

9/7

no
copies
to anyone
per JP
— JW

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT, HRC
FROM: PAUL BEGALA
RE: LESSONS FROM THE BUDGET BATTLE
DATE: SEPTEMBER 5, 1993

SEP 7 All: 23

As we shift into full gear on the health care campaign, I thought it might be useful to revisit some of the lessons I believe we should have learned from the political and communications mistakes in the budget battle. Needless to say, this list is by no means exhaustive.

1. DEFINE SUCCESS IN TERMS OF PRINCIPLES, NOT POLICIES OR TIMING: Because we did not begin the budget battle with a clear articulation of principles we were seen as caving in at every turn. It wasn't until the President's speech in Milwaukee (which was in June) that we even began to rank-order our budget goals, and even then we confused matters of policy detail (like what collection method should be used in an energy tax) with general principles. By the end of the budget battle we were better. We could point to five principles the President would not budge on -- and define our victory.

On health care the tendency has been to define victory by timing. Because so many in and out of the Administration have whispered about delaying health care, too much of our public discussion of success has centered on timing. Hence, pushing back the start date from May 15 to June and now to September 22 is seen as a retreat. Others are too hung up in the debate over whether it will pass this year or next -- a Christmas Eve signing ceremony or an Easter celebration. So long as the American people know this President has a passionate commitment to health care reform, and is willing to fight hard on matters of principle, timing should not define success or failure.

2. COMPROMISE LATE: We began compromising on the economic plan even before it was unveiled. I remember sitting in on sessions in the Roosevelt Room in which we backed off on a variety of proposals in anticipation of Congressional opposition. The problem was, we never even waited for the opposition to materialize. We didn't enter into the budget with the view that it was a negotiation; we proposed something far closer to what we thought would be our final position. Anticipating the points of opposition is wise; accommodating all of them before the bill is even filed is not.

The early compromise on the minor issue of Western grazing

fees sent a powerful signal (it didn't matter that it was inaccurate) that this Administration would cave on anything.

3. TALK ABOUT SUBSTANCE, NOT PROCESS: In the budget debate, too much of our public rhetoric was about the process: the legislative challenges and timing, the deals we made to secure votes, the compromises we would or wouldn't make. There was too much of a sense of watching sausage being made. We would have been better served by clearer and more consistent rhetoric defining the plan. The media will always cover process, but we should resist becoming part of that problem. The American people want their President to be above the Congressional fray; let staff people analyze process, you articulate principles.
4. BELIEVE IN WHAT YOU'RE DOING: This Administration is far too honest to be able to convince people we believe in something when we don't. The American people picked up a lack of happiness with what the economic plan was becoming as it moved through the process. Too many comments from us began with "...This plan is far from perfect..." or "No one will agree with every aspect of this plan..." or "I'm open to more changes/spending cuts from Congress."

On health care, the American people trust the President, the First Lady and the Democratic Party. Let's build on that confidence by constantly assuring folks this is a good plan.

5. ENFORCE DISCIPLINE: Since this is a confidential memo (which means it probably won't be leaked to the Washington Post for three days instead of the usual one) I want to address a touchy subject: enforcement. Too often in the budget debate Administration officials said and did things that undermined our own efforts. This Administration is simply far too tolerant of public criticism of the President and his efforts by those who owe their jobs to the President. That lack of discipline encourages carping and challenges from the Hill. There is just too little fear of retribution out there. No one suggests going back to the paranoia of Nixon and his enemies list, but swift and sure punishment of those who would undermine our efforts will deter others and bolster the good soldiers whose legs are cut out from them.
6. CENTRALIZE COMMAND, CONTROL AND COMMUNICATIONS: When we finally, belatedly, established the War Room for the budget, things got better in a hurry. The three keys to the War Room's success were rapid response/research, talking points and surrogate coordination. At the least I would recommend centralizing the scheduling of all surrogates in one place. If each of your initiatives has equal claim on the time of

your surrogates, we'll have a train wreck. A Surrogate Czar is a must. Marla was terrific in the War Room, but for the coming months we need someone who won't be seen as playing favorites. I nominate Gearan: he's senior, loyal and understands communications. I'd require that all requests for surrogates be channeled through him.

ELVIS LIVES

GS-let's since - need
a strategy for dubbing
him (perhaps by someone
else) to Cong. - at least
to liberal & to liberal
progressive committees -
and to appropriate
labor & pro-labor -

HE SENT YOU THIS MEMO

- due to function - Bc

To: The President
 From: Sec of Lab Robert Rich
 An encumbrance.

Port: Noise, Complaint

The Left's Obsessive Opposition

Richard Rothstein

My liberal friends are being too harsh on Bill Clinton. I am not uncritical of administration policies: I have objected in print to its overemphasis on human capital as an economic cure and to its reluctance to embrace forthrightly the labor movement. I believe its NAFTA side agreements don't go nearly as far as they should. Still, I admire this administration. I credit its good faith and basic progressivism and fear the increasingly sour tone of the liberal left will only backfire.

I have in mind two unfortunate patterns. First, Clinton's liberal critics forget the narrowness of his mandate; they are too quick to blame the absence of a strong working liberal majority in Congress on alleged lack of presidential leadership. Second, they fall into the familiar liberal habit of making the good the enemy of the best.

Perhaps liberals who have spent their entire lives in bitter opposition to Democratic and Republican presidents alike have no instincts on which to draw when a progressive leader, under siege, needs their support. If so, this almost rote need to oppose by some on the left is but the latest tragic consequence of the Vietnam War. Other liberals are sympathetic to Clinton but fear that his program and hence his presidency will fail; they attack him as pragmatists rather than as ideologues. But their carping still reinforces public cynicism and makes his task more difficult.

Liberals already owe Clinton a big debt. In 1991, when he began to plan his candidacy, Bush was considered a cinch for reelection. No other Democrat with national stature—not Richard Gephardt, not Mario Cuomo, not Lloyd Bentsen—was willing to run in a year when a Democrat was sure to lose. Some preferred to wait until 1996 when Democrats might have a

fighting chance. Others did get into the race—Tom Harkin, Bob Kerrey, Paul Tsongas—but they were the Democrats' second string.

Bill Clinton, though, came from the party's starting lineup—the nation's senior governor and widely regarded as the most talented. He headed the governors' education task force. He chaired the Democratic Leadership Council, helping to move it from the right to the center of the party. He had keynoted the 1988 Democratic convention. Clinton did not need to run in 1992 to position himself for 1996.

Why did Clinton declare for president in a year when Democrats were sure to lose? With a passionate belief that the country had to throw off Reagan and Bush, perhaps he felt compelled to run, regardless of personal or political cost. (A highly probable loss would likely have ended his political career.) Or it may have been that Clinton, alone among Democratic leaders, understood America well enough to realize that

Bush could be beaten, Desert Storm notwithstanding. So whether he ran because of a combination of personal sacrifice and political nerve or because he's smarter than the rest of us, he's entitled to more credit, and his judgment to more deference, than most liberals are now willing to give.

