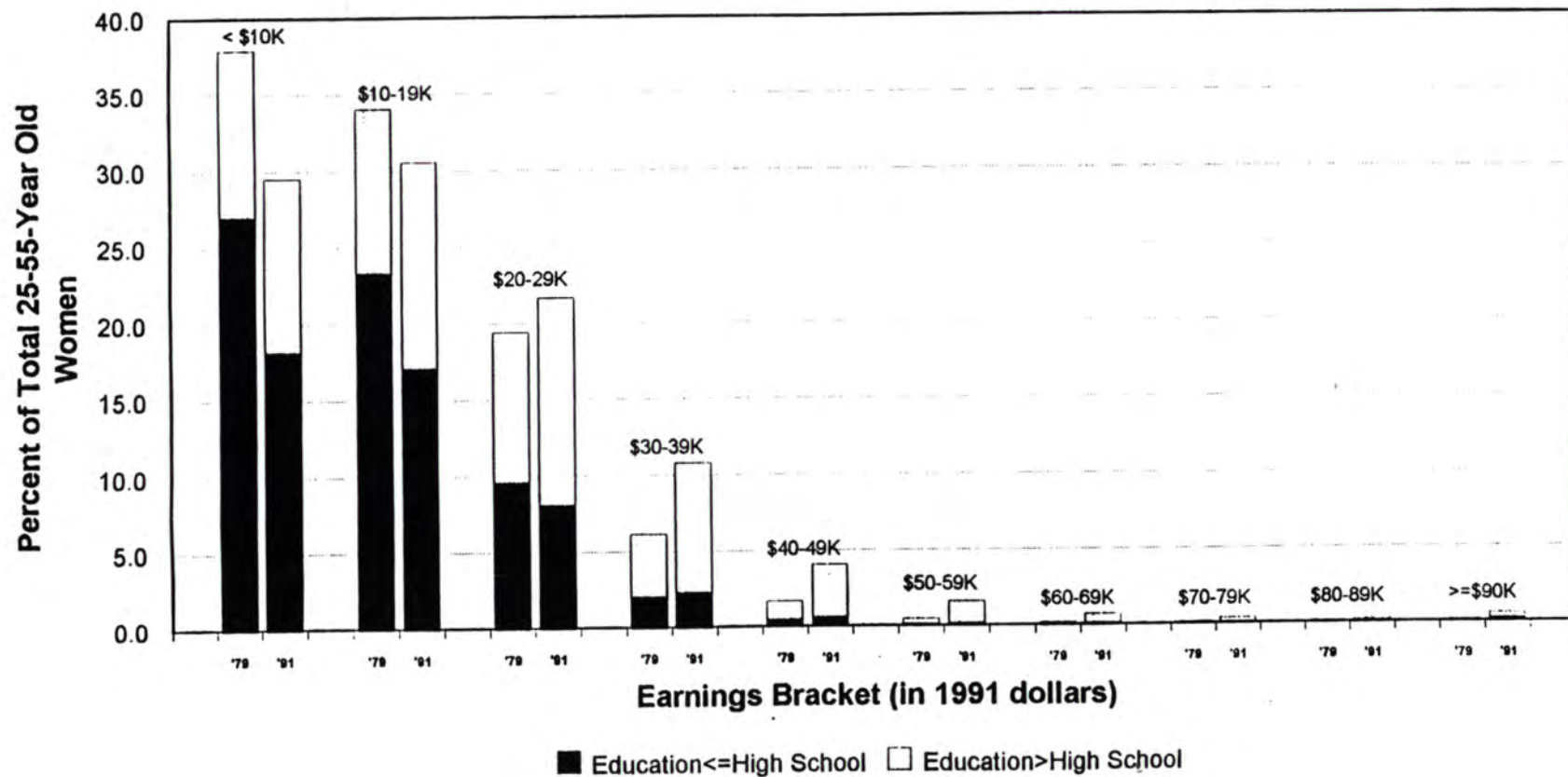


Figure 1 compares the 1979 and 1991 earnings distributions for prime age men (25-55 years-old).²⁵ Three aspects of the figure require comment.

The first aspect - the dog that didn't bark - is the absence of average wage growth over the 12 years. In a healthy economy with moderate wage growth (e.g. 2 percent per year), the distribution's midpoint would have increased by about \$6,500 over the period and the 1991 distribution would have shifted to the right (to higher earnings). Since average wages for men were basically stagnant, the two distributions are centered at the same point.

The second aspect is a moderate hollowing out in the distribution's center: the proportion of workers in the \$20-\$50,000 range has fell from 57 percent to 48 percent while the proportions of workers earning below \$20,000 and above \$50,000 both increased. This kind of hollowing out is consistent with perceptions of a shrinking number of middle class jobs.

Finally, the growing proportion of workers in the below-\$20,000 category was dominated by men who had not gone beyond high school. By 1991, over one-third of male high school graduates, ages 35-44, reported annual earnings below \$20,000. Put simply, it had become much harder for a high school graduate to earn a middle class lifestyle.

Figure 2 contains a similar 1979-1991 comparison for women,

²⁵ I focus on men in this age group to avoid the counting earnings of persons who are still in school or who are beginning to enter retirement.

except that women who report no earnings are excluded from the figure²⁶. The story in this distribution differs from the story for men as over the 1980's, women's annual earnings increased significantly. Among women who had not gone beyond high school, most of the increase in annual earnings reflected longer work hours - hourly wages actually declined slightly. But higher wages played an important part in the rising annual earnings of women college graduates.

With the exception of college educated women, then, the years from 1979-91 were characterized by stagnant or falling wages for most kinds of workers²⁷ and rising inequality for all workers²⁸, the opposite of what we wanted.

5. Conclusions

In 1992, Bill Clinton ran for president on a platform of ending stagnant wages and reducing inequality. In what follows, I will speculate on the likelihood of his achieving these goals.

²⁶ I assume that prime age men should work and so the proportion of men with no earnings is of interest. Conversely, a large, but declining, fraction of prime age women chooses not to work. Because this fraction is declining, earnings distributions which included non-working women would confound changes in the earnings of working women (the subject of interest) with changes in the proportion of women who choose to work.

²⁷ By stagnation, I mean a case where 30 year-old male college graduates made the same in 1979 as 30-year-old male college graduates made in 1991 - i.e. the earnings structure was stagnant. Even in this case, however, 30-year-old male college graduates in 1979 saw their earnings increase as they moved from age 30 to age 40 and received promotions, etc.

²⁸ It is worth noting that inequality over the 1980's grew not only between college and high-school educated workers but among college educated and among high school educated workers as well. For a discussion of this "within-group-variance", see Frank Levy and Richard J. Murnane, "U.S. Earnings Levels and Earnings Inequality: A Review of Recent Trends and Proposed Explanations", Journal of Economic Literature, September 1992, pp. 1333-1381.

Begin with wage growth. The stagnant wages of the last 20 years largely reflected the abnormally low rate of growth of labor productivity. In Section 2, I argued that low productivity growth initially reflected the aversion to adopting innovations when innovations meant dismissals and other painful managerial choices. Productivity statistics suggest that firms overcame (or were forced to overcome) this aversion in manufacturing during the 1980's and are now overcoming it in services as well. If current reports are to be believed these attitudes will remain in place for some time²⁹ and there is reason to hope that we are beginning a period of sustained productivity growth on the order of 2 percent per year.

Productivity growth will not translate into wage growth without tight labor markets: an employer who sees many applicants for every opening will feel no pressure to pass along productivity gains along as higher wages.³⁰ Without a fall in the unemployment rate, there is no sense looking for "good jobs".

²⁹ The diffusion of attempts to innovate, like the diffusion of leveraged buyouts, can be compared to diffusion of student attempts to shut down campuses. In the early 1960's, few students thought it was feasible to shut down a campus and so few attempts were made. In 1964, the Berkeley's Free Speech Movement showed that shutting down a campus was indeed feasible and the number of attempted shutdowns rose quickly.

³⁰ A second, more subtle condition requires that productivity grows in all sectors (which it seems now to be doing). During the 1980's, productivity gains were entirely concentrated in manufacturing (Table 1). When a manufacturing worker bargained over increased wages, his or her ultimate threat was to quit to work elsewhere - i.e. to work in the service sector. But since service sector productivity and service sector wages were flat, the threat had little meaning. As economist Larry Mishel remarked, manufacturing wages were kept from growing by a reserve army of service sector workers (personal communication).

If unemployment falls and wages do begin to rise, the question is: Whose wages?. Which workers will be in enough demand to successfully bargain for higher wages? The answer, I think, better educated workers. Well-educated workers have been hurt by the current recession, but the damage they have sustained is far smaller than the damage sustained by high school graduates throughout the 1980's as technology eliminated many semi-skilled jobs. As the recovery proceeds, the market for college graduates will experience tightness even as the market for less educated labor remains slack. This means that many college graduates will be able to bargain successfully for higher wages, restored fringe benefits and a measure of job security while many high school graduates will continue to work in a market not much better than today's.

This pattern has clear implications for the President's goal of reducing inequality. As a first approximation, ~~the~~ of inequality in the 1980's was the sum of two phenomena. One was the growing income share of, perhaps, 500,000 "supernovas" (1/2 of one percent of all taxpayers) at the distribution's extreme upper tail.³¹ The other was the pervasive split between the earnings of more and less educated workers that occurred throughout the heart of the distribution (e.g. Figure 1).

Inequality at the upper tail is appropriately a subject of tax policy. Inequality in the middle of the distribution - the widening gap between more and less educated workers - is far more problematic. If technology is eliminating large numbers of low and semi-skilled jobs,

³¹ See Daniel R. Feenberg and James M. Poterba, "Income Inequality and the Incomes of Very High Income Taxpayers: Evidence from Tax Returns", N.B.E.R. working paper 4229, 12/92.

the imbalance can be redressed only by increasing the proportion of the workforce that can perform higher skilled jobs.³²

(The U.S.¹ is not the only country facing these problems. For a time, Europe succeeded in holding down earnings inequality, but the price was a slow growth of jobs and high unemployment. Now it appears that earnings inequality is on the rise in Europe as well.³³)

The situation points to three kinds of policies: rethinking the social safety net, better training, and better schools. Training is something I am still learning about but I will comment briefly on the other two areas.³⁴

An example of rethinking the social safety net is healthcare. If demand for less educated labor remains weak, a growing number of prime-age workers (and their families) who have not gone beyond high school will work at jobs that do not provide health insurance. Healthcare reform that acknowledges this fact will benefit these workers in two ways: by providing them with health insurance, of course, but also by lowering the fixed cost of their employment which makes them more attractive to employers.

³² It is important to distinguish the total number of jobs from the mix of those jobs among different skill levels. Roughly speaking, the total number of jobs is determined by aggregate demand as influenced by monetary and fiscal policy and export demand. Expanding the number of jobs while keeping the same mix (given the current mix of the labor force) will generate shortages in higher skilled markets while less skilled markets remain slack.

³³ See, for example, Peter Gottschalk, "Public Policy and Earnings Inequality," working paper, Department of Economics, Boston College, June 1993.

³⁴ While training programs come under heavy criticism, it is worth remembering that most such programs will look ineffective when the unemployment rate is as high as its current 6.9 percent.

An example of school reform is the small but growing number of "American Style Apprenticeship Programs", typified by the Boston ProTech program.³⁵ ✓

Why apprenticeships? To me, the answer involves the transmission of information. As an economist, I believe a main transmitter of economic information is the market. As someone who sits in schools, I take a more cautious view. Teenagers are impatient and are overwhelmed by the attitudes of their peers. A few students study hard because they see the future. A greater number study hard because they trust their parents and their parents see the future. But without great foresight or parents who understand today's job market, many students will not work hard today to prepare for an outcome in some "distant" tomorrow. Well designed apprenticeships can overcome some of these problems by making the reason for learning more immediate.

Designing a good apprenticeship is hard. From the start, it requires a job with an obvious future. Teenagers, even more than adults, worry about status. For them, a commitment to a program built around dead end jobs is to label oneself a fool. Boston ProTech has built around technician jobs in healthcare and is now developing jobs in finance and banking.

Beyond finding good jobs, there are the problems of finding good job supervisors and enabling teachers - many of whom already have their hands full - to develop curriculum that teaches academic skills in a way that is relevant to the student's work.

³⁵ These ideas draw heavily on discussions with my colleague, Richard Murnane and with teachers, students and staff in the Boston ProTech program.

The U.S. hasn't done much of this before because we haven't had to.³⁶ When a young man could walk out of a high school and, fairly quickly, earn a salary in the mid-\$20's, school reform was a case of: "If it ain't broke, don't fix it".

Now it is broke. How well we fix it will say a lot about the future of U.S. equality.

³⁶ The same can be said about job retraining about which we have much to learn.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: TONY LAKE

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

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

cc: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN



JIMMY CARTER

August 10, 1993

cc: W. Clinton
Tony

some very good info
some specific want

followed up on

2 info with that we've
tried to work up his notes
in French Benin Doc -

We need to respond and
I need to know what the decision

To President Clinton

Since I have always made a brief report to the White House and State Department on my overseas trips, I want to cover some pertinent points on our visits to six African countries during the past two weeks, from 7/27/93 - 8/8/93.

Benin: Benin is a model of democracy and stability in the region, between troubled Nigeria and catastrophic Togo. President Nicéphore Soglo, having been elected in 1991, has brought an end to 17 years of communism and is the recently reelected leader of the 13-nation ECOWAS organization. The weekend before we arrived, he had presided over the peace agreement for Liberia. As a World Bank executive for 10 years, he is respected for both his political and economic leadership qualities.

* [Suggestion: That Soglo be invited now for an official visit to Washington at some convenient future date, to recognize his status and to benefit from his knowledge and advice. He can be of great benefit, for instance, in keeping the Liberia peace and democracy effort on track.

General information: Our primary purpose in going to Benin was to analyze our agriculture programs in Benin, Togo, Ghana, Tanzania, Sudan, Zambia, Ethiopia, and potentially in Nigeria. This effort was initiated in 1986 because of the steady decline of per capita food production in the continent. We have now had more than 150,000 African farmers directly involved, with an average tripling of production of corn, millet, sorghum, and wheat. We also help farmers with cassava and other crops. We have Carter Center programs in 26 African countries, but I'll just tell about this one. Benin is a fairly recent addition to our agriculture program, but typical. We only have one employee for both Benin and Togo combined, and rely on 142 Beninese extension workers (all paid by Benin's government) to learn and teach about 3300 farmers in the country, each cultivating about 2 acres of land. Only a very few have oxen, but they plant the best seed varieties in contour rows, use a moderate amount of fertilizer, control weeds, have timely harvests, store grain in community bins, and often share a rudimentary banking system.

Page 2

In the village of Ghowime, which we visited, the farmers have accumulated a net undistributed profit of \$6,814 US. Their average yield of corn last year was about 65 bushels per acre, more than 3 times their previous production and comparative yields in adjacent fields. In all our projects, we emphasize native responsibility and self-sufficiency, requiring farmers to graduate from our program after the second year.