Few liberals understood Clinton's campaign. His most important thrust was insistence on nonracial universal programs to improve economic security for all Americans, white and black together—because white voters would support such programs from self-interest, not a sense of racial obligation. This Clinton stance was incontrovertible, notwithstanding the condescension with which the media characterized his "New Democrat" approach or the references by liberal cynics to the candidacy of "white boys." During the primaries, few appreciated the significance of Clinton's African-American vote majorities, which consistently helped him beat other Democrats who made explicit promises of racially compensatory programs. It was obvious that black voters did not want to be patronized—they wanted to win. California congresswoman Maxine Waters made this clear when she signed on as cochair of the Clinton campaign, but many liberals still didn't get it.

Clinton insisted that a truly populist program had to be directed at the broad "middle class," not at segmented interest groups like seniors, Latinos, African-Americans, or blue-collar workers. He urged these groups to transcend identity-interest-group politics by thinking of themselves, in common, as middle-class voters being taken advantage of by the rich. A Southerner, Clinton understood better than most that race is America's most difficult problem and that Democrats have not addressed it successfully by patching together programs that independently appeased each coalition constituency.

When it first seemed that Clinton might have a chance to win, many progressives had modest expectations. If, it was often said, Clinton did no more than make Supreme Court appointments who upheld

"choice," he would earn enduring loyalty. This alone was sufficient to mobilize liberals to work, contribute, and bumper sticker their cars for Bill Clinton.

Governing Without a Mandate

Clinton was elected with 43 percent of the vote. In retrospect, it is clear that most Perot voters were Republicans or fiscal conservatives and that the Reagan-Bush era ended with the narrowest of margins. Clinton's mandate was an inchoate desire for "change," for a focus on the economy, rather than an explicit call for specific programs.

Nonetheless, many liberals quickly forgot the vagueness of the mandate, the narrowness of the base, the early improbability of victory, and the original modesty of their own expectations. Instead, liberals have convinced themselves that voters expressed clear support for sweeping jobs programs, single-payer health insurance, or ending discrimination against gays. Many liberals pretend there is a congressional majority for these initiatives, if only the right presidential speech were made. And, they insist, these programs have failed only because Clinton has suddenly lost his political skill, has no courage, or surrounds himself with the wrong advisers.

The economy is stagnant, the recovery is jobless, and low interest rates alone clearly won't stimulate private investment if there is a shortfall of demand. More public investment is needed for both stimulus and for technological advance. When economists at Clinton's December economic summit thus proposed a \$60 billion stimulus package, liberals cheered. When Clinton suggested that \$30 billion might be viable, they began to suspect the clarity of the president-elect's vision. When the President concluded that he couldn't get more than \$16 billion through Congress, liberals groaned at the token-ness of it all. Then, Republican leader Bob Dole organized a filibuster to defeat even that small program. Liberal critics complained improbably that the program failed because it wasn't big enough to inspire support.

Several progressives have argued that the failure of the public investment agenda will haunt him politically, since the economy will not be healthy by the next national election. They assert that the mildly contractionary budget may cause Democrats to lose seats and a Senate majority in 1994, and perhaps the presidency itself in 1996. While they may be correct, none have convincingly explained how to conjure the 60 votes needed to keep a stimulus program from being filibustered to death.

On the other hand, Clinton has demonstrated a keen feel for the country's mood, so his political judgments should not be dismissed so easily. While a slow economy could yield a Democratic debacle, Clinton could also rout the Republicans. Clinton's one-vote budget victories in the House and Senate may yet be seen as courageous, while revealing the lack of a Republican program beyond protecting the rich and exposing Ross Perot as shallow and hypocritical.

Further, while liberals appropriately scorn the notion that deficit reduction might spur a recovery led by low interest rates, a deflationary budget might keep interest rates from rising and thus help establish more propitious background conditions. Mortgage interest rates, for example, are at a 23-year low, a fact for which Clinton might legitimately claim partial credit.

Substantively, the president has negotiated a program more progressive than liberals give him credit for, and the reality of its progressivity may yet penetrate public consciousness. The most truthful criticism of the budget was conservatives' insistence that the plan reduces deficits only slightly—because the biggest spending cuts in this five-year plan won't take effect until after 1996. It's hard to see how that would be severely contractionary in the short run. If the economy is still (or is again) stagnant, spending cuts will likely be reversed. The budget plan's essence is not deficit reduction but an immediate restructuring of federal taxes to redistribute income from

rich to poor. Liberals' stubborn reluctance to credit this is self-defeating.

A Progressive Budget

Liberal critics of deficit reduction rely on the Keynesian truism that when unemployment is high, government should spend more than it collects so the economy will be "stimulated." Deficit reduction could hurt job growth by taking more purchasing power out of the economy than it puts back in via lower interest rates. While this rather stylized theory is valid, liberals should remember another Keynesian truism as well: low-income consumers have greater "propensity to spend" than high-income people. Since the poor are more likely to spend dollars and less likely to save them, income redistribution is "stimulative," even if net government spending is unchanged.

With these principles, take a realistic look at Clinton's budget. About \$24 billion of new revenues, raised mostly from taxes on the rich, will go to the poor, in the form of additional food stamps, a child immunization program, and an expanded earned income tax credit (EITC), a program where low-income families can claim a federal tax reduction or subsidy. A family headed by a full-time minimum-wage worker (earning \$8,840 a year) with two children, for example, will get a subsidy of \$2,528 for 1994 under the Clinton budget, a 27 percent increase over current law. By 1996, this subsidy will grow to \$3,370, plus an automatic inflation adjustment. This is the beginning of nonpunitive welfare reform, since the EITC rewards the poor for working; it does not create social service bureaucracies, but fights poverty by increasing poor people's income. And since the poor are more likely to spend it quickly than the rich, the EITC expansion is stimulative.

Clinton's emphasis on the EITC should give pause to critics who didn't notice what he was up to until the fight was over. Clinton's original budget proposed extending EITC eligibility to those with incomes up to \$30,000. This proposal was resisted

even by Congressional liberals who felt that Clinton's EITC would cover families well above the poverty line and become another indefensible government expenditure. Clinton, however, insisted on a high cutoff, eventually settling for \$27,000. This assured a "middle-class tax cut" for families below that income level, more than offsetting the gasoline tax increase. More important, support for what has become the government's biggest antipoverty program is now anchored in the lower middle class, voters whose opposition to antipoverty expenditures can otherwise be anticipated.

Clinton's insistence on high eligibility has already paid off. In the final days of the House budget debate, the administration distributed data detailing for each wavering congressperson the number of middle-class voters in his or her district who would get a tax break. It provided the votes needed for victory. One typical wavering Democratic congressman reportedly decided to support the budget only after White House lobbyists demonstrated that 1,300 households in his district earn more than \$180,000 and would now have to pay higher taxes; but 51,000 households would be eligible for increased EITC subsidies. Even in California, with its legions of professionals and entrepreneurs, only 300,000 upper income households will pay more, while 2 million households will get a higher subsidy.