We also assessed our efforts in child immunization, the prevention of river blindness (onchocerciasis), and the eradication of Guinea worm. 142,000 people in Benin have received treatment this year for river blindness, but the Guinea worm program there has been lagging. 3800 villages are affected with the debilitating disease, only 14% of which are being monitored by trained workers. In most countries, we are reaching 100%. President Soglo was quite distressed to learn this and has now become a fervent supporter of the effort.

Togo: We spent Friday, 7/30, in Lome to explore the possibility of a successful resolution of the nation's political and economic crisis. An 8-month general strike has brought the country to its knees, most foreign aid is being withheld, human rights abuses have proliferated, and more than 250,000 refugees have fled into neighboring Benin and Ghana. There is a nation-wide atmosphere of fear and despair. A tentative agreement was recently concluded in Oagadougou for elections to be held late in August for President and in October for parliament, but there is little confidence that the Eyadema regime will honor its terms or plans to relinquish power.

I met with representatives of all political parties, members of the election commission, religious, labor and other leaders, all of whom seem desperate for a strong international observer group to monitor the election process. We had earlier planned to cooperate with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and I wanted to explore the advisability of resuming this commitment. During a private session and luncheon with President Gnassingbe Eyadema and his key ministers, I raised the pertinent questions, which he answered satisfactorily. He also urged me to return to Togo for the election, repeating his invitation of last year. Based on past experience, there is no way to confirm the sincerity of his commitments.

Perhaps erroneously, I believe that my personal involvement in the election monitoring may be crucial to its success, and I am inclined to assess the situation with NDI and perhaps change my schedule and join the monitoring effort.

* [Request: That you exert maximum pressure on Eyadema the next few days and urge the French to do the same. Otherwise, he will be inclined to subvert the election process through delays and subterfuge. Togo could become another Liberia.

Page 3

Ethiopia: Meles Zinawe is a superb leader. Having consulted closely with him since 1987, when he was a relatively unknown guerrilla commander struggling against the massive forces of a Communist dictator, I am convinced that he is attempting to bring a war-torn and poverty stricken country into an era of unity, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights. He has an extremely difficult task in molding the multiple ethnic groups into a harmonious transition government and has made some inevitable mistakes. He reiterated to me his offer to the dissident Oromo leaders (OLF) (who are boycotting government efforts) to participate without discrimination, just providing they will renounce violence. He asked me to join others in helping him with this problem.

Suggestion: That U.S. and British officials make it clear to Oromo leaders, who are buzzing around Washington and London, that they must cooperate in the ongoing process of forming a national constitution and holding elections in a unified Ethiopia. We can guarantee their fair treatment if they do so.

Meles is intensely interested in the U.S. role in his two troubled neighbors, Somalia and Sudan, and believes that some of our policies are ill-advised. The increasing resort to military force in Somalia, failure of UNISOM to work closely with him and other influential leaders in the Horn of Africa (a departure from policies during the Bush administration), lack of a coherent and sustained effort to help forge a governmental structure leading to elections, and the fruitless effort to find and kill General Aideed are all contrary to his best judgment. For instance, he believes that key African leaders might help to orchestrate through tribal elders a period of exile for the war lord (perhaps in Yemen) while an objective assessment is made of Aideed's alleged crimes and a federal government system is devised.

Meles also believes that complete isolation of the Sudanese government by the U.S. could cause serious problems for both Ethiopia and Eritrea. He and President Isaias Afwerke discussed this prospect thoroughly during the weekend before I arrived, and are quite concerned. He would also like to see a more substantive effort made to resolve the Southern Sudan problem, having little confidence that Babangida's mediation sessions in Abuja, Nigeria can be successful.

Suggestions: That UNISOM should involve Eritrean and Ethiopian leaders closely in devising policy in Somalia. Also, see Sudan below.

General information: We have full support from the Ethiopian government in The Carter Center's projects of eradicating Guinea worm, initiating an extensive food production program, helping to create a school of public health, the coordination of development aid, and preparations for national elections to be held during

Page 4

the first quarter of 1994. We are also deeply involved in the drafting of their constitution and in the establishment of an adequate legal system to try the cases of almost 1,200 detainees and 1,500 prisoners out on bail, all of them accused of serious war crimes. It is most likely that the national election will be held next March to choose a constituent assembly which will ratify the permanent constitution and orchestrate election of a president and other national officers. Some of the official and unofficial aid programs are being administered through our 2-man office in Addis.

Kenya: President Daniel arap Moi seemed subdued compared to the time of our previous visits, quite defensive when I brought up the quality of the '92 election, his human rights record, and corruption in his government. We should keep up the pressure on these issues, but give him some credit when he does something right. For instance, he has been a perfect host for the peace talks we have held in Nairobi.

SPLA: While in Kenya I met with leaders of the Southern Sudan revolutionary groups. Dr. John Garang, who has been the pre-eminent leader since 1983, has modified his position substantially since I've seen him last, and now offers proposals to me that are much more likely to lead to an agreement with the Sudan government. Garang has given up on the Abuja talks, but wants our Center to initiate a new peace effort. A breakaway group of southerners, known as the Nasir faction or SPLA-United, led by some long time acquaintances of mine, are now fighting against Garang's forces. Garang claims they are supported by the Sudan government in Khartoum, which they deny. (After my discussions in Khartoum, I agree with Garang) Both groups are now helping with our Center's health programs in their controlled areas.

Uganda: President Yoweri Museveni has made good progress during the last few years, with the country now enjoying peace, a slightly negative inflation rate, 7% annual economic growth, a climate that simulates air conditioning, and land that is almost uniformly productive. Uganda is blessed with extraordinary tourist opportunities that are now being developed. One remaining need is to establish a democratic government, the first step of which will be the election in December of a constituent assembly to ratify the new constitution and resolve the dominant issue of multi-party elections. Museveni wants us and others to help monitor the election.

Special information: President Museveni asked me to accept a message from Libya, and I agreed. Dr. Mousa Moussa, a graduate of Michigan State University, had traveled to Kampala to tell me that "Brother" Khadafi is willing to deliver the two men accused of causing the Lockerbie plane crash to any country where public opinion was not already marshaled against them. When questioned, he only excluded the United States and Scotland. I agreed to relay this message to you.

Page 5

Sudan: Despite war conditions, we have received good cooperation from Sudan's leaders on our humanitarian projects. We jumped wheat production from 150,000 tons to 850,000 tons between 1988 and 1992, and they have completed a very good Guinea worm survey in the seven northern states. We now know every endemic village, and have distributed filter cloths to all families in those most heavily affected. Although much of the South is inaccessible because of the war, they are obtaining information about the southern villages from the 1.2 million displaced persons who have moved out of this area and are now in camps in the general area of Khartoum.

My primary purpose in going to Sudan was to explore any possibility of evolving a genuine and sustainable cease-fire, followed by a resolution of the North-South conflict now in its 10th year. Having already received positive responses from southern revolutionaries in Kenya, I met with Dr. Hassan al-Turabi, the longtime leader of the National Islamic Front and the real source of political power in Sudan. Turabi has never denied to me that he is pursuing the Islamization of Sudan and Africa, and asks if I would not like to do the same for Christianity. I found him to be eloquent and charming as always, glibly ridiculing any allegations of training terrorists. He said he would welcome any responsible investigation by the U.S. Congress or others of allegations about Iranians in Sudan, and claims that there are only well-known embassy personnel and no training sites. He acknowledged the violation of human rights by all sides involved in the war.

After an extensive conversation, Dr. Turabi agreed on several crucial issues that I raised, including 1) the peace talks in Nigeria are probably over, with the impending retirement of President Babangida; 2) Sudan must end the war and rebuild its economy in order to be a major power; 3) citizens in the three southern states can now be assured that they will not be subject to the Islamic law (Shari'a); 4) a cease-fire should be negotiated among the Sudan government, John Garang's SPLA, and the break-away group of southerners named SPLA-United; 5) the United States, as an enemy of his regime, could not sponsor fair talks, nor could the U.N. with Egyptian Boutros-Ghali as Secretary-General; and 6) The Carter Center could play this role, and then assist in mediating a permanent relationship between the North & South in Sudan.

Comment: I know Turabi well, and am familiar with some of the human rights atrocities being committed by government forces. His comments must be received with great skepticism, but items 2), 3), and 4) are new for him and may be significant. If he has, perchance, decided that peace in the South is better for him to achieve his ultimate goals, we should test his sincerity. Later, I met with President Omar al-Bashir and repeated the same basic conversation. Not intellectually equal to Dr. Turabi, Bashir thinks more slowly and is naturally more cautious. He ex-

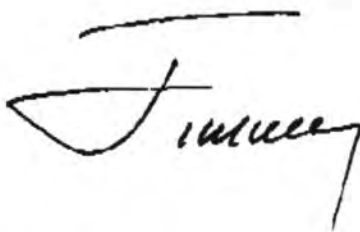
Page 6

pressed interest in the key proposals, but insisted on consulting with Babangida before considering a change in venue for further peace talks. Somewhat frustrated, I left at this point, but the next morning pursued the issues further by a personal note. As I prepared to leave Sudan, his foreign minister came to meet me at the airport, gave an affirmative response, but asked for a few days to thank Babangida and verify that further talks were not scheduled. He promised to contact me without delay.

X Request: That you give me a few weeks to pursue with the government and revolutionaries what I consider to be a new opportunity for progress in Sudan. It is impossible to anticipate what might happen, but partial progress would permit the delivery of relief services for millions of starving and suffering people and perhaps lead to a resolution of this most costly and troublesome war. If a substantive cease-fire could be negotiated and, for the first time, approved officially by the top leaders, it would be necessary to have some international monitors in the war zones. Your help would be needed at this point.

Just a personal note: We at The Carter Center do not depend on official support for our work, but for some reason, we enjoyed an easier and more cooperative relationship with our government agencies prior to this year. This comment does not apply to your embassy personnel, who have been invariably gracious and cooperative. Maybe Marion Creekmore, former ambassador to Sri Lanka, could explore with someone in the State Department how we might maintain better communications.

Best wishes,



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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nancy Hernandez
To: ~~Smith~~ ~~Sady~~

President has seen and
asked copy to be
given to MACK.

rick

copy for JP
per his request

send a
copy to Tony
LARO

done
8/3/5



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

13 AUG 25 P3:39

August 24, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: President William Clinton

FROM: Henry G. Cisneros

On occasion I will send along observations which I feel might be useful to you in making judgements. The following are a series of personal observations for you:

- Ann Richards*
1. As I write this memorandum, I am in flight returning from reporting to Governor Chiles and to the South Florida public concerning the Federal government's efforts to assist in rebuilding after Hurricane Andrew. The record we set forth is a positive one and the press coverage marking the date one year ago that the hurricane hit has been largely understanding of the scale of the job. You will not read much, if any, overt criticism of the Federal response.

In talking with Governor Chiles, he noted that you have not been into Florida as President. We both concurred that it is important to find the best circumstances for you to appear in Florida. It is an important state and one which Governor Chiles feels you could have won in 1992. I remember that you and I spoke about Florida last August and you felt it was still winnable then. My point is, Florida was in play in 1992 and should be cultivated for 1996. You know my feelings about preparing alternate electoral strategies in the event the California economy stays in its present doldrums the next few years.

All of this is to say that the biggest boost to South Florida's economic prospects and psychological attitudes in the last months was your successful nudging of DOD to keep some active presence at Homestead AFB. A Presidential appearance in association with Homestead is the right event for you in South Florida. Governor Chiles recommends it. My own sense is that the event should be sooner than later, perhaps around the anniversary of your visit there as a candidate last year, but certainly soon enough to prevent involving your visit in the statewide politics of 1994 which will begin in earnest this fall.

- Ditto*
2. A similar concern about a big state's electoral votes prompts me to return to a conversation we had some months ago about Texas. You have not been to Texas and I feel you must before your absence is used to attack Ann Richards, the statewide

ticket, and Democrats in the state generally. Jose Villarreal and I feel that the perfect vehicle for you in Texas is NAFTA. Despite the way NAFTA plays in other states, it is 90% gold in Texas. Perhaps no other state in the U. S. will benefit as directly as Texas and that is widely recognized in all Texas cities and in all strata of Texas society. Not only would you champion a cause on friendly ground, but you would be righteously facing down Ross Perot in his backyard. You have to go to Texas sometime; may as well pick the issue and events of greatest advantage. No matter what any polls or politicians in Texas may say, this is your fight now and most Texans - including business - would see their President battling for something they support. If you are to invest the time, you should consider the major metropolitan areas, each of which expects to be a prominent trade center with Mexico (Houston, Dallas, San Antonio), and the border regions, which are already experiencing unprecedented growth in anticipation of NAFTA (Brownville-McAllen, Laredo, El Paso).

- 
3. I want to pass along to you my observations on a friend, Morihiro Hosokawa, who has become the new Prime Minister of Japan. About eight years ago as Mayor of San Antonio, I began building a trade and economic relationship with Japan and it resulted in a strong sister city relationship with Kumamoto City in Kumamoto Prefecture. Prime Minister Hosokawa was Governor of the Prefecture. I visited him annually or he visited San Antonio for several years. He had expressed his disaffection with the direction of Japan's national politics for some time and spoke of creating an alternate party. He is a believer in governmental reform and his tenure in Kumamoto was characterized by environmental innovation, administrative efficiency, and public improvements in transportation, infrastructure, and parks.

He has had a particularly keen interest in economic development. Kumamoto Prefecture today is dotted with technology and research parks, agricultural experiment facilities, trade centers, and investment in port and airport facilities. He supported the preparation of plans allowing traditionally poorer prefectures, far from Tokyo's centralized research and manufacturing centers, to participate in world trade and technological advances. As a result, Kyushu, the southern land mass on which Kumamoto Prefecture is located, is cited in Ezra Vogel's book, Comeback, as an example of economic transformation and diversification.

All of this fueled in then-Governor Hosokawa, a clear understanding of the importance of decentralization of the Japanese bureaucracy and a frustration with the system as it works now. You may wish to suggest on a future visit to Japan that he show you his home area around Kumamoto. I know he

would be proud to share with you a mutual history as governors as well as his ancestral roots. He is a direct descendent of Lord Hosokawa, a feudal chieftain who led the region over 400 years ago and whose castle, Hosokawa Castle, still dominates the skyline of Kumamoto City. Kumamoto is also the burial site of the great samurai Musashi, one of the most revered figures in Japanese samurai folklore. A trip there by you would be respectful as well as an opportunity to see the Japanese heartland beyond Tokyo and perhaps a productive place to conduct business with the Prime Minister.

He carries himself as a young man, athletic and slim. I have played tennis with him; he is much better and beat me soundly. He is serious and tends to be quiet. His face is that of a person more reserved than he probably is, perhaps in the Japanese way of formality, but he doesn't miss much and obviously knows how to seize the moment. You will like him, you will have much in common and you will share experiences and philosophies of governance.

4. I am told that you mentioned my son, John Paul's surgery at the National Governor's Conference as an example of the kind of academic and technological advances that must continue in American medicine. Mary Alice and I appreciate your remembering what has been for us a powerful family experience. He is doing well and, after a recent check-up, doesn't need to see the doctors again for three months. The doctors who operated on John Paul's heart at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia are the same ones who separated little Amy and Angela Lakeberg last week. What an amazing thing when the chances of a successful operation were originally listed in Chicago at 1%.