Many of those eligible (perhaps as many as 20 percent), however, don't file for the EITC. The nonfilers are mostly the very lowest earners, who are entitled to a cash EITC subsidy. Some (household service workers, for example) may not file because they deliberately avoid the social security system, but others are unfamiliar with the program or intimidated by the paperwork. Food stamps, also expanded by the Clinton budget, has even higher nonparticipation rates, about 40 percent of those eligible. Forecasts of the budget's contractionary effects assume this nonparticipation will continue. Herein lies an opportunity. What if liberals, instead of blasting Clinton for being insufficiently progressive, helped

turn this budget into a more stimulative package? They could help do so by supporting educational campaigns to assist families in applying for food stamps and filing EITC forms. If all those eligible were to file for the EITC for the 1994 tax year, budgetary assumptions would crumble. Some \$5 billion of extra economic stimulus might be pumped into the economy, helping the budget better to fulfill liberals' goals.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities conducts such a campaign to inform the poor of their EITC rights. If progressives truly want the Clinton presidency to succeed, if they want to even a score with Senators Dole, Boren, Nunn, and the like, joining this effort is a worthy project. The center's phone number is (202) 408-1080.

Kind Cuts

Some of the budget's cuts are less contractionary than they seem. One reduces administrative costs of college loans because of a Clinton demand, partially implemented, that students be able to borrow directly from government without bankers' skimming fees off the top. This reform was won after a bitter fight with the banking industry over the principle of universal middle-class entitlement to higher education.

Another big "spending cut" is less interest paid on the national debt because interest rates are expected to stay low. This is not the kind of contractionary budget reduction that Keynesians fear. Federal interest payments go mostly to wealthy bondholders with low "propensities to spend," so reducing these payments does not have the negative impact on private purchases that, say, laying off construction workers from canceled highway projects would cause. Because of this, deficit reduction is less harmful to job growth than it first appears. Think about the reverse: nobody would argue that a good way to stimulate the economy would be to raise interest rates to force higher government expenditures for debt service!

Consider the biggest domestic budget

cut: reduced payments to doctors and hospitals under the Medicare program. This cut wasn't seriously fought by senior citizen advocates because the elderly will not likely suffer much; rather, hospitals will shift charges to insurers of other patients. As seniors' lobbyists knew, if Clinton gets his national health care plan, payment systems will be restructured, making these Medicare cuts irrelevant.

Clinton insisted on defense spending cuts greater than Republicans or the Joint Chiefs wanted. His goal of one-for-one con-

The cynical press has focused almost exclusively on Clinton's compromises, and many liberals have joined this chorus.

version, using defense savings for domestic stimulus, did not prevail. Given this, should the president have attempted to preserve an obsolete Cold War defense establishment solely for its stimulative effect? Progressives should not place themselves in the position of arguing, even implicitly, for this alternative.

The budget compromise certainly did not fulfill Clinton's promise to make a priority of public investment—attempts to spur economic growth not with diffuse effects of higher spending but with targeted projects like road construction and education or training programs. Clinton's liberal critics argue that the administration has abandoned investment because conservative advisers (Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, Budget Director Leon Panetta) have the president's ear. But few congressional opponents of Clinton's budget would have been won over by greater public investment while numerous deficit-conscious supporters would have been lost.

Liberals who mourn Clinton's unwillingness to take his public investment strategy to "the people" in a populist

crusade forget that "the people" whose senators sabotaged Clinton's plans live in conservative places like Oklahoma, Georgia, and Nebraska—not Chicago, Brooklyn, and Los Angeles. Even at the height of his popularity, last year, Clinton was not able to save Wyche Fowler's Georgia Senate seat. History offers examples of many failed presidential crusades against Congress. Harry Truman's successful scapegoating of the "do-nothing" 80th Congress was the exception; it followed three years of Congressional defeats. For now, Clinton has chosen not to embark on an all-or-nothing crusade against conservatives, but liberal critics, with no responsibility to consider the risks, unhesitatingly urge him on.

Though the budget compromise didn't boost public investment, it did fulfill other Clinton commitments. Clinton promised not to tax the middle class but to raise new revenues from the rich. This promise was essentially fulfilled, though Republicans have characterized the tax increase of 4.3 cents per gallon as a middle-class burden. This is silly. All told, the net effect of this "middle-class tax increase" might be \$10 to \$20 a year for the typical middle-class family. Meanwhile, those earning \$200,000 annually will pay about \$1,500 each year in new income taxes. Ninety percent of new revenues in this budget come from families with incomes over \$100,000. That comes close enough to fulfilling a promise of tax fairness (and a lot closer than previous leaders have come).

The Scorecard to Date

By the time Congress went into summer recess, one could look back at a flood of liberal Clinton initiatives and some spectacular appointments; as this is written, Republican senators needlessly delayed a vote on the confirmation of Joycelyn Elders' appointment as surgeon general because she supports a responsible program of sex education. Yet the liberal outcry against this outrageous filibuster pales in comparison to liberals' vilification of Clinton for withdrawing the nomination of Lani

Guinier in the face of certain Senate defeat.

Congressman Barney Frank courageously defended Clinton's adoption of the Sam Nunn-Joint Chiefs "don't ask, don't tell" position on gays in the military. In an op-ed article, Frank praised Clinton's leadership in elevating the status of gays to a national civil rights issue while Frank acknowledged that he himself would prefer no loaf to half. But are liberals really willing to accept no loaves on the full range of Clinton compromises since January? Was the country better off under George Bush?

A cynical press has focused almost exclusively on Clinton's compromises, and many liberals have joined this chorus. Meanwhile, there is no constituency praising Clinton for the half-loaves he's extracted from a conservative Congress. In addition to the budget, here are a few accomplishments, most including some compromises, from the first six months. None would have been delivered by Bush:

- The Family and Medical Leave Act (which Bush had vetoed).
- The Motor Voter bill (compromised to end a filibuster).
- The Rio Biodiversity Treaty, signed.
- Immunizations for uninsured children.
- National service program (compromised to end a filibuster).
- De-privatization of college loans.
- Abortion counseling "gag" rule, repealed.
- Funding reestablished for international family planning.
- Reversal of the ban on hiring the air traffic controllers whom Reagan fired.
- Stunning progress in minority and women appointments.
- A ban on the import of assault rifles and a pledge to sign the Brady Bill.

There's been positive administrative change as well. Clinton's Labor Department has reversed 12 years of declining labor standards enforcement and just negotiated the largest back-pay settlement in history—\$13.2 million to Food Lion

workers (and another \$3 million in fines) for overtime and child labor violations. The Justice Department has revived antitrust enforcement. Grazing fees on federal lands have been increased to reestablish conservation as a national priority. The administration has taken a less obsequious stance toward Japanese trade barriers, and the mission of the defense research agency has been redefined to give greater emphasis to civilian technology.

Liberals need to learn how to bargain with this administration, as conservatives have done more astutely. For example, liberals are fumbling NAFTA. After 40 years of presidential free-trade preaching, Clinton proposed that labor and environmental standards be harmonized upward as part of a Mexican trade deal. While some, like Congressman Richard Gephardt, reserved judgment until they saw whether side agreements approached this goal, most liberal and labor leaders forfeited the endgame when they decided to oppose the accord regardless of what the side agreements achieved. While business lobbyists pressed administration negotiators to water down the standards, the left offered virtually no promises of support if supplements were toughened.

We now enter a debate over national health care reform. The Clinton proposal includes many compromises with insurance companies, business groups, doctors, hospitals, and drug companies, not to mention the fiscal conservatives in Congress. But the proposal will also include provisions unimaginable before the Clinton presidency: universal access and coverage, a one-tier basic benefit package, emphasis on prevention, and openings toward long-term care.