The doctor who operated on John Paul was Dr. William Norwood. He expressed such absolute, almost irrational, concern about what health care reform would mean for centers like Philadelphia's, that I asked him to put his thoughts down in writing. The result is the attached paper, prepared by Dr. Norwood and one of the other top pediatric cardiac surgeons in the world, Dr. Aldo Castaneda from Boston Children's Hospital. I am told by the hospital administrator in Philadelphia that Dr. Norwood feels he will have to move his center out of the U. S., probably to Rome, because of the forces, especially legal issues, which impinge on medicine today. I don't personally endorse every point he makes, but I thought you might benefit from reading his letter.

5. Finally, on a completely personal note, I know how much you enjoy the music of the African-American church tradition and how you have been respectful of the Catholic liturgy since your years at Georgetown. I have found a way you can enjoy

both at the same time. At the corner of 15th and V Streets in Washington is St. Augustine Church, the mother church of African-American Catholics in the U. S. Several months ago we went there on Sunday out of nostalgia, since my daughter was baptized there as a baby in 1971. We remembered St. Augustine's as a nearly empty central city church. What a transformation has occurred: a choir that has recorded its repertoire, jam packed racially-mixed Sunday services, lively community outreach in inner-city Washington, a spirited clergy and relevant homilies, and truly moving and meaningful worship services. We go there most every Sunday now and I always think of you because I know how much you would enjoy it. The pastor and lay board asked me to invite you. If it appeals to you some Sunday for 10:00am or 12:30 Mass, they would love to have you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/31/93

NOTE FOR: TONY LAKE

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

Information	☒
Action	☐

Thank you.

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

cc:

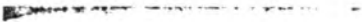
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



To: ^{Nancy Hennrich}
~~Staff~~ ^{Sady}

President has seen and
asked copy to be
given to MACK.

rick





THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

13 AUG 25 P3:39

August 24, 1993

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- Dutko*
2. A similar concern about a big state's electoral votes prompts me to return to a conversation we had some months ago about Texas. You have not been to Texas and I feel you must before your absence is used to attack Ann Richards, the statewide

ticket, and Democrats in the state generally. Jose Villarreal and I feel that the perfect vehicle for you in Texas is NAFTA. Despite the way NAFTA plays in other states, it is 90% gold in Texas. Perhaps no other state in the U. S. will benefit as directly as Texas and that is widely recognized in all Texas cities and in all strata of Texas society. Not only would you champion a cause on friendly ground, but you would be righteously facing down Ross Perot in his backyard. You have to go to Texas sometime; may as well pick the issue and events of greatest advantage. No matter what any polls or politicians in Texas may say, this is your fight now and most Texans - including business - would see their President battling for something they support. If you are to invest the time, you should consider the major metropolitan areas, each of which expects to be a prominent trade center with Mexico (Houston, Dallas, San Antonio), and the border regions, which are already experiencing unprecedented growth in anticipation of NAFTA (Brownville-McAllen, Laredo, El Paso).

3.



I want to pass along to you my observations on a friend, Morihiro Hosokawa, who has become the new Prime Minister of Japan. About eight years ago as Mayor of San Antonio, I began building a trade and economic relationship with Japan and it resulted in a strong sister city relationship with Kumamoto City in Kumamoto Prefecture. Prime Minister Hosokawa was Governor of the Prefecture. I visited him annually or he visited San Antonio for several years. He had expressed his disaffection with the direction of Japan's national politics for some time and spoke of creating an alternate party. He is a believer in governmental reform and his tenure in Kumamoto was characterized by environmental innovation, administrative efficiency, and public improvements in transportation, infrastructure, and parks.

He has had a particularly keen interest in economic development. Kumamoto Prefecture today is dotted with technology and research parks, agricultural experiment facilities, trade centers, and investment in port and airport facilities. He supported the preparation of plans allowing traditionally poorer prefectures, far from Tokyo's centralized research and manufacturing centers, to participate in world trade and technological advances. As a result, Kyushu, the southern land mass on which Kumamoto Prefecture is located, is cited in Ezra Vogel's book, Comeback, as an example of economic transformation and diversification.

All of this fueled in then-Governor Hosokawa, a clear understanding of the importance of decentralization of the Japanese bureaucracy and a frustration with the system as it works now. You may wish to suggest on a future visit to Japan that he show you his home area around Kumamoto. I know he

would be proud to share with you a mutual history as governors as well as his ancestral roots. He is a direct descendent of Lord Hosokawa, a feudal chieftain who led the region over 400 years ago and whose castle, Hosokawa Castle, still dominates the skyline of Kumamoto City. Kumamoto is also the burial site of the great samurai Musashi, one of the most revered figures in Japanese samurai folklore. A trip there by you would be respectful as well as an opportunity to see the Japanese heartland beyond Tokyo and perhaps a productive place to conduct business with the Prime Minister.

He carries himself as a young man, athletic and slim. I have played tennis with him; he is much better and beat me soundly. He is serious and tends to be quiet. His face is that of a person more reserved than he probably is, perhaps in the Japanese way of formality, but he doesn't miss much and obviously knows how to seize the moment. You will like him, you will have much in common and you will share experiences and philosophies of governance.

4. I am told that you mentioned my son, John Paul's surgery at the National Governor's Conference as an example of the kind of academic and technological advances that must continue in American medicine. Mary Alice and I appreciate your remembering what has been for us a powerful family experience. He is doing well and, after a recent check-up, doesn't need to see the doctors again for three months. The doctors who operated on John Paul's heart at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia are the same ones who separated little Amy and Angela Lakeberg last week. What an amazing thing when the chances of a successful operation were originally listed in Chicago at 1%.

The doctor who operated on John Paul was Dr. William Norwood. He expressed such absolute, almost irrational, concern about what health care reform would mean for centers like Philadelphia's, that I asked him to put his thoughts down in writing. The result is the attached paper, prepared by Dr. Norwood and one of the other top pediatric cardiac surgeons in the world, Dr. Aldo Castaneda from Boston Children's Hospital. I am told by the hospital administrator in Philadelphia that Dr. Norwood feels he will have to move his center out of the U. S., probably to Rome, because of the forces, especially legal issues, which impinge on medicine today. I don't personally endorse every point he makes, but I thought you might benefit from reading his letter.

5. Finally, on a completely personal note, I know how much you enjoy the music of the African-American church tradition and how you have been respectful of the Catholic liturgy since your years at Georgetown. I have found a way you can enjoy

both at the same time. At the corner of 15th and V Streets in Washington is St. Augustine Church, the mother church of African-American Catholics in the U. S. Several months ago we went there on Sunday out of nostalgia, since my daughter was baptized there as a baby in 1971. We remembered St. Augustine's as a nearly empty central city church. What a transformation has occurred: a choir that has recorded its repertoire, jam packed racially-mixed Sunday services, lively community outreach in inner-city Washington, a spirited clergy and relevant homilies, and truly moving and meaningful worship services. We go there most every Sunday now and I always think of you because I know how much you would enjoy it. The pastor and lay board asked me to invite you. If it appeals to you some Sunday for 10:00am or 12:30 Mass, they would love to have you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/31/93

TO: SCHEDULING

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

cc: Alexis Herman

John - This was faxed to me today with
a request to get it to the President. I
do know James (he is also a FOB), and I trust
his judgement a lot. I agree with him on
this point.

Let me know if there is something
more formal I need to do to transmit
this letter to the President -

Mike Lux
x 2930 or 7032

8/27 per Trey
"somewhat of a friend"

per Debbie Fine
SBC asking to meet
Sept 15. not firm.
Alexis Hester cc
Send to Scheduling & PR
PR TW

JAMES M. DUNN

33 AUG 27 P1:17

August 25, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President,

We understand that there is an intense lobbying effort for you to visit with officers of the Southern Baptist Convention, President Ed Young and the President of the Executive Committee Morris Chapman. Mr. President, because I campaigned vigorously for you, stand resolutely behind you, and support the thrusts of your Presidency, including your economic reforms, health care, fairness for homosexuals, and the right of a woman to choose her own destiny I hope you will not be used and abused by the fundamentalist, New Right, leaders of the SBC.

The desperation of these men to see you reflects their need for the credibility they would gain with such a visit. I, with you, do not believe the office of the president should be so used.

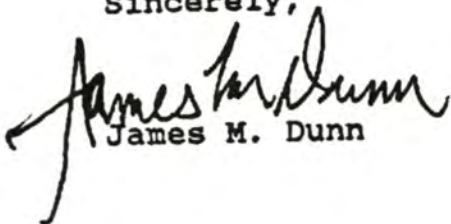
Because I know these men and their track record we can predict with absolute certainty that should you visit with them they would leave your office and either distort what you said or use for their own purposes what they "told the President."

This sort of visit with religious right leaders brought great pain and embarrassment to President Carter. Jerry Falwell misrepresented the President's position on homosexuality. Adrian Rogers, reported on how he had "witnessed" to the president and asked him to turn from his secular humanism.

Mr. President I've known the present leaders of the SBC for forty years and I can assure you that nothing good can possibly come from them.

It's a joy to work with you and your people. We pray for you and are eager to help in any way possible.

Sincerely,


James M. Dunn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/31/93

TO: NSC

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

Please prepare a Presidential
response and return to this
office. Thanks.

PERSONAL

August 20, 1993

2 11:27 AM : 28

Dear Mr. President:

BOEING

Your office informed me earlier this week that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia had made a decision to purchase only U.S. manufactured commercial aircraft in the current buy. This was also reiterated by the Saudi Ambassador, Prince Bandar, and Governor Lowry of Washington State. I can't tell you how pleased we are at Boeing to receive this good news and want to thank you for your personal involvement which ensured the successful outcome.

As you well know, this was a most critical sale for us, particularly in light of the depressed market for commercial airplanes in most parts of the world. While I don't know the mix of airplane orders at this time, a substantial buy from Boeing would stabilize our production lines and help generate thousands of jobs over time. Your actions and that of your Cabinet are a great example of how private companies and the government can work to their mutual advantage in targeted commercial transactions. The Airbus countries worked this very hard at the political level. We would not have succeeded without your interest and active support.

I will write Secretaries Christopher and Brown to thank them as well. However, I would appreciate your extending our sincere thanks to others in your administration who may have helped in this effort.

Thanks again and best personal regards,


Frank Shrontz

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

PERSONAL



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/31/93

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVE GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
LEON PANETTA
ROBERT RUBIN

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



The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



CLOSE HOLD

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



THE CHAIRMAN

August 31, 1993

8 31 1993 P7:44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA D. TYSON *LD* :
ALAN S. BLINDER *AB*
SUBJECT: New Data and the Budget

The Mid-Session Review was, of course, done prior to today's data revisions. In addition, interest rates have declined substantially since the Administration forecast was finalized last month. A quick ball-park estimate suggests that the 1998 budget deficit would be about \$50 billion smaller if we simply:

- extrapolated current long-term interest rates, rather than the ones that were current when we did the forecast,
- maintained the same forecasted GDP growth rates, but raised the GDP level in accord with today's data revisions.

OMB, of course, must run its model to get real numbers; so we should not go public with this rough estimate. But I thought you should be aware of it.

CLOSE HOLD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/31/93

THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN
TO: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARK GEARAN
ROBERT RUBIN
FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

MEMBER

August 31, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN S. BLINDER *AC*

SUBJECT: State Unemployment Rates in July, Labor Department
Release, Wednesday, September 1, 10:00 a.m.

Tomorrow the Labor Department will release State unemployment data for July. The attached map shows ranges of unemployment rates by State; on the back is a list showing unemployment rates by State--ranked from lowest to highest.

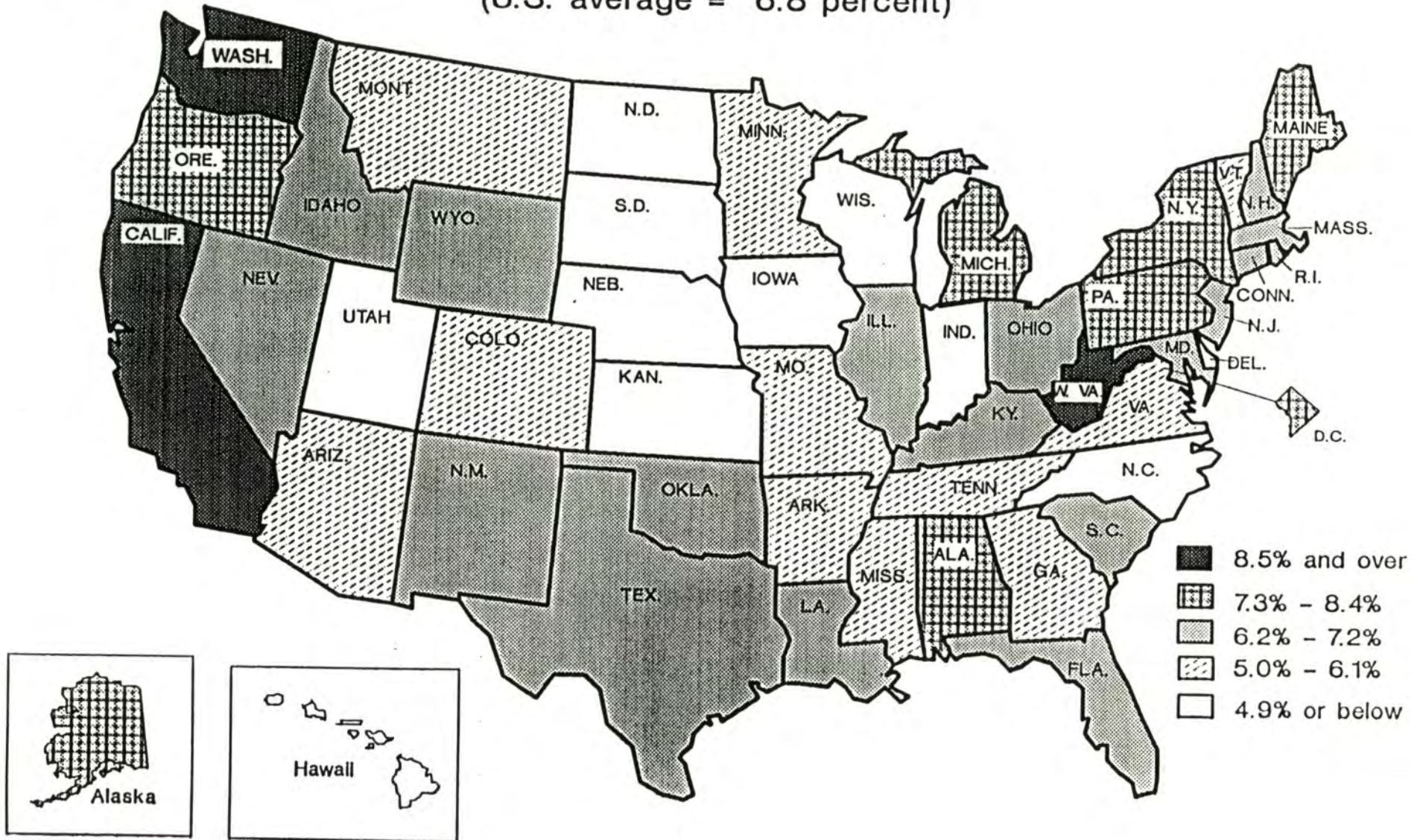
- o The highest unemployment rates were, as in the previous month, in California and West Virginia. California's rising unemployment rate is now almost as high as West Virginia's.
- o The lowest unemployment rates were in Nebraska and South Dakota.
- o The biggest decrease in the unemployment rate from June to July was in West Virginia (from 12.8 percent to 10.0 percent); the biggest increase was in Ohio (from 5.8 percent to 6.9 percent).