Liberals will have another opportunity to grumble about how the good is the enemy of the best. Or we can begin to appreciate a president and administration who, notwithstanding the never-satisfied complaints of liberal friends, forge ahead to implement an agenda of economic justice, equality, and decency.♦

TELEPHONE CALLS

Date _____ 9/10

[illegible]

TELEPHONE CALLS

9/10/93

JOHN D. POBESTA

Date _____

TIME	NAME	MESSAGE	TELEPHONE NO.
	John	-- Per Connie Dierman/Protocol office at State . They had already passed on to the pen company what to engrave, since the pen company needed to get engraving done to get the pens Fed. expre. She said she would call them right away to see if she could catch them to add the line "the White House". I told her not to worry if it can't be done. She will be here at the White House on Monday a.m. and will drop the pens here at around 7:15	
6:35	Heather G-S cfc	9:30 SAT A.m. Mtg - GS' ofc. re visuals for Monday's event	
7:00pm	called Connie 647-4169 647-1277 gone for day - they will reach her @ home + She will call me Back		

JP suggests:

Signing of
Israel-Palestinian Agreement
The White House
Washington, D.C.
September 13, 1993

State passed this already to per company's

Ceremony for the signing
of the Israel - Palestinian Agreement

September 13, 1993

Ms Mel French
State
Asst Chief of
Protocol.

JP suggests adding the White House to
what State has if it's possible



9/10/93

647-1211



JP:

Called Connie Dierman (647-4169) w/Protocol Office at State re pens for Monday's event.

pens are roller ball type, top of the line, black w/gold trim, walnut presentation box, brass plate can bear dates and/or occasion.

Connie needs to know ASAP if you want to do and how many pens are needed. pens would have to be Fed Exp'd from Wisconsin.

Fran

10 per JP

called 5:05pm 9/10 : left msg on recorder

Pens will
Be here Monday 7:15 A.M.

9/10

copy w/ PR

all

CA/TX

trip

(per DP)

Office of the National AIDS Policy Coordinator



Executive Office of the President
750 17th Street, N.W. Suite 1060
Washington, D.C. 20500

Phone: (202)632-1090
Fax: (202)632-1096



Deliver To: John Podesta

Sent From:

X

Kristine Gebbie, RN, MN, National AIDS Policy Coordinator

9 SEP 8 AIO: 53

Number of Pages: 1 - Cover Fax Number: 456-2215 Date: 9/8/93

Message:

93 SEP 8 A10:53

Wed. Sept 8

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

John —

I've talked with Randy Jacobs — his wife is very close to death at this point — if a call from the President is possible in the next day or so, that would be great.

Dr Jacobs will be an effective spokesman on HIV/AIDS issues, and I'll see that he becomes involved. He's a strong candidate for the new Nat'l Advisory Committee we hope to create. I'll call him back in 2-3 weeks.

Let me know if you have questions — Kristine Gehlke

sent
93 SEP 2 P5:37

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: KRISTINE GEBBIE

Fax Number:

Phone Number:

632-1090

690-7560

FROM: John Podesta

SUBJECT: Note from the President

DATE: 09/02/93

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

5

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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sent
23 SEP 2 P5:37

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/1

NOTE FOR: *Kristine Gebbie*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

*Re the President's note:
Please follow up &
let me know the outcome
Thanks.*

John

Thank you.

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

cc:

to Helen
C. Kristine Cabbie,
Director, Office of
Natl AIDS Policy
Admin
Pls contact him
very important to me
B.

"Please contact him
important to me.

B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 1, 1993

Randall Jacobs, M.D.
Port Townsend Family Physicians
934 Sheridan Avenue
Port Townsend, Washington 98368

Dear Randy:

Thank you for your letter and for sending the photographs from Boys Nation. It was kind of you.

I appreciate your offer of help on our AIDS policy, and I have taken the liberty of sharing your letter with Kristine Gebbie, Director of the Office of National AIDS Policy.

I want you to know that you and Mary are in our prayers. We will be thinking of you in the days to come.

Sincerely,

Brian

Trey



**port townsend
family physicians, inc., p.s.**

DIPLOMATES. AMERICAN BOARD OF FAMILY PRACTICE

J. RANDALL JACOBS, M.D.

DOUGLAS KURATA, M.D.

ANNE E. BIEDEL, M.D.

August 26, 1993

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Bill,

Thank you for your note and great alumni picture from last month's 1963 Boys Nation reunion in the Rose Garden. I found a couple of old snapshots I had taken in 1963 of you, and obviously you haven't changed a bit! These prints are yours to keep.

As you know, my wife Mary is in the last stage of her battle with AIDS. Since our visit last month, she has become bedfast, requiring continual bedside care. The dementia complex has advanced to the point where we have had to heavily tranquilize her. Fortunately, I've been able to take some leave from my practice to help her and our three children thru this difficult time. God has answered every need and for that we are grateful. I doubt she has more than a few more weeks with us. We simply trust God and His plan for her.

As a physician, I've had significant clinical experience with AIDS patients. As a husband and father, I've been taught a great deal more about the illness and about life itself. If I can ever be of any assistance to you or your staff in support of AIDS policy and legislation promoting research and human services please let me know. I would consider it an honor to be called upon.

Thank you again for your compassion and personal interest. I hope your vacation was renewing for you and your family.

Respectfully,


Randall Jacobs, M.D.

Director of
→ AIDS g/c.

what Rm?

Pls send

632-
1090

750 17th St
NW

Ste 1060



fax — 20503

~~632-1096~~

fax 690-7560

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/1

NOTE FOR: *Kristine Gebbie*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

*Re the President's note:
Please follow up &
let me know the outcome.
Thanks.*

John

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Man

DATE: 9/11

NOTE FOR: *MAZK*

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:

Binton memo
at back was
in ^{same} folder
when ^{as} ^{guest} ^{list} it came
back from (P) FW

9/9



Guest

Mail st

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REPORT DATE 09/08/93

REPORT TIME 06:56PM

Concert/Reception (Kennedy Center Donors) -
Thursday, September 9, 1993 - 07:30PM
Contact Social Office X2510

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New York, NY

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CEO, Siemens AG

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO MACK McLARTY

FROM: BILL BURTON

SUBJECT: Texas trip/FOB care

Pursuant to your direction, Lucia Wyman and Bob Armstrong from Interior, and Bill White and Kyle Simpson from Energy, have all been plugged into the Houston event and will be returning to Washington aboard Air Force One with us. Mrs. White will also return on Air Force One.

In addition, the Texas-based folks who will be having dinner with the President and Mrs. Clinton on Saturday night and who will also return from the Houston event aboard Air Force One are:

- Mr. and Mrs. Roy Spence
- Mr. and Mrs. Garry Mauro (Judith Bagley)
- Mr. and Mrs. Michael Beatty
- Mr. and Mrs. Lee Godfrey
- Mr. and Mrs. Art Schechter
- Mr. and Mrs. Bob Lanier

Among those invited but who declined were Mr. and Mrs. Bill Hobby, Mr. and Mrs. B Rapoport, and Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Maulden.

Many other Texas friends of the President will be present at the political reception being put together after the NPR event in Houston.

Mr. President:

See I do have "our" list straight!

Mac

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Amor.

DATE: Sept. 11, 1993

NOTE FOR: Mack, Will Itoh, Howard

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

September 9, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Mack wanted you to see. I've
forwarded to Howard and Tony
for a response.

* We need a
Careful John Podesta
analysis
of this →
He makes very
specific claims

BOB SMITH
NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN NEW HAMPSHIRE
1-800-922-2230

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/10

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2903

COMMITTEES:
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ENVIRONMENT AND
PUBLIC WORKS
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ETHICS
COMMISSION ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION
IN EUROPE

September 3, 1993 P8:29

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing you concerning your impending decision, required by law before September 14, 1993, on whether to extend for another year the exercise of your authority to maintain prohibitions on trade with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

I respectfully suggest that the central issue affecting your decision should be the historically dragged-out and overall disappointing performance of communist authorities in the region, including Laos, in accounting for our missing and captured personnel, especially the most troubling cases where the U.S. intelligence community knows that Vietnamese communists have direct knowledge as to the fate of personnel who were last known to be alive. Other issues you must consider are Hanoi's terrible record on basic human rights issues (including their most recent affront to Senator Robb), their long-standing support of terrorist and hostile nations to the U.S (ie: Libya, Cuba, North Korea), and the decades-old U.S. national security interest of seeing the collapse of communism in Southeast Asia.

You are well aware of my deep concern over the historic tendency and mutual desire of both Washington and Hanoi to sidestep around the very core of the POW/MIA issue -- ie: what happened to the more than 1,150 still unaccounted for U.S. personnel (1,300 in 1973) who were listed as missing and captured at the end of the war. And more importantly, what happened to those individuals from this category who did not return even though we knew they had fallen into communist hands. (The number of these cases range anywhere from 92 to 299 still unaccounted for POW/MIAs depending on the criteria used and whether Laos discrepancy cases are included).

Mr. President, in February, March, April, and June of this year, I personally made you aware of my concerns about the POW/MIA issue and its relation to our policy toward Hanoi. However, as you consider your decision on the embargo, I want you

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 3, 1993
page 2

to be aware of two matters concerning the POW/MIA issue which disturb me the most. Both of these matters concern American POWs reported alive but not returned at the end of the war.

First is the Russian language translation of the 1972 North Vietnamese politburo presentation which addressed the total number of American POWs held by North Vietnam at the time -- a number far greater than those who eventually came home. As you know, this report was located in the archives of the former Soviet Union this past spring, and to date, Hanoi has dismissed it as a complete fabrication, maintaining that no such presentation even remotely resembling the Russian language translation ever took place. Are we to seriously believe that their politburo was never briefed by their military in 1972 on the results of interrogations of American POWs and the total number captured to date? Of course not, yet we have not even officially asked Hanoi for the dates or content of any politburo briefings in 1972 on American POWs.

What is startling to me after reading the document, Mr. President, is not just Hanoi's position (which one might expect from a Communist regime with a well-established propaganda machine), but the lack of any firm position from Washington which holds Hanoi's feet to the fire in explaining the content of the document. At the request of my friend Ross Perot, I have enclosed for your review a copy of an analysis of this document I recently submitted to Ambassador Malcolm Toon. I hope it will underscore for you the seriousness of this discovery and why it must have a direct impact on our future relationship with Hanoi. (Last month, I provided a copy of this analysis to Kent Wiedemann on your NSC staff.)

I recall your public commitment during your April East Room news conference to apprise the American people and the POW/MIA families once you had personally drawn your conclusions on the veracity of this document. You should know that the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs found that on occasion, the Department of Defense had been "evasive, unresponsive, and disturbingly incorrect and cavalier" in its dealings with the Senate on this issue last year. This conclusion is contained in the Final Report of our investigation which I co-chaired. Given this fact, I would strongly urge you to read my analysis of the Soviet archival document, so you can present a balanced and fair report to the American people on this document.

Second, Mr. President, I am extremely concerned about the fate of unaccounted for American pilots known to have been captured and held in Laos during the war by both North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces. To date, the United States has received

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 3, 1993
page 3

no convincing explanation on what happened to the vast majority of these men, especially the American pilots whom we know were held in northern Laos and captured along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Our Committee found last year that the Secretary of Defense in 1973 had informed the White House at the time in a Top Secret memorandum of his grave concern on this matter. You may also know that Ross Perot was specifically briefed on the presence of U.S. POWs in northern Laos by the CIA during his trips to Laos in 1969/70 at the request of the Administration, and our Committee found substantiation of this fact.

During my trip to Hanoi last month, I shared with the Vietnamese recently-declassified NSA radio intercepts, human intelligence reports, and overhead wartime photography on this subject to demonstrate that we know conclusively that the Vietnamese have the ability to easily account for the American personnel they captured and held in Laos.

Even your current Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Ambassador Winston Lord, stressed this fact in Senate testimony before our Committee last year, and he is well aware from his work with Dr. Kissinger in 1972/73 of Hanoi's control over Laos. Simply put, I hope we not let a few tripartite meetings between Laos, Vietnam, and the U.S. be a substitute for Hanoi telling us what happened to the U.S. personnel they captured in Laos.

Mr. President, as I stated to you personally in June, I accept your offer to discuss any of these matters with you, to include briefing you on the most compelling and troubling information about living American POWs left behind in Communist countries in 1973. I had hoped we could have had such a meeting prior to your decision on removing our long-standing and legitimate objection to granting IMF status to Hanoi. I hope that you would now consider having such a meeting prior to any decision by your Administration to further relax any portion of the U.S. trade embargo currently in place against Hanoi.

In June, I urged you not to be deceived by those who claim enormous progress is being made on POW/MIA issues. The families of these men can count, Mr. President, and your intelligence community is well-aware of what Hanoi is capable of doing if it truly wanted to account for hundreds of our missing and captured personnel. Now more than ever, we must not abandon the only credible leverage we have to convince Hanoi of our resolve to obtain a full and honorable resolution to this issue. And Mr. President, I would also recommend that this time around we use this leverage wisely to bring Hanoi to the table for a resumption of serious negotiations on this issue -- the likes of which have

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 3, 1993
page 4

not been seen since the Paris Peace Accords.

It is no coincidence that only yesterday the Vietnamese issued a press release entitled "New Documents on MIA Found." You and I both know that these documents have long been in the possession of Hanoi's Ministry of National Defense and they could easily have been provided to General Vessey long ago. Two of the items listed in their press release will have no bearing on resolving "MIA" matters, and, indeed, one of the items pertains to POWs who returned in 1973. I understand the last item, concerning the list of plane crashes along the Ho Chi Minh trail between Laos and Vietnam, is being brought to Washington for analysis this weekend. I assure you, Mr. President, if Hanoi had a list of plane crashes, they also have a complete list of the pilots who were captured in these important wartime areas, and one should expect this list to match, in many respects, what U.S. intelligence knew in 1973. In short, you have the opportunity to send a message to the Vietnamese that you will not be fooled into accepting such "activity" as real progress in accounting for missing servicemen. We want a serious and honorable resolution to this issue.

Mr. President, I again urge you, for the sake of our missing men and their families, do not accept at face-value what the bureaucracy or some in Congress might like you to believe on this issue. Study the facts for yourself because your decisions will be critical in our efforts to find our missing and captured men, and they will have a lasting effect on those Americans who wear our uniform today and in the future.