State unemployment rates can be volatile from month to month. The second chart therefore shows changes in unemployment rates by State over the past 12 months--ranked from largest decline (Mississippi) to largest increase (Washington). Despite the national recovery, unemployment rates in 11 states are still higher than they were a year ago.

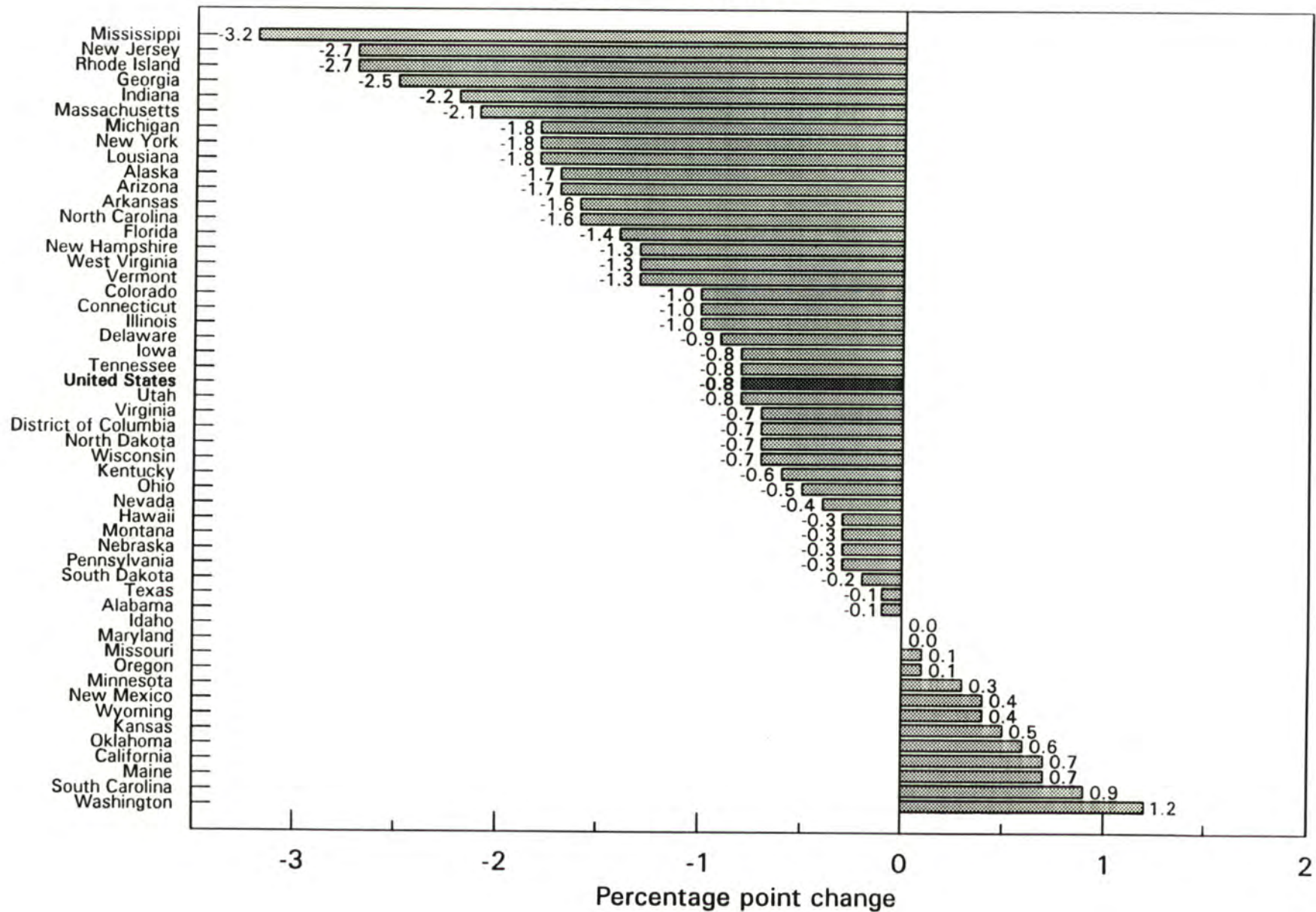
Attachments

Unemployment rates by state, seasonally adjusted, July 1993

(U.S. average = 6.8 percent)



Change in Unemployment Rate by State: July 1992 - July 1993



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/31/93

NOTE FOR: HOWARD PASTER

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

(Book has been sent to Records Management)

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

August 13, 1993

~~Mr. President~~

The attached booklet was prepared per your request.

Howard is very proud of the efforts put into it. You may want to send a note to Stuart Trevelyan.

bmc Need to get
Harlan Matthews
down here - or ask
him + his wife to
dinner - He worked
hard for us

- Great book -
Linda says it updates
- Can do more w/
jazz, golf, dinner, lunch -
but this is good -
- Left notes in a
couple of sections under

For
THE PRESIDENT



Low

MACK McLARTY
CHIEF OF STAFF

THE WHITE HOUSE

(202) 456-6798

1005. 17113



Rodger Schlickeisen
President

Rodger -

AUG 12 1993

Your positive letter is rec'd,
noted, and much appreciated. Guess
Timor of V-Pres. Gore's 93 ^{major} ~~major~~ P810 is
with him ^{made} ~~make~~ certain that grazing
fee reform would become a reality.
I am of course pleased we made
August 10, 1993

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

Significant reform in this area is
in the process proving your judgment
(and taste in us) right.

Dear Mack,

Personalizing M.f

I'm pleased to be able to write to say "thanks" and "good
job" on an administration policy initiative.

When other environmental group CEOs and I met with you in
May, you promised the Clinton administration would follow through
on grazing reform even though it had been removed from the budget
proposal. And now, with Secretary Babbitt's very welcome
announcement, the administration has done so.

Frankly, I received a little flak when I refrained from
publicly criticizing the White House for dropping grazing and
other public land reforms from the Clinton budget. Yesterday's
announcement proves my judgement was right.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
Sincerely, 8/31/93 db

Rodger

Rodger Schlickeisen

cc: Katy McGinty

cc: Gues
Latie
Bunt 12

We need to make
reference to inter-
view.

cc: Denise Steph.
cc Mary Garrow /

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1993

George S. Smith
Northwest Arkansas Times
Post Office Drawer D
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72702

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter and for the update.
I hope you're enjoying your work at the
Northwest Arkansas Times.

I appreciate your sending the column about
Vince. This has been a tough time for
everyone, and I know you'll miss him.

While I don't know whether an interview is
possible, I have shared your letter with Mark
Gearan, Assistant to the President for
Communications.

Let me hear from you more often.

Sincerely,

Bill

I tried to call in Ark
Had a nice visit with
you wife

Northwest Arkansas Times

P.O. DRAWER D
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72702
Telephone 442-1777

*cc
press office*

Mr. President/Bill

Getting a message to you is harder than trying to crack a hickory nut with a paper towel.

Your people are protecting you well, but just wanted to let you know I am now publisher of the Northwest Arkansas Times in Fayetteville and welcome you to one of your hometowns.

I tried to get a message to you after Vince died, but did not know the secret code.

You may or may not know Vince and I were cousins...and I lived three houses down from Vince and around the corner from you when I was in second and third grade. I've enclosed a column I wrote about Vince for your information.

My home number is 501-582-1090; my office number is 501-442-1732.

I have several personal tidbits of information you might be interested in and I've sent numerous requests to your press office to set up an interview with you in Washington at your convenience. Any story I do would go over the Thomson Newspaper wire (154 newspapers in the U.S. and Canada) as well as AP on a delayed basis.

Again, welcome.
Your friend,



George Smith

The passing of a friend

Vincent Foster Jr. is dead.

At 48, Foster chose to take his own life. The action seemed out of character for this boyhood friend of Bill Clinton. Foster, former state assistant attorney general and law partner with Hillary Clinton, was on a political fast track. At his death he was a top White House official, working alongside Chief of Staff Mack McLarty.



GEORGE
S.
SMITH

ARKANSAS
FOOTPRINTS

To me, today, it's not important what Foster did in the Political Wars, it does not matter that he chose to kill himself over whatever reason he used to justify his actions, it does not matter what awards he won, hills he climbed or goals he reached.

It's important to me that I knew him way back in the days of endless summer, way back in school days in Hope, Arkansas.

Vince Foster was my childhood friend, my cousin.

In most states of the union, people wouldn't consider Vince and me as relatives at all. We were, I think, if I can get the cross-math calculated correctly, fifth cousins. His grandfather George Waddall and my grandfather George Andres were first cousins.

During early grade school years, Vince and I were inseparable. I lived in a two-bedroom house just down the street and around the corner from the Fosters. I don't remember what Vince Sr. did for a living, but whatever it was he brought in a lot of money. The Foster's house was my personal pretend castle. It was big and roomy and had window air units, two-car carport and a fenced-in back yard. Vince had two sisters, Sheila and Sharon; they were the first girls I ever

noticed and truly loved as only an eight-year-old can. I loved them both, depending upon which one was at home at the time of my frequent visits.

While I loved visiting Vince's grand old home, he loved to visit the Andres' spread in nearby Sutton just as fervently. He was constantly pestering me to know "when are we going to Daddy George's?" We went often, because I liked the freedom of traipsing over Daddy George's 160 acres, fishing in the pond, plinking at birds with a .22 and helping mend fence, dig potatoes or build rope-and-hay forts in pine thickets.

Vince loved to visit the old Andres place, sitting high on a hill (as high as a hill can get in Southwest Arkansas) above Daddy George's house. The four-room shotgun house complete with dog run had been vacant for years, but the elements had been kindly to it, its windows intact, its door still hung snug.

All one summer Vince and I defended the Andres place from bloodthirsty Indians, the armies of Alexander the Great and African tribes. More than once we beat back Grant's cavalry charges and scurried from window to door to hold off attacks from John Wesley Hardin, the Hole in the Wall Gang and Ringo Kid's band of cutthroats.

It was one of those hot summer days when we figured out we could defend the place better by knocking out all of the window-lights so we could get a better shot at the bad guys. Just like the Lone Ranger holed up in a tiny mountain cabin surrounded by the Black Hat Gang, we went from window to window, knocking out glass and shooting our way to freedom.

We did a good job that day in Sutton. Knocked out every pane of glass. Didn't miss one. Killed, by actual count, 327 bandits.

That night, after Daddy George had gone

to check his cows and after he had seen destruction, he whipped me and then whipped Vince. Hard. Relentlessly. With extreme passion.

But before he did, he hurt us both worse. He sat us down and talked about the family, of the house. He talked about values and taking care of people, how senseless actions of selfishness can hurt other people much more deeply than a slap to the face.

I don't remember the Whipping. I've forgotten the talk.

Neither did Vince.

Several years ago I called him in Little Rock, just to touch base, just to renew ties.

"Butch!" he said, using my childhood moniker. "Remember the time we busted the windows in Daddy George's old home? Lord, I will never forget the look on your grandfather's face as he told us about how much that house meant to him and the family."

Vince talked that day about his job, future plans, his ambitions. Neither of us suspected he would end up in the White House, that his life would end by a self-inflicted bullet.

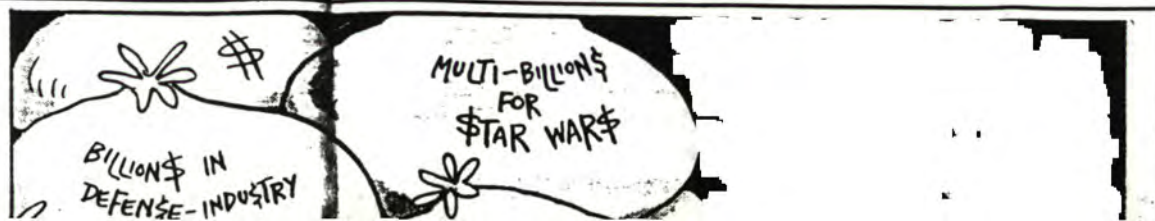
For me, I will always remember Vince better as the towheaded boy who helped me waste several summers of intense happiness who was my sidekick when I learned of life's major lessons, who grew up seeking power and prestige . . . and when he got there, apparently didn't know what to do with it.

I'll miss him.

□□□

George S. Smith is Publisher of the Times. Letters in response to this column may be sent in care of this newspaper.

WORLD SKETCHES



An end to GATT

By PAUL CRAIG ROBERT

Scripts Howard News Service

CC. Cox Stock
1 thickener
some other
of moss

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1993

Charlotte Schexnayder
Post Office Drawer C
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

Dear Charlotte:

Thanks for your letter and for your request that we host the National Federation of Press Women at the White House on September 30th or October 1st.

As you know, I have always held the National Federation of Press Women in high regard, and I have taken the liberty of sharing your letter with Ann Stock, Special Assistant to the President and Social Secretary for the First Lady.

I look forward to seeing you and Melvin soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

Representative
CHARLOTTE TILLAR SCHEXNAYDER
 P.O. BOX C
 DUMAR, ARKANSAS 71623-0229

DISTRICT 80
 Part of Desha County
 Part of Jefferson County
 Part of Lincoln County



STATE OF ARKANSAS

House of Representatives

COMMITTEES

MEMBER
 Education

Agriculture and Economic Development
 Joint Performance Review

August 19, 1993

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
 President of the United States
 The White House
 Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the National Federation of Press Women, I would like to ask for a White House briefing with you or a senior member of your staff during the NFPW government conference on Thursday, September 30, or Friday, October 1, 1993.

National Federation of Press Women is an association of more than 4,000 members in all phases of the media. I think it would be advantageous for you to talk with this group from across the country—a group that would be receptive to your comments and far more likely to be supportive of your great task than the large metropolitan media.

As you probably remember, you were very kind to host the National Press Women at the governor's mansion when the association held its convention in Little Rock in 1988.

I would be personally grateful if you could work it into your hectic schedule to meet with this association which has been snubbed by previous administrations.

Melvin and I extend our warm wishes to you on this day, your 47th birthday. It is easy for us to remember as yesterday was our 47th wedding anniversary.

We are very proud of your accomplishments and leadership, and as you know, you may always count on us to help in any way that we can.

With kindest regards,

Charlotte

Charlotte T. Schexnayder

*July
 u Schedule*

Scheduling

111 Center Street, Suite 1500
Little Rock, AR 72201
Telephone: (501) 372-5500
FAX: (501) 375-0512

TO: Nancy Kernovich
OFFICE: The White House
PHONE: 202-456-6610
FAX: 202-456-6703

FROM: Mary Ann Skelton
OFFICE: Arkansas Office
PHONE: (501) 372-5500
FAX: (501) 375-0512

I am sending 2 page(s), including cover page. Please call
Valencia Young if there are problems with receiving this fax.
Thank you.