You are a very busy man, and I thank you for taking the time to read this letter and the attached analysis of the Soviet archival document. I also thank Mr. Perot and your Chief of Staff, Mr. McLarty, for their efforts to get the enclosed analysis into your hands prior to your decision on the trade embargo against Hanoi.

I look forward to hearing from you.

With warm regards,



BOB SMITH
United States Senator

BS/dc
enclosure



SENATOR BOB SMITH

New Hampshire

Report to Ambassador Malcolm Toon, Chairman of the U.S. Side of
the Joint U.S./Russian Commission on POW/MIAs
from U.S. Senator Bob Smith, Commissioner

July 21, 1993

AN INTERIM ANALYSIS

of the

1972 TRANSLATION OF A NORTH VIETNAMESE REPORT CONCERNING U.S. POWS
DISCOVERED IN 1993 IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION
AND SUBSEQUENTLY PROVIDED TO THE U.S. SIDE OF THE
JOINT U.S./RUSSIAN COMMISSION ON POW/MIAS

I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Dr. Stephen Morris, the man who first discovered the North Vietnamese report on POWs in Russian language form, deserves special thanks from the United States of America. General Dmitri Volkogonov, head of the Russian side to the U.S./Russian Joint Commission on POW/MIAs, likewise deserves our gratitude for continuing to open the archives of the former Soviet Union in an effort to resolve outstanding humanitarian issues such as the fate of our POWs and MIAs.

B. The report found by Dr. Morris contains numerous statements which can be corroborated by U.S. knowledge. Because of this, I am convinced the presentation took place in 1972. In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary from Vietnam, I can only assume that from 1964 to 1973, the leadership of North Vietnam withheld the total number and identity of American POWs in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia over whom it had direct control.

C. The position of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam that the report in Russian language form is a "pure fabrication" which they "completely reject" is unacceptable to me, and I believe, the majority of the American people. This matter is still wide open.

D. The U.S. Government does not know the fate of many of its missing personnel in Vietnam and Laos, and the U.S. Government should stop believing that it knows the fate of just about everybody. It's time people study the facts, even if it means revisiting "old" issues.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mon

DATE: 9/10

NOTE FOR: *The V.P., Chris Edley, Dougia*
Strong

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

September 9, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

I've copied the Vice President,
Carol Rasco, George, Gergen
and Bruce and included a copy
of this in your trip briefing
book.

JOP

John Podesta

I like the bus
option - functional
is real good in
enough → R.



THE DIRECTOR

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/10

SEP 9 9 P7:53

September 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Leon E. Panetta 
SUBJECT: Border Patrol Staffing and Funding

This is in response to your question, relayed through John Podesta, regarding Border Patrol staffing and funding.

As I understand it, you preferred "option 3" as outlined in the attached memorandum. However, you also asked what additional resources, above the \$45 million you have requested as part of the FY 1994 Department of Justice Budget Amendment, would be required to hire the full 600 Border Patrol agents.

Department of Justice (DOJ) Decision Process

Attorney General Reno plans to meet with DOJ staff next Wednesday to discuss the various options for using the \$45 million requested for the Border Patrol in FY 1994. DOJ staff is continuing to discuss alternative options. It has developed a variation of option 3 which would increase new support staff even further (in order to return Border Patrol agents from support/clerical to patrol duties). The resources to hire additional support staff would be taken from the amount currently allocated for sensors and other technological improvements in option 3. In any case, the Attorney General has indicated to DOJ staff that she wants to preserve the prerogative to choose the mix of programs. ✓

Providing for 600 Border Patrol Agents

Nominally, option 3 provides for 443 agents and 167 support staff. However, because 100 support staff would be hired to allow 100 agents to return to patrol duty, functionally this option would strengthen the patrol force by 543 agents. *good*

Depending on whether you look at it nominally or functionally, the additional cost would be as follows:

	<u>NOMINAL</u> Increase to Reach 600 Agents	<u>FUNCTIONAL</u> Increase to Reach 600 Agents
Current Option	443	543
Added Agents Required	+157	+57

Total Agents	600	600
 FY 1994 Cost Associated with Increase*	 +\$11 million	 +\$4 million

*Includes training, uniforms, vehicles, firearms, etc.

Potential Offsets for \$4-11 Million

If you should choose to add the \$4 million to \$11 million referenced above, discretionary offsets would need to be found. The National Performance Review's recommended cuts provide two opportunities:

- \$8 million from INS. Proposal to strengthen the Regional INS structure could eliminate about 100 headquarters positions in FY 1994.
- \$6 million from US Marshals Service. Proposal to professionalize the Marshals could eliminate about 100 Presidentially appointed Marshals' positions in FY 1994 by having the career Marshals perform their functions.

However, the appropriations committees are more likely to find \$4 million to \$11 million in offsets for the Border Patrol by cutting from State Department or Agency for International Development programs. These programs are in the same appropriations bill as Justice. Generally speaking, the committees prefer funding domestic programs.

You should also know that the pressure on DOJ to meet their FY95 planning ceiling will be severe. As OMB views the Department's predicament, the above NPR savings should be on their list of must-do cuts. Using the cuts now for Border Patrol will marginally increase the pain elsewhere.

Attachment (previous memorandum)



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

September 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROL RASCO
DONSIA STRONG

FROM: Christopher F. Edley, Jr., Associate Director
Ken Schwartz, Deputy Associate Director

SUBJECT: The President's Question on Border Patrol Increases

The President is correct -- the response to Duncan Hunter "fuzzed" the issue of how many Border Patrol agents would be hired because no one in the Administration (Department of Justice (DOJ), Office of Management and Budget and Domestic Policy Council staff) has been particularly enthusiastic about the utility of hiring more agents. Rather, it has been our assumption that the Administration would get a bigger "bang for the buck" if improved technologies were employed on the border (see attachment for more information.)

DOJ has not made final decisions on how it would use the \$45 million. DOJ is evaluating three primary options, as follows:

Increase Compared with 1994 President's Budget
(Budget Authority in millions)

	<u>Option 1</u>	<u>Option 2</u>	<u>Option 3</u>
Restore Border Agents that were cut pursuant to Presidential 100,000 FTE cut.....	+5.9 (+93 Positions)	+5.9 (+93 Positions)	+5.9 (+93 Positions)
Additional Border Agents.....	+31.9 (+450 Positions)	+31.9 (+450 Positions)	+24.8 (+350 Positions)
Additional Border Support Staff.....	---	+2.4 (+67 Positions)	+2.4 (+67 Positions)
Additional Support Staff to Free Agents From Support Duties.....	---	---	+3.6 (+100 Positions)
Sensors and Other Technological Improvements.....	+7.3	+4.9	+8.4
Total.....	+45.0 (+543 Agents)	+45.0 (+543 Agents; +67 Support)	+45.0 (+443 Agents; +167 Support)

At this point in time, DOJ/INS seems to prefer Option 3. While that option contains the fewest additional agents of the three options under consideration, DOJ staff indicate that:

- 100 of the support staff increase will be used to release 100 Border Patrol agents from clerical duties; hence, functionally it should be perceived as an increase in "agents-on-the-border" of 543, not 443; and
- This option gives INS the largest increase of the three options in terms of new sensors and other equipment. INS believes that this is its highest Border Patrol priority.