MESSAGE: Nancy - Charlotte asked me to
get this to the President for her. As she
states in her letter a visit from the Pres.
to this group would surely gain her
support ^{for his program} on the grassroots level - Especially
in light of the fact that the previous
Administration has snubbed them.

Ford sees himself in healer's role

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN

RANCHO MIRAGE, Calif. — Much as he would like to have been elected president in his own right, Gerald R. Ford, who celebrates his 80th birthday today, is confident that history will record that he "healed America at a very difficult time."

In a birthday interview in his office in Rancho Mirage, former president Ford reflected on the highs and lows of his political life, including, as he puts it, "when the Watergate scandals and the Vietnam War had ravaged America."

Reviewing the accomplishments and setbacks of his 29 months in the Oval Office, Ford spoke of presidential leadership that he believes "turned things around after the experiences" of Watergate and Vietnam.

"I helped to re-establish a working relationship between the White House and Congress that had been ruptured by those two episodes," he asserted. "I consider this my greatest accomplishment."

Commenting on what he hopes his legacy will be, Ford said: "I'd like history to treat my presidency as one where I pulled the country together, and where I did restore public confidence in our federal government."

"I was able to reassure the American people that our country was sound, that we should lower our voices and respect one another in a quiet, responsible way."

A member of the U.S. House of Representatives for 25 years, Ford was elected to Michigan's 5th District in 1948 and subsequently won re-election every two years through 1972.

In October, 1973, he became vice presi-

PORTRAIT OF A FORMER PRESIDENT

dent — America's only appointed one — following Spiro T. Agnew's resignation. Ten months later he succeeded to the presidency after Richard Nixon resigned in August, 1974.

On his controversial pardon of Nixon, a month after taking office as the 38th president, Ford says, "My decision to pardon Mr. Nixon was one that I felt was right when I did it, and today I am more convinced than ever that it was the right decision. I'm pleased that recent polls tend to indicate the majority of Americans are now supportive of that decision."

NONETHELESS, he recalls that at the time, he didn't expect the "hostile reaction" to his move.

"It was one of the greatest disappointments of my presidency that everyone focused on the individual instead of on the problem the nation faced," he states. "I thought people would consider Richard Nixon's resignation from the presidency as sufficient punishment and shame. I thought there would be greater forgiveness."

Ford notes that there is a majesty to the office of the presidency that inhibits even close friends from saying what is really on their minds.

"You can tell them you want the blunt



Ford

truth, but the guarded response you get never varies," he adds. "And yet, the president — any president — needs to hear straight talk. He needs to be needled once in awhile, if only to be brought down from the false pedestal that the office provides ... and he needs to be reminded of this constantly if he is going to keep his perspective."

In his book, "A Time To Heal," Ford also wrote that throughout his political career nothing upset him more than bickering among members of his staff.

"It was time-consuming, terribly distracting and unnecessary," he pointed out. "I had told my aides I wouldn't tolerate it. But it continued, even accelerated, when I entered the White House."

REFERRING to public criticism of the Clinton White House, Ford says that he has "sympathy and understanding" for a president undergoing "periods of stress and turmoil, having gone through that myself."

"Bill Clinton needs to institute better and tighter management to straighten out his White House," Ford suggests. "I may not agree with his specific policies in a number of cases, but it saddens me that the White House management is not effective enough to carry out those programs in which the president believes."

After a taste of the presidency, Ford does not hide his disappointment at losing the 1976 election to Democrat Jimmy Carter.

"As you well know, I tried very hard to stay in the White House for four more years, but it didn't work out that way," Ford said, adding:

"Four more years would have given me a chance to do what I wanted most in government — to expand individual freedom from mass government, mass industry, mass labor and mass education."

Since he left the presidency 16½ years ago, Ford says he has "re-oriented myself to look down the road and find new challenges."

He has remained active, lecturing at scores of colleges and universities on issues such as Congressional-White House relations; federal budget policies and domestic and foreign policy. He continues to give speeches on behalf of Republican candidates, most recently endorsing Kay Bailey Hutchinson's successful bid to replace Lloyd Bentsen in one of Texas' seats in the U.S. Senate.



□ Ford

CONTINUED FROM 4A

In addition to fund raising for the Boy Scouts, United Way and the Betty Ford Center in Rancho Mirage, Ford serves on many corporate boards.

As a result of becoming president at a time of national crisis, with an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress, he recalls that he "struggled repeatedly" over such issues as government spending, presidential war powers and oversight of the intelligence community.

One of Ford's White House chiefs of staff, Richard Cheney, who later became Secretary of Defense in the Bush Administration, says that Ford "was there when the country needed him."

"His capacity to lead made it possible for him to restore people's confidence in their presidency and the government. He began the healing process in the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate and he showed what a determined president can do in the battle to control federal spending by his effective use of the veto."

FORD SAYS that in domestic affairs he advocated strengthening the economy and reducing the size and role of the federal government through cuts in taxing and spending, paperwork reduction and government de-regulation.

In foreign affairs, he says, his administration emphasized stronger relationships with U.S. allies and encouraged detente with the Soviet Union. It also began annual international economic summits, and negotiated the Helsinki Final Act, emphasizing human rights in East-West relations. The Ford administration initiated a Sinai accord to reduce tensions in the Mideast, and coordinated the final withdrawal of Americans and refugees from Indochina while the Vietnam War ended.

Today, despite the 1976 election, former presidents Ford and Carter are friends and have co-sponsored various conferences on world affairs at the Carter Center in Atlanta.

On the occasion of Ford's birthday, Carter salutes him for "providing for America an outstanding example of statesmanship."

Jimmy Carter adds: "I'm personally grateful for his friendship and for the collaborative spirit with which he has joined in our efforts."

Former President George Bush told me, "As Jerry Ford celebrates his 80th birthday he has my lasting respect. He is a wonderful human being whose decency and honor shine through. I learned a lot from him when I was in Congress, and I learned a lot from his presidency."

Associated with the American Enterprise Institute, one of Washington's leading conservative think tanks, Ford established the AEI World Forum, which he conducts annually in Vail, Colo. The forum attracts world leaders and business executives who discuss current international politics, trade and security issues.

And since the dedication in 1981 of the Gerald R. Ford Library in Ann Arbor, Mich., and the Gerald R. Ford Museum in Grand Rapids, Mich., Ford has held conferences at both, dealing with domestic and foreign issues.

An advocate of the North American Free Trade Agreement, Ford says he hopes the pact will soon be approved by the U.S. Congress.

"I know the serious economic consequences in the U.S. if NAFTA is defeated," he says. "It would be tragic if we fall back into a policy of protectionism with high tariffs and non-tariff barriers."

"NAFTA'S APPROVAL will produce more jobs and a better economy in the United States. Consumers in the United States, Canada and Mexico will receive lower prices with more competition. I believe that with reason and conviction and with leadership in the White House and Congress, we can enhance prosperity and growth in the U.S. and abroad."

About his past relationship with the media, Ford says, "I would have preferred different headlines and different comments on television, but when you're in the White House, you have to expect the bad with the good, and I got my share of both." He adds that some in the media "tended to downgrade my intellectual capacity" despite his impressive academic records at the University of Michigan and at Yale Law School.

"I was always able to challenge people with more academic degrees, and intellectually, to hold my own with them," he says. "I don't pretend to be an academic genius, but I believe I have more common sense than many intellectuals, so I think I have a healthy balance between a good mind and sound judgment."

Ford went on to say that there are other characteristics he wishes he had. "For example, I wish I were a better public speaker," he says. "Nothing is more important than the ability to communicate effectively."

He says he has always had a competitive spirit, having been reared during the Depression and learned "in my formative years that you don't always get what you want."

His main regret, he adds, is not having achieved his ambition of becoming Speaker of the House of Representatives.

YET, HE MAINTAINS that if he could relive his 80 years, he would make no major changes.

"I've had a wonderful life, a fulfilling life," he says. "I've always tried to improve myself, whether I was practicing law, serving as a congressman, as vice president or president, and after I left the White House."

"I've been very lucky both in my personal and professional life. My parents taught me to set goals and to live up to their high standards."

He is the only surviving member of the Warren Commission that investigated the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Ford contends that he has lost none of the zest for life that defined his earlier career.

"Probably," he says, "I have more enthusiasm today because of the care I take of myself."

He has recently undergone two successful total knee-joint replacements, and remains active, agile and alert. In addition to regular physical exercises, he often plays golf and swims a half mile each day.

"I don't drink or smoke and I follow a good diet," he says. "I have never felt healthier than I do today, and I expect to feel better and better."

As he turns 80, Gerald Ford says that one of his birthday wishes is that the Clinton White House and members of Congress will keep America "strong and prosperous" and that the United States will continue to promote a "broader global peace."

■ Trude B. Feldman, White House correspondent, covered Gerald Ford as Vice President and then President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



To: ~~Staff~~ ^{Nancy Hernandez} ~~Sady~~

President has seen and
asked copy to be
given to MACK.

rick





THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

23 AUG 25 P3:39

August 24, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: President William Clinton

FROM: Henry G. Cisneros

On occasion I will send along observations which I feel might be useful to you in making judgements. The following are a series of personal observations for you:

- Ann Richards*
1. As I write this memorandum, I am in flight returning from reporting to Governor Chiles and to the South Florida public concerning the Federal government's efforts to assist in rebuilding after Hurricane Andrew. The record we set forth is a positive one and the press coverage marking the date one year ago that the hurricane hit has been largely understanding of the scale of the job. You will not read much, if any, overt criticism of the Federal response.

In talking with Governor Chiles, he noted that you have not been into Florida as President. We both concurred that it is important to find the best circumstances for you to appear in Florida. It is an important state and one which Governor Chiles feels you could have won in 1992. I remember that you and I spoke about Florida last August and you felt it was still winnable then. My point is, Florida was in play in 1992 and should be cultivated for 1996. You know my feelings about preparing alternate electoral strategies in the event the California economy stays in its present doldrums the next few years.

All of this is to say that the biggest boost to South Florida's economic prospects and psychological attitudes in the last months was your successful nudging of DOD to keep some active presence at Homestead AFB. A Presidential appearance in association with Homestead is the right event for you in South Florida. Governor Chiles recommends it. My own sense is that the event should be sooner than later, perhaps around the anniversary of your visit there as a candidate last year, but certainly soon enough to prevent involving your visit in the statewide politics of 1994 which will begin in earnest this fall.

- Datto*
2. A similar concern about a big state's electoral votes prompts me to return to a conversation we had some months ago about Texas. You have not been to Texas and I feel you must before your absence is used to attack Ann Richards, the statewide

ticket, and Democrats in the state generally. Jose Villarreal and I feel that the perfect vehicle for you in Texas is NAFTA. Despite the way NAFTA plays in other states, it is 90% gold in Texas. Perhaps no other state in the U. S. will benefit as directly as Texas and that is widely recognized in all Texas cities and in all strata of Texas society. Not only would you champion a cause on friendly ground, but you would be righteously facing down Ross Perot in his backyard. You have to go to Texas sometime; may as well pick the issue and events of greatest advantage. No matter what any polls or politicians in Texas may say, this is your fight now and most Texans - including business - would see their President battling for something they support. If you are to invest the time, you should consider the major metropolitan areas, each of which expects to be a prominent trade center with Mexico (Houston, Dallas, San Antonio), and the border regions, which are already experiencing unprecedented growth in anticipation of NAFTA (Brownville-McAllen, Laredo, El Paso).

3.



I want to pass along to you my observations on a friend, Morihiro Hosokawa, who has become the new Prime Minister of Japan. About eight years ago as Mayor of San Antonio, I began building a trade and economic relationship with Japan and it resulted in a strong sister city relationship with Kumamoto City in Kumamoto Prefecture. Prime Minister Hosokawa was Governor of the Prefecture. I visited him annually or he visited San Antonio for several years. He had expressed his disaffection with the direction of Japan's national politics for some time and spoke of creating an alternate party. He is a believer in governmental reform and his tenure in Kumamoto was characterized by environmental innovation, administrative efficiency, and public improvements in transportation, infrastructure, and parks.

He has had a particularly keen interest in economic development. Kumamoto Prefecture today is dotted with technology and research parks, agricultural experiment facilities, trade centers, and investment in port and airport facilities. He supported the preparation of plans allowing traditionally poorer prefectures, far from Tokyo's centralized research and manufacturing centers, to participate in world trade and technological advances. As a result, Kyushu, the southern land mass on which Kumamoto Prefecture is located, is cited in Ezra Vogel's book, Comeback, as an example of economic transformation and diversification.

All of this fueled in then-Governor Hosokawa, a clear understanding of the importance of decentralization of the Japanese bureaucracy and a frustration with the system as it works now. You may wish to suggest on a future visit to Japan that he show you his home area around Kumamoto. I know he

would be proud to share with you a mutual history as governors as well as his ancestral roots. He is a direct descendent of Lord Hosokawa, a feudal chieftain who led the region over 400 years ago and whose castle, Hosokawa Castle, still dominates the skyline of Kumamoto City. Kumamoto is also the burial site of the great samurai Musashi, one of the most revered figures in Japanese samurai folklore. A trip there by you would be respectful as well as an opportunity to see the Japanese heartland beyond Tokyo and perhaps a productive place to conduct business with the Prime Minister.

He carries himself as a young man, athletic and slim. I have played tennis with him; he is much better and beat me soundly. He is serious and tends to be quiet. His face is that of a person more reserved than he probably is, perhaps in the Japanese way of formality, but he doesn't miss much and obviously knows how to seize the moment. You will like him, you will have much in common and you will share experiences and philosophies of governance.

- ✓ 4. I am told that you mentioned my son, John Paul's surgery at the National Governor's Conference as an example of the kind of academic and technological advances that must continue in American medicine. Mary Alice and I appreciate your remembering what has been for us a powerful family experience. He is doing well and, after a recent check-up, doesn't need to see the doctors again for three months. The doctors who operated on John Paul's heart at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia are the same ones who separated little Amy and Angela Lakeberg last week. What an amazing thing when the chances of a successful operation were originally listed in Chicago at 1%.

The doctor who operated on John Paul was Dr. William Norwood. He expressed such absolute, almost irrational, concern about what health care reform would mean for centers like Philadelphia's, that I asked him to put his thoughts down in writing. The result is the attached paper, prepared by Dr. Norwood and one of the other top pediatric cardiac surgeons in the world, Dr. Aldo Castaneda from Boston Children's Hospital. I am told by the hospital administrator in Philadelphia that Dr. Norwood feels he will have to move his center out of the U. S., probably to Rome, because of the forces, especially legal issues, which impinge on medicine today. I don't personally endorse every point he makes, but I thought you might benefit from reading his letter.