Further, INS/DOJ are currently working on a strategy to utilize the additional resources in order to control the border. The Attorney General plans to review this strategy personally.

Finally, it should be recognized that the FY 1995 budget picture is not pretty. While DOJ's 1995 planning ceiling has fared well in comparison with those of other agencies, DOJ will still be extremely hard pressed to fund all announced Presidential priority activities (e.g., 100,000 cops, "Brady Bill" criminal records upgrades, and National Performance Review suggested consolidation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Drug Enforcement Administration, which costs money in the first year).

September 8, 1993

NOTE TO DONSIA STRONG

From: Ken Schwartz and Lin Liu

Subject: Border Patrol Technology

INS seems to prefer the option which enables the Border Patrol to purchase \$8.4 million worth of "improved technology" while hiring 443 agents and 167 support personnel.

The Vice President led group which crafted the July 27th Immigration Initiatives announced by the President favored an investment in technology to give the Border Patrol agents the necessary tools to effectively do their jobs and to maximize their resources. The following are some ways technology is useful in carrying out Border Patrol responsibilities:

- o The Border Patrol place sensors in selected "known" areas of illegal traffic. Sensor "hits" are monitored in communications headquarters and dispatchers provide these information to Border Patrol agents who then move into the target areas to apprehend the illegal crossers. The sensors and the dispatch service are effective because they enable the agents to use the personnel more strategically and to patrol larger areas.
- o Infrared devices, like sensors, assist the agents in targeting resources to areas which illegal movement is occurring. For example, the Border Patrol owns several infrared devices called the "Scope." The Scope provides video coverage of an expansive area and detects heat movements. When the agent who is manipulating the Scope sees movement on the video screen, he directs the ground agents to the areas which the illegal aliens are.
- o Secured communication radios enable ground agents to report new information and solicit assistance. Border Patrol agents do not generally work in teams and radios provide the only means to keep in touch. Secured devices are important because alien smugglers also employ technology to track BP movements through radio communications.

Technology enhances the Border Patrol's ability to cover vast land areas more strategically. In many ways, items like the secured radios are not luxury goods but are basic tools for agents. More agents, complemented by technology, therefore make the Border Patrol more effective.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA *JP*

SUBJECT: Immigration

This responds to your note on a letter to Congressman Duncan Hunter.

As you can see from the attached, DOJ/INS are considering spending the additional \$45 million that was requested for the INS on a combination of border patrol agents, clerical support and new technology. None of the options under consideration fund an increase of 600 agents. The money was requested for new technology and "up to" 600 new agents.

There is strong resistance to funding only new agents at the expense of new, upgraded equipment and technology.

Fully funding the 600 new agents, therefore, is likely to mean finding additional money for the equipment and additional offsets.

Do you want OMB/DOJ/INS to pursue those additional resources?

cc: The Vice President
Mack McLarty
Carol Rasco
David Gergen
George Stephanopoulos

*I'll like
to know how
much it would cost*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Alison

DATE: 9/10

NOTE FOR: *Luca Tyson*

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

see (P) question

Thank you.

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

cc:



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE CHAIRMAN

September 9, 1993

P 7:14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

LAURA D. TYSON *Laura D. Tyson*

SUBJECT:

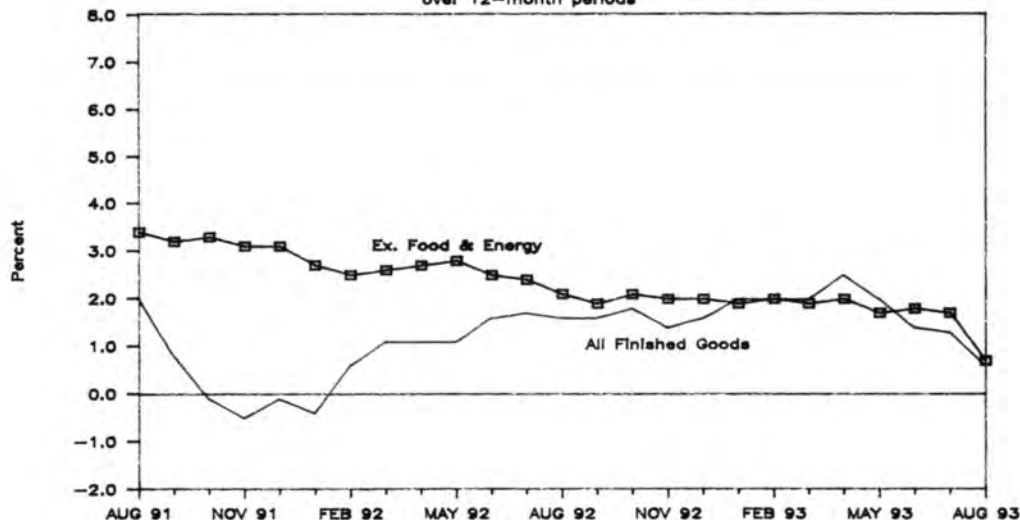
Producer Price Indexes for August, Labor
Department Release, Tomorrow Morning, 8:30 a.m.

Producer prices fell sharply in August, largely because of a huge drop in tobacco prices. If tobacco prices had not declined, producer prices would have increased slightly, in line with expectations.

- o The producer price index (PPI) for finished goods fell 0.6 percent in August, following a 0.2 percent drop in July. Private analysts had expected a 0.2 percent increase in August.
- o Tobacco prices fell about 25 percent in August. If they had not dropped, the PPI for finished goods would have increased about 0.2 percent. *Why?*
- o Producer prices have been in broad decline since April, when inflation fears temporarily peaked. In the year ending in August, the finished goods PPI increased a bare 0.6 percent.
- o The softness of prices extends to the earlier stages of production as well. The PPI for crude goods excluding food and energy declined 2.6 percent in August, the first decline since November 1992.

PRODUCER PRICE INFLATION

over 12-month periods



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cmv

DATE: 9/10

NOTE FOR: *Tom Baggett*

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

9/10

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6:30 P7:40

September 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOAN N. BAGGETT

SUBJECT: FLORIDA VISIT AND LABOR EVENT

Contrary to *The Washington Post's* attempt to label our Labor Day event as "shunning organized labor," I wanted you to see the positive coverage you received in *The Miami Herald*. Also attached is a copy of Lane Kirkland's letter to the *Post* defending our Labor Day event (which we worked on with them from the beginning) and pointing out that despite NAFTA our relationship is solid.

Miss & fabulous local press

C.C. VP
MACK
Gergen
George
MARC
Dee Dee

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations



815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 637-5000

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September 7, 1993

The Washington Post
1150 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20071

To the Editor:

I take great exception to the tone of the Post's September 7 news story on President Clinton's Labor Day activities. Under a headline that said the President was "shunning labor," your reporter strongly implied in the story that the President ignored labor altogether because of his differences with the trade union movement on the subject of NAFTA.

Those readers who made it to the last paragraph of the story found out that, despite the headline, the President did not "shun" the labor movement on Labor Day. Rather, he took the time to highlight one of the AFL-CIO's most innovative programs, the National Partnership for Community Investment, through which our Housing Investment Trust will invest \$660 million of union pension fund monies in 30 targeted urban areas, including areas devastated by Hurricane Andrew.