- Schubert 5. Finally, on a completely personal note, I know how much you enjoy the music of the African-American church tradition and how you have been respectful of the Catholic liturgy since your years at Georgetown. I have found a way you can enjoy

both at the same time. At the corner of 15th and V Streets in Washington is St. Augustine Church, the mother church of African-American Catholics in the U. S. Several months ago we went there on Sunday out of nostalgia, since my daughter was baptized there as a baby in 1971. We remembered St. Augustine's as a nearly empty central city church. What a transformation has occurred: a choir that has recorded its repertoire, jam packed racially-mixed Sunday services, lively community outreach in inner-city Washington, a spirited clergy and relevant homilies, and truly moving and meaningful worship services. We go there most every Sunday now and I always think of you because I know how much you would enjoy it. The pastor and lay board asked me to invite you. If it appeals to you some Sunday for 10:00am or 12:30 Mass, they would love to have you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/30/93

NOTE FOR: SANDY BERGER

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

August 11, 1993 P11: 24

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-30-93

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT:

National Endowment for Democracy

In response to your note on a recent *New York Times* editorial, this memorandum summarizes the status of our efforts regarding the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

NED was funded last year at \$30 million. Consistent with your emphasis on democracy and NED, your budget proposed increasing NED's funding to \$50 million.

On June 22, in a surprising 243-181 vote, the full House deleted all authorization for NED. Since then, our effort has been to secure a funding increase in the Senate. We believe we may be able to preserve such an increase in conference; at a minimum, we seek to protect NED from a budget cut or demise.

On June 29, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee marked up the State authorization bill with the full \$50 million authorized for NED. A full Senate vote on this bill is expected in September. On July 22, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved \$35 million for NED -- less than your request, but still a 15% increase. On July 28, following heavy Administration lobbying (including a letter from you), the Senate defeated by 74-23 an amendment to delete NED's funds from the appropriations bill.

We are working hard to secure support in conference for the \$35 million and to build support in the House (particularly among freshmen) to ward off another deleting amendment.

We do not endorse the idea proposed by the *Times* of putting NED under more direct government control. One of NED's advantages is that it can support activities related to countries, such as Vietnam, that would be difficult or impossible for a government entity to fund. Further, you have often cited NED as an example of how U.S. diplomacy can and should be people-to-people and not just government-to-government.

Attachment

Tab I Editorial

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Nor did the bank consult with the other republics or the International Monetary Fund as it promised

he's had a tough time making the point clear to Mr. Gerashchenko and company.

Fix, but Don't Kill, the N.E.D. THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/19/93

In a surprising turnabout in June, the House of Representatives voted to kill funding for the National Endowment for Democracy. By Washington standards, the money is trivial — \$48 million — but the principle is scarcely petty. Unless the Senate decides otherwise this week, it will mark the end of the N.E.D., which was established during the Reagan years to promote democracy abroad and is now supported by President Clinton.

Opponents charge that the endowment is a cold-war fossil whose mission has been compromised by its peculiar status as a private foundation using public funds. They point with alarm to dubious grants to right-wing trade unions or exile groups favored by one or another of four "core" intermediaries who make the grants — the Republican and Democratic parties, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. But one can acknowledge the point and still wonder if the right remedy is to scuttle the program rather than repair it.

Paul Kanjorski of Pennsylvania, who led the House rebellion, called the endowment "an insult to the Constitution" because it has provided tax mon-

ey to private groups to carry on foreign affairs. But there has long been a workable partnership in disaster relief, without anyone perceiving an insult. And the same House voted \$127 million to subsidize the overseas marketing of prunes, whisky, candy and fruit juice, a form of private sector partnership it found less offensive than helping democrats in post-Communist and third-world countries.

It is nevertheless true that the endowment needs a different structure. Mr. Clinton has defined promotion of democracy as one of the pillars of U.S. foreign policy. It is far better for both recipient and donor if American help is openly provided. Those aims could be achieved, and constitutional qualms met, if the N.E.D. was reborn as a fully public institution answerable to taxpayers through Congress or the President.

Why not give the N.E.D. a fresh charter under a blue-ribbon, publicly appointed board directly empowered to approve grants, thus removing private groups from the scene? That's a more promising approach than abandoning the field just when democrats elsewhere desperately need support.

Tony - can we save it? It's important -

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1993

19

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

08/30/93

DATE: _____

NOTE FOR: HOWARD PASTER

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

Information ☒ ☒ ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

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

cc: The Vice President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8-30-93

3 AUG 30 P2:08

August 30, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD BERMAN

I thought you would find interesting a conversation I had late last week with Howard Berman.

He said he had 250 angry and upset constituents at a town meeting, and I asked with great trepidation if it had to do with reconciliation, i.e. taxes. Actually, he reported, except for a couple of mild questions about retroactivity there were no questions about reconciliation and no concern about fuel taxes. The sources of the anger he said were crime and illegal immigration. On the former he said anything that puts more cops on the street is to be welcome. On the latter, he acknowledged the unique problems in Southern California, but also speculated the issue had currency elsewhere.

From a legislative perspective, this is a reminder that we have to expend resources on the crime and immigration bills in the coming weeks and months even while focusing on the big three of health, NAFTA, and reinventing government.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/30/93

NOTE FOR: DAWN FRIEDKIN

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

Information ☐

Action ☒XX

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 29, 1993

THE PRESIDENT - SEEN

08-30-93

10:30 A8:57

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIRST LADY

FROM: DAWN FRIEDKIN *DF*

SUBJECT: UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS ALUMNI REUNION RECEPTION

Leonard Strickman, Dean of the University of Arkansas, has written requesting that you host a White House reception for the alumni of the University of Arkansas during the annual Faculty Recruitment Meeting of the Association of American Law Schools in early November. Would you like to do this?

Although the request is for a White House reception, I believe that they will have a reception regardless, and I assume will inquire about your participation. Please advise me how to handle this request.

*g. d. x. in
an huc*

cc: Nancy Hernreich
Patti Solis
Mark Middleton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/30/93

NOTE FOR: ROBERT 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

THE PRESIDENT
08-30-93

83 AUG 27 P6:16

August 27, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *RE*

SUBJECT: Major Economic Speech

At some point during the three and a half hours of meetings we recently had on health care and NAFTA, Mandy Grunwald and Stan Greenberg strongly recommended that you give a major economic address early in September, pulling together all aspects of the Clinton Administration's comprehensive economic program.

In speaking with Mandy today, she and I both thought that we should remind you of that idea and reiterate the strong recommendation that this be done.

Laura Tyson, Alan Blinder and I are in the process of putting together a memorandum which includes all facets of your economic program, and this memorandum could provide the substantive basis for such a speech.

In addition to providing a comprehensive framework for the many initiatives now under way, your giving such a speech could help diffuse the notion that there is conflict among your initiatives and also among the people involved in the various aspects of your program. This framework, then, could be used by your surrogates, as they deal with the media over the months ahead, to explain how all these initiatives relate as parts of a whole.

I assume, in order to proceed on this, that you would talk with David Gergen, George Stephanopoulos, and others you feel are appropriate.

cc: David Gergen
Marcia Hale
George Stephanopoulos

Copy sent to
T. Schroeder
8/30/93
sew

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

23-Aug-1993 20:27 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Beth E. Sanner
(SANNER)

SUBJECT: Ukrainian adoption case, per Podesta's office

The U.S. government policy on adoption cases is that they are private legal matters and as such we do not get involved in specific cases. However, we have intervened with governments, including the Ukrainian government, over their general policy on adoptions.

On May 12, 1993, a moratorium on foreign adoptions was called for by the Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Chulinsky (the person to whom Senator Bumpers addressed his letter as Julinskiy). The Vice PM's office felt that existing adoption laws did not provide for control over the adopted child's fate. Specifically, there was concern that the child's ethnic heritage, language and religion, were not being preserved.

This moratorium was called despite the fact that decision making authority for foreign adoptions rests with the oblast (regional) administrators. In other words, it was a non-binding request pending the enactment of a new law. Some oblast's are heeding the call, others are not. The requested moratorium is expected to be in effect until Ukraine promulgates new adoption laws, not expected before the beginning of 1994.

Exceptions are granted by the Vice PM's office if: (1) the adoption processing began prior to May 12, 1993; (2) the adoptive parent's ethnic background is Ukrainian; (3) the child is considered handicapped; and (4) the adoption is in the child's best interest. I do not believe that all these are required in all cases.

If an oblast administration refuses to approve a foreign adoption, a request for an exception may be made. This appears to be what has happened here. The Bumpers' letter has sent to the right person in the Vice PMs office Ms. Vinogradova (you may want to note that she is a she if you respond by a phone call--the fax kept calling her Mr. Vinogradova, not possible). The request should be in writing, in Ukrainian, and authenticated by the Ukrainian Embassy in the U.S. You may want to make sure that this last part was done. They can call the Ukrainian Embassy (202)

333-7507. The request should include a history of the adoption agency's (or other adoption provider's) activities, a copy of its license, and copies of the would-be parent's home study, financial support documents and criminal background check.

I know this is a lot, but this is how these things are done. It looks as if the family is doing the right thing by enlisting the help of their Senator. This should be enough to push their case over the top, particularly because this adoption appears to have been in train for some time.

They can also contact the consular officer in our Embassy in Ukraine, Maria Rudensky, whom I have heard is very helpful (though of course limited in what she can do -- that is WE cannot ask her to work to resolve this case, we can only talk about adoption cases in general). The U.S. Embassy Ukraine number is (044) 279-0188 or 279-1485. The adoption person at State Dept. in Humanitarian Affairs is Beth Cooper, 647-3445. She is also quite helpful, though probably will repeat what I have told you.

Hope this overwhelming amount of information is helpful. We would not support a Presidential letter to Ukraine, for the record. (I'm not sure it would be legal in any case.)

Distribution:

FOR: Kristie A. Kenney	(KENNEY)
CC: Records	(RECORDS)
CC: R. Nicholas Burns	(BURNS)
CC: William H. Itoh	(ITOH)
CC: M. Kay LaPlante	(LAPLANTE)
CC: Helen L. Stauffer	(STAUFFER)

JAY BRADFORD

SENATOR
9TH DISTRICT

P.O. BOX 8347
PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS 71611



THE SENATE
STATE OF ARKANSAS

CHAIRMAN:
STATE AGENCIES & GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
VICE-CHAIRMAN:
JOINT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN & YOUTH
MEMBER:
PUBLIC HEALTH, WELFARE & LABOR
EFFICIENCY
JOINT BUDGET
JOINT LEGISLATIVE FACILITIES
ARKANSAS HEALTH RESOURCES COMMISSION

August 13, 1993

Mr. Trey Schroeder
Director of Personal Correspondence
for the President of the United States
c/o White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Trey:

Many people in our community are trying to assist Mr. and Mrs. Keith Conner of Pine Bluff in their endeavor to adopt two Ukrainian children. These children are now residing in an orphanage, and it is our information that they are at the top of the list to be allowed to immigrate to Arkansas.

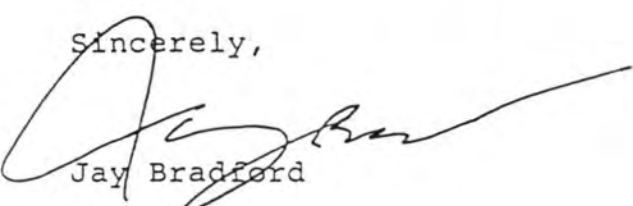
Evidently, the ruling leaders of the Ukraine have now put a moratorium on these types of adoption. However, they have said that any adoption in process will be completed.

As you know, there is a tremendous bureaucracy in government over there; and the Conners have been advised that it is imperative that they get letters from U. S. leaders encouraging the vice premier to allow this adoption to be completed.

Attached is a guideline that is recommended along with a letter from Senator Bumpers. Would you please have the President write a letter supporting this adoption.

By the way, the Conners are personal friends of mine. Mr. Conner is an officer at Simmons First National Bank, and he and his wife are leaders in our community. They literally have thousands of dollars of expense involved in this effort. They will be wonderful parents for these two children.

Sincerely,



Jay Bradford

JB:pc
Enclosures

■ Also Olga says that if each family gets a little letter from an office of a local Congressman or Senator it would help us A LOT! She talked to Ms. Vinogradova lately and that was her idea. Somehow Olga made her feel friendly and Mr. Vinogradova told her that she is very afraid of helping anybody to process adoptions at this moment. But if our american clients send a letter to Mr. Julinskiy (her boss who actionally issued the letter about the moratorium...) through an office of a local Congressman it would help her to have some official reason to help us to complete the adoptions which were caught in a middle.

Mr → Ms. Vinogradova says that it does not really matter what that letter says. As long as it has the US Congress (or the US Senate) header, names of the parents and the name of the child they are adopting, as long as there is the name of their Ukrainian attorney Mr. Vysotina, the letter is going to work.

I think that the parents should ask their congressmen's offices to write a small letter to Mr. Julinskiy. The letter should be about the fact that during the adoption process the families got tied to the kids, that they've seen the videos and know that the kids don't get much attention in the orphanages, that the care is poor and the supply is terrible, that children don't get much medical attention they need badly, etc.

I will take good care of having these letters translated. The letter has to be in two copies and addressed on the names:

- Mr. JULINSKIY, Nikolay Orlgorievich, vice-premier of the Ukrainian Government
- Mr. ■ Ms. VINOGRADOVA, Ludmila Dmitrievna, Head of the Department of Human Services

Sincerely,

 S. Nickols

1 Letter each to MR. Julinskiy & MS. Vinogradova

8-12-93 04:51 PM FROM L R SENATOR BUMPERS

ROBERT C. BYRD, VICE CHAIRMAN

DANIEL K. BROWNE, HAWAII
 EMMETT P. HOLLINGS, SOUTH CAROLINA
 J. BENNETT JOHNSON, LOUISIANA
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 CONRAD BUNGE, MONTANA

JAMES H. ENGLISH, STAFF DIRECTOR
 J. KEITH KENNEDY, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
 WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6025

August 12, 1993

Mr. Julinskiy, Nickolay Grigorievich
 Vice-Premier of the Ukrainian Government

Dear Sir:

I am writing at the request of my constituents, Mr. Raymond Keith Conner and his wife, Mrs. Donna Gandy Conner, regarding their efforts to adopt two Ukrainian children whose names are Olga and Oleg Mackogon. The two children are now residing in an orphanage in the Donetsk Region of the Ukraine.

I am one of two United States Senators who represent the State of Arkansas, and the Conner family resides in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Mr. Conner is an employee of the Simmons First National Bank in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and I have met him on several occasions. The family has complied with all the requirements of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service which has rigid requirements for bringing adopted children into the United States. I am confident that the Conner family will provide a fine home for the two children they seek to adopt.

I will appreciate your giving every consideration to granting the adoption of Olga and Oleg Mackogon to the Conner family. Thank you for the opportunity to express my concern and interest in this matter. If you have any question or desire any further information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Dale Bumpers
 Dale Bumpers

DB/pwp

Cron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: August 31, 1993

NOTE FOR: Christine Varney

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:

LAW OFFICES
SIEGFRIED, KIPNIS, RIVERA, LERNER & DE LA TORRE, P.A.

MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS
JOHN P. CHRISTENSEN
HELIO DE LA TORRE
PETER H. EDWARDS
JAMES F. HARRINGTON
ALAN G. KIPNIS
ELISABETH D. KOZLOW
LISA A. LERNER
H. HUGH MCCONNELL
OSCAR R. RIVERA
STEVEN M. SIEGFRIED
DANIEL DAVIS, P.E.
FORENSIC CONSULTANT

SUITE 1102
201 ALHAMBRA CIRCLE
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33134
DADE (305) 442-3334
BROWARD (305) 781-1134
FAX (305) 443-3292
BOCA RATON OFFICE
SANCTUARY CENTRE
4800 NORTH FEDERAL HIGHWAY
SUITE 301-A
BOCA RATON, FLORIDA 33431
(407) 395-0200

OF COUNSEL
KERRY A. GREENWALD
BOCA RATON, FLORIDA (407) 395-0200
HENRY PAUL JOHNSON
NAPLES, FLORIDA (813) 591-0133

MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS RODHAM
DATE: August 23, 1993
RE: HURRICANE ANDREW

I thought you would want to read up on the progress which has been made after Hurricane Andrew and the problems which still exist here. After all tomorrow is exactly one (1) year since Hurricane Andrew hit Miami.

ATTACHED 8/23/93 "Special Report"
on Hurricane Andrew from Miami
Herald with 8/23/93 Miami Herald
Article on same subject written by
Todd Hartman.

also - Article by David Satterfield
entitled "States Insurance Picture
Is A tangle of Uncertainty" AND "Prison
For AIDS inmates Reached" by: DAVID KIDWELL -
ALL MIAMI Herald. Ok per Terry Goad 8/31/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: HOWARD PASTER

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

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

cc:



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

*for
called him*

(313) 268-4444
August 17

SANDER M. LEVIN
17TH DISTRICT
MICHIGAN

To: President Bill and Hillary Clinton
From: Sandy Levin (and Vicki)
Re: Martha's Vineyard

Vicki, our four children, two spouses, three grandchildren (no pets) and I will all be together on Martha's Vineyard from August 21-29.

We will be having our annual August birthday bash for two of the "kids" and secondarily for me. Vicki, assisted by all the children who cook well and by me, who does not, will be putting together her customary dinner feast on August 22.

If there is any chance that you could join us briefly or otherwise, you would thrill six of your most ardent admirers and could get away from it all with three of the most engaging potential voters in America (2 1/2 years, four mo's and 2 mo's). Our phone number there is (508) 693-0659.

In any and all events, have a wonderful vacation. You truly deserve it. Warmest, Sandy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: PATTI COGDELL

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

August 19, 1993

THE PRESIDENT

8/31/93 JL

Memo to: Mr. President

From: Patti Cogdell
Media Affairs
X7150

Re: Birthday Greetings

Mr. President, the following radio stations called to wish you Happy Birthday and I wanted to forward them on to you.

WGR - Buffalo
Tom Regan, Lou & Karen

KFSO - Fresno
Jonathan Monk & Diane Kelly

L-Fox - Fresno
Bob & Doug - they also like the First Lady's hair style.

KLXZ - Salt Lake City
Don & John

KICK - Little Rock
Marc & the Boomer - also please jog by the radio station the next time your in L. R.

TKRY - Alberta Canada
Mark Campbell & Rich Humphries - called to sing Happy Birthday to you.

Randy and Bob Southerlin
San Pablo, Ca.

I would also like to add my own best wishes and I was thrilled to share your earlier staff birthday party with you and all the other staffers! What a deal a birthday party at the White House!

Wishing you, HRC & CVC the best of the best vacation!



attached

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: DAWN FRIEDKIN

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

August 30, 1993

03 AUG 30 P12:32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAWN FRIEDKIN *DF*

SUBJECT: VIDEO MESSAGES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SIGNED
8/31/93 db

The following are the videos suggested for the Friday, September 3 taping.

1. Southwest Literacy Council Conference
requested by: Carolyn Staley
2 minutes
2. Walt Disney World's Hall of Presidents
requested by: Howard Paster
1 minute (audio only)
3. United Way Annual Message
requested by: David Gergen
5 minutes
4. American Electronics Association
requested by: Alexis Herman
1 minute
5. International City/County Management Association
topic: address health care and welfare reform
requested by: Marcia Hale and Loretta Avent
2-3 minutes

cc: Nancy Hernreich
Stephanie Streett

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8-31-93

NOTE FOR: MACK MCLARTY
ROY NEEL

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 25, 1993

Memorandum to the President

From: Mack McLarty and Roy Neel

Re: Scheduling decisions, etc.

Attached is a list of scheduling updates and decision items for your attention and response. If convenient, Ricki Seidman can review this list with you and give Roy a response Friday or over the weekend, or we can debrief you early upon your return Monday. We will cover other, less time-urgent decisions early next week.

By the end of the day Ricki will have a detailed schedule for next week, for your use.

You should also know that, after careful consideration, we believe that Bill Daley's offices should be placed in the OEOP, to avoid his location becoming an issue. We have found limited OEOP space for that purpose.

Please call Roy at your convenience if you have questions.

Scheduling Highlights and Decision items, p. 1**Next week (August 30-Labor Day)**

Your public schedule should reinforce the theme of economic renewal with two major events- the "Summer of Service" (organized by the National Service office) and a proposed "School to Work" event (organized by Dick Riley and Bob Reich).

We are attempting to keep the rest of the schedule as light as possible to accommodate substantial briefings on health care, plus other possible sessions on Reinventing Government and NAFTA.

Monday, Aug. 30

8:30 am (or later, depending upon your return from Martha's Vineyard)...Interfaith Service at White House

11 am...Update by James Lee Witt on federal response to midwest flooding, with pool spray. James Lee will be announcing cost-sharing policy with Missouri and Iowa officials later in week, and it would be good to get this picture out on your first day back at work. We will try to hook up Sec. Espy by phone (he is in Mexico).

Decision: Agree to FEMA update? ☒ Disagree? ☐

As soon as possible on Monday...Schedule/communications briefing and update on our fall agenda planning process

Noon....Preparatory briefing for CARICOM Lunch and press availability (Caribbean Leaders, State Room)

Afternoon...in addition to routine office time, we have scheduled one hour for Secretary Aspin to brief you on the DoD "bottoms up" review.

Tuesday, Aug. 31

10 am...Summer of Service event, College Park, MD

Afternoon...Political meeting

5-8 pm...Health Care briefing

Wednesday, Sept. 1

10 am...FBI Director Freeh swearing-in at FBI Hqtrs., with possible brief tour of FBI Lab

3:30-5:30...Health Care briefing

6 pm....Labor reception at White House

Q: after last September next GO Deal

file update

Schedule Highlights, p. 2**Thursday, Sept. 2****10 am..."School to Work" event (proposed) for Bowie, MD**

Event, strongly recommended by Sectys Riley and Reich, would focus on your support for bipartisan legislative effort on worker training. You, Riley, and Reich would visit community college students (age 18-22) and graduates working as part of "Opportunity Skyway" program, receiving training in ground services, flight simulation, classroom flight instruction, maintenance and repair.

Decision: Can we proceed with organizing this event?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Needs further discussion ☐

Afternoon...Meeting with CIA officials, White House or Langley (you earlier agreed to go to Langley for this meeting, but we would discourage a second movement that would distract from the "School to Work" event.) We are attempting to move the CIA meeting to the White House or to reschedule so you can do the "walkaround" as planned.

Also requested (by NSC)...1/2 hr. meeting with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin (The Vice President is meeting with him much of that day. We are working with NSC to assess this use of time.

5-8 pm...Health Care briefing**Friday, Sept. 3****Noon...Lunch with Ambassador Albright****Afternoon...Receive new foreign Ambassador credentials (1 1/2 hrs, Molly Raiser's request)**

Your workday should be completed not later than 4 pm to enable you to leave for Camp David Friday afternoon.

Saturday, Sunday, Sept. 4-5...Camp David**Monday, Labor Day, Sept. 6**

We are canvassing for a potential event, and will have recommendations on Monday.

*Was an answer
to the question
about the
CIA meeting?*

*May be still
in the budget
meeting*

→ Prob. sup

Wry

Before I begin I want to know how
an army goes on (camping
from camp to camp) to begin
(not to finish) to begin
to begin (with her, do
something) (begin to
do something)

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINERELEASED: B. B. 2DTG: 27/19202

AUG 93

MESSAGE NO. 107 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL PAGES 15FROM WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

(NAME)

(PHONE NUMBER)

(ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION

Monday-Friday SchedulesTO (AGENCY)
MARTHA'S
NEW YORK

DELIVER TO

Kelly Craighead

DEPT/ROOM NO.

PHONE NUMBER

REMARKS:

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By DB NARA, Date 5/1/18

2018-0662-5

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1993

SCHEDULER:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4033
CELL PHONE: 202-494-9855

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4208

PRINCIPAL EVENTS:

- White House Interfaith Breakfast - White House
- Lunch/Press Availability with Caribbean Heads of State - White House

WEATHER:

Martha's Vineyard, MA

Mostly to partly cloudy; minimum temperature 57 to 62; maximum temperature 78 to 83; wind variable at 5 to 8 knots

Washington, DC

Partly cloudy and slightly cooler; minimum temperature 66 to 71; maximum temperature 83 to 88; wind southeast at 5 knots

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1993**

6:15 am	THE PRESIDENT , the First Lady, and Chelsea depart private residence via motorcade en route airport [drive time: 5 minutes]
6:20 am	THE PRESIDENT , the First Lady, and Chelsea arrive airport
6:35 am	THE PRESIDENT , the First Lady, and Chelsea depart Martha's Vineyard via Air Force 1 en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 1 hour, 20 minutes]
7:55 am	THE PRESIDENT , the First Lady, and Chelsea arrive Andrews Air Force Base
8:05 am	THE PRESIDENT , the First Lady, and Chelsea depart Andrews Air Force Base via Marine 1 en route White House [flight time: 10 minutes]
8:15 am	THE PRESIDENT , the First Lady, and Chelsea arrive White House
9:00 am- 10:00 am	WHITE HOUSE INTERFAITH BREAKFAST STATE DINING ROOM Talking Points: Carter Wilkie Staff Contact: Alexis Herman POOL SPRAY at beginning
10:15 am- 10:30 am	BRIEFINGS OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Tony Lake
10:30 am- 10:45 am	MEETING OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Roy Neel
10:45 am- 11:00 am	BRIEFING OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Steve Silverman
11:00 am- 11:30 am	FLOOD RELIEF MEETING OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Steve Silverman POOL SPRAY at beginning of meeting

11:30 am-
11:45 am

MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Mack McLarty

12:00 pm-
12:15 pm

BRIEFING on Caribbean Heads of State
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake

12:15 pm-
1:40 pm

LUNCH with Caribbean Heads of State
STATE DINING ROOM
Staff Contact: Tony Lake

12:15 pm Heads of State arrive
 NORTH PORTICO

12:25 pm The President arrives and is introduced to the Heads
 of State
 STATE DINING ROOM
 WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

12:35 pm- Lunch
1:40 pm **STATE DINING ROOM**
 CLOSED PRESS

1:40 pm The President and Heads of State proceed to East
 Room

1:45 pm-
2:00 pm

PRESS AVAILABILITY
EAST ROOM
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
OPEN PRESS

2:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT bids farewell to the Heads of State
NORTH PORTICO
CLOSED PRESS

2:15 pm-
4:00 pm

PHONE AND OFFICE TIME
OVAL OFFICE

4:00 pm-
5:00 pm

MEETING with Sec. Aspin and Joint Chiefs
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
PRESS??

5:15 pm-
5:45 pm

PLANNING MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Roy Neel

Handwritten:
→ The press
on this
MOR
CRJ

5:45 am-
6:00 am

MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Bob Rubin

6:00 am-
6:15 am

MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Carol Rasco

6:15 pm-
6:30 pm

MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Mack McLarty

BC AND HRC RON

WHITE HOUSE

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

TUESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1993

SCHEDULER:

JOSH KING

HOME:

202-328-7531

OFFICE:

202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER:

4450

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME:

301-565-3101

OFFICE:

202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER:

4208

WEATHER:

Washington, DC

tba

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
TUESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1993**

tba

JOG

9:00 am-
9:15 am

**BRIEFING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

9:15 am-
9:30 am

**BRIEFING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

9:30 am-
9:45 am

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Roy Neel**

10:00 am

THE PRESIDENT departs White House via motorcade en route
Summer of Service Forum, College Park, MD
[drive time: 30 minutes]

NOTE: Eli Segal will ride in the limo with the President and
brief him en route.

10:30 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives event site and proceeds to hold

Met by: William Kirwin, President, University of MD

10:30 am-
12:45 pm

**SUMMER OF SERVICE FORUM
STAMP STUDENT UNION
Campus Drive
College Park, MD
Staff Contact: Eli Segal**

10:45 am-
11:30 am

**Summer of Service Forum
COLONY BALLROOM
Stamp Student Union
Remarks: Alan Stone
OPEN PRESS**

-- WHCA announces the President, who is
accompanied by Sen. Mikulski

-- Sen. Mikulski welcomes audience

-- The President makes remarks

Brief Discussion on education, environment,
public safety, health care, and disaster relief

11:45 am- Meet and Greet with University officials
12:00 pm ROOM 2111
Stamp Student Union
CLOSED PRESS

12:15 pm- Walk Through of Summer of Service displays
12:45 pm COLONY LOUNGE
Stamp Student Union
CLOSED PRESS

12:45 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Summer of Service event via motorcade
en route White House
(drive time: 30 minutes)

1:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives White House

1:15 pm- **LUNCH / PHONE AND OFFICE TIME**
4:00 pm **OVAL OFFICE**

4:00 pm- **OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH** for muscular dystrophy
4:10 pm **OVAL OFFICE**
Staff Contact: Dan Wexler

4:30 pm- **MEETING**
4:45 pm **OVAL OFFICE**
Staff Contact: Carol Rasco

4:45 pm- **MEETING**
5:00 pm **OVAL OFFICE**
Staff Contact: Bob Rubin

5:00 pm- **MEETING**
8:00 pm **RESIDENCE**

8:00 pm- **MEETING**
8:15 pm **OVAL OFFICE**
Staff Contact: Mack McLarty

BC AND HRC RON

WHITE HOUSE

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1993

SCHEDULER:

STEPHANIE STREET
HOME: 202-332-5651
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4033
CELL PHONE: 202-494-9855

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS
HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4208

PRINCIPAL EVENTS:

- Swearing in of FBI Director Louis Freeh - FBI Building
- Reception - White House

WEATHER:

Washington, DC
tba

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1993**

JOG

tha

9:00 am-
9:15 am

**BRIEFINGS
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

9:15 am-
9:30 am

**BRIEFING for swearing in
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Michael Waldman**

9:45 am

**THE PRESIDENT departs White House via motorcade en route FBI
Building
(drive time: 5 minutes)**

9:50 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives FBI Building

10:00 am-
11:15 am

**SWEARING IN of FBI Director Louis Freeh
FBI BUILDING
Talking Points: Michael Waldman
Staff Contact: Michael Waldman
OPEN PRESS**

11:30 pm-
2:30 pm

**PHONE AND OFFICE TIME
OVAL OFFICE**

2:30 pm-
2:45 pm

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Carol Rasco**

3:00 pm-
5:30 pm

**MEETING
RESIDENCE**

6:00 pm

**RECEPTION with Labor Leaders
EAST ROOM
Staff Contact: Joan Baggett
CLOSED PRESS**

7:00 pm-
7:15 pm

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Mack McLarty**

BC AND HRC RON

WHITE HOUSE

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1993**

SCHEDULER:

JOSH KING
HOME: 202-328-7531
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4450

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS
HOME: 301-565-3101
OFFICE: 202-456-7560
WHCA PAGER: 4208

PRINCIPAL EVENTS:

- Announcement - Site tba, MD
- Official Photographs - White House

WEATHER:

Washington, DC
tba

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1993**

tba

JOG

8:30 am-
10:00 am

**CIA BRIEFING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

10:00 am-
10:15 am

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Roy Neel**

10:15 am-
10:30 am

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Carol Rasco**

10:30 am

THE PRESIDENT departs White House via motorcade en route event site
[drive time: 30 minutes]

11:00 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives event site

11:00 am-
12:00 pm

ANNOUNCEMENT of School to Work program
SITE TBA, MARYLAND
Staff Contact: Sylvia Mathews
OPEN PRESS

12:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs event site via motorcade en route White House
[drive time: 30 minutes]

12:30 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives White House

12:30 pm-
1:30 pm

**LUNCH
OVAL OFFICE**

1:30 pm-
3:45 pm

**PHONE AND OFFICE TIME
OVAL OFFICE**

3:45 pm-
4:00 pm

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Bob Rubin**

*Why?
Why in VA*

4:00 pm-
5:30 pm

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHS
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Dawn Friedkin

5:30 pm-
8:30 pm

MEETING
RESIDENCE

8:30 pm-
8:45 pm

MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Mack McLarty

BC AND HRC RON

WHITE HOUSE

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1993

SCHEDULER:

STETHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER: 4033

CELL PHONE: 202-494-9855

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 301-565-3101

OFFICE: 202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER: 4208

PRINCIPAL EVENTS:

- * Ambassadorship Credentials - White House
- * Official Video Taping - White House

WEATHER:

Washington, DC
tba

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1993**

tba

JOG

9:00 am-
9:15 am

**BRIEFING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

9:15 am-
9:30 am

**BRIEFING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

9:30 am-
9:45 am

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Roy Neel**

10:00 am-
10:15 am

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Carol Rasco**

10:15 am-
10:30 am

**MEETING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Bob Rubin**

10:30 am-
11:45 am

**PHONE AND OFFICE TIME
OVAL OFFICE**

11:45 am-
12:00 pm

**BRIEFING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Tony Lake**

12:00 pm-
1:00 pm

**LUNCH with Ambassador Albright
OVAL OFFICE DINING ROOM
Staff Contact: Tony Lake
CLOSED PRESS**

1:00 pm-
2:00 pm

**MEETING with Vice President Gore
OVAL OFFICE**

2:00 pm-
3:30 pm

**AMBASSADORSHIP CREDENTIALS
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Will Itoh
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY**

3:45 pm-
4:15 pm

OFFICIAL VIDEO TAPINGS
CABINET ROOM
Staff Contact: Dave Anderson
CLOSED PRESS

4:15 pm-
4:30 pm

MERTING
OVAL OFFICE
Staff Contact: Mack McLarty

tba

THE PRESIDENT, the First Lady, and Chelsea depart White House
via Marine 1 en route Camp David
[flight time: 35 minutes]

tba

THE PRESIDENT, the First Lady, and Chelsea arrive Camp David

BC, HRC, CVC RON

CAMP DAVID

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 18, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE *MLH*
DAWN M. FRIEDKIN

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING

The attached planning calendar is our proposal for your schedule for the next few months. As you will see, it includes the plan for the roll out of health care and NAFTA, fundraising commitments and other historically presidential events as well as the other many scheduling requests and commitments that have been made.

The block calendar is a pictorial reflection and is accompanied by a list of scheduling items that need to be discussed before incorporating them into the block.

I would like to confirm as much of this as possible in an effort to make the transition for the new scheduler as smooth as possible.

August 1993

Planning Schedule - Not Official

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12 Pope	13 Alameda, CA Roemer Event	14 Vail
15 Vail	16 Tulsa	17 Fayetteville	18 Fayetteville	19	20	21
				Vacation		
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Vacation						
29 Return to DC	30 WH Interfaith Service CARICOM Lunch	31 Summer of Service Summit-College Park, MD				

NOTE: For Planning Purposes Only

8/17/1993

September 1993

Planning Schedule - Not Official

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1 Labor Event Regulatory Review Signing	2 2:00pm CIA visit Lunch VP Photo-ops	3 Lunch Amb. Albright Ambassador Credentialed	4
					Little Rock	
					Congressional Recess	
5	6 LABOR DAY	7 Elders swearing-in Kick-Off RIGO	8 DP Council CEO Lunch (Patricoff) DNC Reception	9 Economic Speech Lunch VP Photo-ops Kennedy Center Satellite Literacy Found. (Staley)	10 Military departure photos PPD depart photos National Service Philly -Editorial Writers	11
	Little Rock					
	Congressional Recess					
12	13 Lunch/Press Australians Rep. Murtha	14 NAFTA Kick-Off	15 CEO Lunch Health Care	16 Lunch VP Photo-ops Health Care Lead-up Events begin	17 Prime Minister Ciampi Health care	18 AIDS Walk Health care
19 Meet the Press Healthcare	20 Health care	21 Health care Joint Session	22 Health care Travel	23 Lunch VP Photo-ops Health care Travel	24 Health care Travel	25
	House/Senate Health care					
26 6:30pm Dinkins Event NYC	27 10:00am Address UN General Assembly 6:30pm UN Recpt. Dinner	28 Health Care IMF Speech	29 CEO Lunch Health Care	30 4:00pm Gen. Powell Recpt Cabinet Meeting Mellon Dinner		

NOTE: For Planning Purposes Only

8/17/1993

October 1993

Planning Schedule - Not Official

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
					1 Mil. depart photos PPD Depart photo *Ambass. Credentials	2
3 Supreme Court Dinner (choose)	4 Supreme Court Dinner (choose) AFL-CIO Speech, CA	5 DSCC Dinner	6 CEO Lunch Domestic Policy Council WH Fellows Poets Dinner	7 Lunch VP Photo-ops California AFL-CIO Speech, CA	8 Florio Event	9 Yale Lunch
					Yale Law School Reunion	
10 Yale Law School...	11 Clinton's anniversary	12 Bicentennial Day UNC	13 CEO Lunch	14 Lunch VP Photo-ops DNC Recept. (Trustees)	15 Lunch Pres. Demirel	16
17	18	19	20 CEO Lunch	21 Lunch VP Photo-ops DNC FR/DC	22 Cabinet Meeting Lunch Pres. Gonzalez	23
24	25	26 MRS. CLINTON'S BIRTHDAY Prime Min. Mitsotakis	27 CEO Lunch	28 Lunch VP Photo-ops	29 DNC FR Boston Opening of JFK Museum, MA	30 Ford's Theater Reception
31						

NOTE: For Planning Purposes Only

8/17/1993

November 1993

Planning Schedule - Not Official

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2	3 NAFTA	4 NAFTA	5 *PPD Depart Photos *Ambass. Credentials NAFTA	6
7	8	9	10 CEO Lunch Domestic Policy Council	11 Lunch VP Photo-ops	12	13
14	15 Cabinet Mtg.	16	17 CEO Lunch CDF gala	18 Lunch VP Photo-ops WETA-WH event	19 APEC Summit	20 APEC Summit Feinstein
21	22	23	24 CEO Lunch	25 THANKSGIVING	26	27
28	29	30				

NOTE: For Planning Purposes Only

8/17/1993

December 1993

Planning Schedule - Not Official

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1 10:00am Tree presentation and coffee CEO Lunch	2 USO Christmas Celebration Photo-ops	3 *PPD depart photos *Ambass. Credentials DNC CA FR	4
				DLC Conference		
5 Caroling Open House on WH lawn	6 9:00am Press Preview 10:30am Coffee w/ decoration volunteers Congressional Ball	7 1:00-5:00pm Seniors Tour Reception	8 CEO Lunch Domestic Policy Council	9 5:00pm Pageant of Peace Lunch VP Photo-ops Christmas on the Ellipse	10 1:30-3:00pm Cong. Staff/Family Tour 3:00-5:00pm Members Tour 7:00-9:00pm WH BOP Staff Tour	11 1:30-7:00pm USSS Military Open House
12 1:30-7:00pm WH BOP Open House NBC Christmas Event Christmas in Washington (TV Special)	13 12:30pm Local School Children party 4:00-6:00pm Police USSS Tour Moynihan FR	14 2:00-4:00pm Handicapped Tour Reception	15 2:00-4:00pm WH Volunteer Open House 6:00-8:00pm DNC Appointees Open House CEO Lunch	16 3:00-5:00pm Diplomatic Tea 6:00-8:00pm Social Supervisor Tour Lunch VP Photo-ops	17 Cabinet meeting Reception	18 Air Force One Christmas Party Reception
19 Christmas Bruch Reception	20 Reception	21	22 CEO Lunch HRC Staff Tea WH Residence Staff Recp.	23 Lunch VP	24 Family Dinner	25
26 Candlelight Tour	27 Candlelight Tour	28 Candlelight	29 CEO Lunch	30 Lunch VP	31	
			Renaissance Weekend			

NOTE: For Planning Purposes Only

8/17/1993

January 1994

Planning Schedule - Not Official

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Foreign Trip					
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25 State of the Union	26	27	28	29
30	31					

NOTE: For Planning Purposes Only

8/17/1993

The following is a break-down of the first two weeks of September.

week of August 30

It is my understanding that you will return from vacation on Sunday the 29th. While you have a public event every day this week I have resisted efforts by others to schedule additional events.

Monday, August 30: This week begins with a morning interfaith service at the White House on Monday. You will then have lunch with the Caribbean leaders (CARICOM).

Tuesday, August 31: You will participate in the Summer of Service Summit at the University of Maryland, College Park. This event will take from 10:00 am to 2:00 pm.

Wednesday, September 1: The Vice President has requested that you sign the regulatory review bill. You are tentatively scheduled to attend the swearing-in of Director Freeh at the FBI in the morning. You and the First Lady will host a labor reception in the early evening at the White House in honor of Labor Day.

Thursday, September 2: You need to receive a briefing from the CIA (we postponed this due to the budget vote earlier this month.) It would be greatly appreciated (by the CIA) if you would be willing to travel to Langley to receive the briefing and meet with employees of the agency. You will also have the usual Thursday photo-ops with the Epilepsy Foundations Winning Kid, the 1992 Nobel prize recipients and the Presidential Scholar from Maine who was unable to participate in the White House ceremony earlier this summer due to a car accident.

Friday, September 3: Both of the items reflected on this day are tentative. First, there is a serious backlog of ambassador credentials and we would like to get some of them done before health care begins. The lunch with Ambassador Albright is to allow her to brief you on her month as President of the UN. I believe you plan to spend Labor Day weekend in Little Rock. We need to discuss what you will do on Labor Day.

Saturday/Sunday -- off

week of September 6

Monday, September 6: LABOR DAY - Little Rock or Labor Day event.

Tuesday, September 7: Kick-off the Reinventing Government plan.

Wednesday, September 8: You will host the Patricoff Group CEO Lunch. This was cancelled in August. You will also meet with the Domestic Policy Council and then finish the day with a DNC reception.

Thursday, September 9: I am told you want to deliver a major economic speech this week. I have several invitations that might provide a forum. There is a conference at MIT that involves 500 CEO's (some international) and the Business Roundtable is meeting in Washington this week. Whichever forum is decided upon you will need to return in time for photo-ops and the Kennedy Center White House reception and concert. Photo-ops include members of the Negro Baseball League and Reggie Jackson and the winners of the Campus All-Star Challenge Program. Please note that the baseball photo-op had to be cancelled during the summer due to the timing of the budget reconciliation vote.

Friday, September 10: You will do your monthly time of military and PPD departure photos. The National Service bill is tentatively scheduled to be signed and you have been invited to travel to Philadelphia to meet with the major editorial writers from across the country. Please note that this could also be done on Saturday. If it is possible to hold the Mezvinsky event this day then meeting with the editorial writers might make sense.

Saturday & Sunday/ September 11&12: off

There are several events later in September that I need to discuss with you. The most important is the opening of the UN General Assembly in NYC on September 27th. You have been committed to giving the opening speech of the Assembly for months. We need to discuss how much of that day you are willing to spend meeting with other heads of state and Molly Raiser needs an answer on whether or not you intend to hold a reception/dinner for all of the visiting heads of state -- it is traditional for the President to do so.

We have made a commitment to Mayor Dinkins that you will appear at a fundraiser for him in NYC sometime this Fall. It makes the most sense for you to do this on Sunday, September 26th as you need to be in NYC for the Assembly the following morning. You could fly to NYC late Sunday afternoon and do the Dinkins fundraiser that evening.

While it is important to confirm these events I have been hesitant to do so until the timing of our legislative proposals have been worked out. Please note that if the Health Care Joint Session speech slips by a week you might want to consider doing less in NY. We need to discuss this and a few other upcoming events.

The following are all items that I feel need to be discussed before they are officially scheduled. Thus, none of the following are reflected on the planning block calendar. As you will notice, some of them are simple decisions and only require a small time commitment, however, there are also large policy related events.

Senator Breaux's NAFTA conference (Sept.)

Justice Marshall Medal of Freedom ceremony (Sept.)

Senator Riegle, Senator Bingaman, Governor Florio, Governor Miller fundraisers [NOTE: The plan would be to incorporate these into a trip for health care.]

meeting with the National Farmers Union (Sept.)

Meet the Press from the White House [NOTE: They plan to devote the entire program to your interview. The suggested time is the Sunday before the introduction of Health Care.]

golf with Rep. Barbara Kennelly (Sept.)

ceremony honoring the striking of the Ben Franklin medal (Senator Biden) (Sept.)

Fire Prevention Week (possible coordination with Ben Franklin medal) (Hoyer Sept. 9)

taping for Disney robot

meeting with the families of the victims of Pan Am 103 requested by: Lake

National DARE Day (Sept. 9)

Drug-free Schools White House event (Sept. 14)

sign proclamation for Hispanic Heritage Month (Sept. 15)

photo-op with the PGA U.S. Team before they depart for the Ryder Cup [NOTE: This would need to be done at 8:00 am before they leave for London] (Sept. 20)

presentation of the Henry Jackson Award to Tom Foley (Sept. 28)

meeting with Patriarch Alesky II (Lake) - [10 minutes] (Sept. 29 - 30)

Arkansas Annual Fall Catfish Fry at the White House requested by: Arkansas State Society (October)

Let's do
this
first

Congressional Hispanic Caucus Issues Conference (Oct.
1)

WSJ's 1993 Conference on the Americas in New York City
(Oct. 28 - 29)

meet with the author of Virginia Kelley's book while in
Arkansas over Labor Day

meeting with Sen. George McGovern