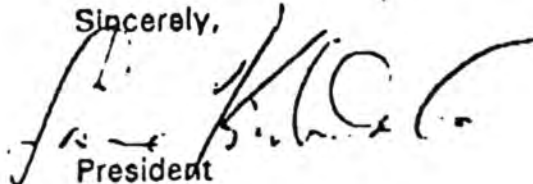
Left out of the story was the fact that the President's announcement of improvements in this program was made at an event hosted by the President of the South Florida AFL-CIO, Marty Urra. Also on that day, two cabinet members, Secretary of Labor Robert Reich and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Henry Cisneros, met with Urra and 30 or so trade unionists from the area.

No one was "shunning" anyone, and certainly the President wasn't shunning the AFL-CIO when he said "I am proud of the work that has been done by HUD and the AFL-CIO in creating a partnership to invest in our communities."

Perhaps in your reporter's rush to play up the AFL-CIO's differences with the President on NAFTA, she couldn't fathom the possibility that the trade union movement's celebration of Labor Day includes much more than "union-sponsored Labor Day parades."

The AFL-CIO will continue to take positions on issues in accordance with the views of the people we represent. Their mandate is to support President Clinton on a whole host of issues with the same vigor with which we oppose him on NAFTA. You can be sure that neither one of us will be "shunning" the other.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written over the word "President".

President

The Miami Herald

F

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1993

CONTENTS COPYRIGHT © 1993 THE MIAMI HERALD

*'We are in this for the long run.
I heard today about things
that still need to be done.'*

PRESIDENT CLINTON, ON VISIT TO SOUTH DADE



CHUCK FADELY / Miami Herald Staff

JOINT EFFORT: At Caribbean West Apartments, being rebuilt by HUD and organized labor, President Clinton was met by Buddy

Howanitz, left, and daughter Danica. Her mother was killed when a tornado ripped the trailer the family moved to after Andrew.

Clinton: I'll see Dade through

Spends day listening in areas Andrew devastated

By TOM FIEDLER
Herald Political Editor

A shirt-sleeved President Clinton walked the streets of Florida City, spoke with storm victims in Homestead and praised building trades workers in South Miami Heights on Monday, pledging anew to stick with Dade County as it staggers toward recovery from Hurricane Andrew.

The president, accompanied by his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and a crowd of local, state and national figures, offered mostly a sympathetic

Hurricane-related stress continues to take a toll on the community, Homestead Mayor Tad DeMilly told the president.

ear, allowing his presence to carry the message that he hadn't forgotten an election-year promise to pay attention to the area's needs.

"We are in this for the long run," Clinton told a small gathering of Homestead residents after listening for nearly two

hours to stories of the recovery. "I heard today about things that still need to be done."

The president's South Dade visit was fashioned to be more fact-finding than ceremonial. At each of four stops, Clinton spent as much or more time listening to the pleas and stories of

hurricane victims, community leaders and relief workers than he did speaking.

In Florida City — a mostly poor farming community visited by the Clintons 11 days after Hurricane Andrew — the president walked the main street and toured the city hall rebuilt with federal dollars.

"I think it is wonderful that President Clinton took the time to check on us," said Florida City Mayor Otis Wallace, recalling that candidate Clinton

PLEASE SEE CLINTON, 8A

Clinton to Dade: You still can rely on me



CHUCK FADELY / Miami Herald Staff

PROGRESS REPORT: Florida City Mayor Otis Wallace, second from president's left, voiced pleasure that Clinton was revisiting the city he had toured as a candidate last fall. Gathering round are Sen. Bob

Graham at right, U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen at Clinton's left and Rep. Carrie Meek behind him. Brother-in-law Hugh Rodham is at far left in dark shirt, with wife Maria Arias.

Takes tour of recovery

CLINTON, FROM 1A

in 1992 had promised to return if elected. "It's refreshing to see a politician keep his word."

Firsthand accounts

At the Homestead Senior Community Center, the president — accompanied by Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros, the Cabinet member charged with overseeing the rebuilding, and Labor Secretary Robert Reich — sat in front of a multi-hued mural painted by youthful victims of the hurricane and heard firsthand accounts of the recovery's progress.

Some participants recounted tragic stories of the storm and its aftermath. Hilda Fuentes, a migrant worker, burst into sobs as she described how the hurricane shattered the Everglades Labor Camp, leaving scores of families homeless and lacking food, water and clothes.

She told the president she was rescued initially by the military, which set up emergency tents, kitchens and even day-care centers, and later by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which provided a trailer and other help.

Juanita Mainster, social services director at the Centro Campesino Farmworker Center, described children traumatized by the storm. "When there is the sound of rain or wind, our children reach for the hand of an adult," she said. "... They feel they are still in need of a safe space."

Stress still a drain

Homestead Mayor Tad DeMilly said the hurricane continues to take a toll on the community because of the terrible stresses inflicted on victims. Violence within families, especially spouse and child abuse, divorce rates and even teen suicides have rocketed in the past year. Crime among family members has risen at least 30 percent, he said.

But there were also stories of strength, generosity and rebuilding. Homestead restaurant owner Frank Ambrose and his wife, Pat, were commended for feeding as many as 500 people a day for free for weeks after the storm.

"What the hurricane did for Homestead was blow away everything that came between blacks, whites and the Spanish," Ambrose told the president. "And I am proud to be from Homestead."

Finds doorway to new job

Javier Solis, a young high-school dropout, said the hurricane had left him jobless. But he found a leaflet announcing an emergency training program at Centro Campesino that enabled him to learn carpentry.

He now works in a program helping storm victims without insurance restore their homes.

He is building his own house in the Centro Campesino community. Along the way, he said, he has acquired a high-school equivalency diploma that was part of his training.

"When one family succeeds," he told Clinton as applause filled the room, "the state succeeds and then the government succeeds."

Pre-storm debris removed, too

Cisneros said the recovery effort has made clear progress. FEMA oversaw the collection and removal of what amounted to "30 years of normal debris," mounds of trash that would have

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1993
THE MIAMI HERALD



JON KRAL / Miami Herald Staff

DOING WELL:

Starting for the airport after his visit to recovering areas, President Clinton sends an encouraging thumbs-up to small Cutler Ridge crowd.

filled the Orange Bowl many times over.

Cisneros also said that while 3,000 people are still living in FEMA trailers — a fraction of the estimated 150,000 still displaced by the storm — about 45 families a week move into rebuilt houses and apartments.

Metro Commissioner Larry Hawkins appealed for federal money to build a Metrorail link from the system's current end at Dadeland to Homestead, with a spur to Homestead Air Force Base, which is expected to be converted to joint military and civilian use.

Although the president gave no promises, he called the decision to keep two Air Force Reserve units at Homestead a critical one, providing a platform around which it can be rebuilt and used in other ways.

Given the importance of aviation to the nation's future, Clinton said that "it would have been a colossal waste to allow his facility to go downhill."

At the only two public events of the day — a brief address to Homestead residents following the morning session and a tribute to labor at the Caribbean West Apartment project in South Miami Heights later in the day — Clinton was met by relatively small crowds ranging from about 200 to 500.

Aides said, however, that the trip was not planned to attract gatherings, but rather to concentrate on the work being done and to speak with victims. As he walked into the project at the Caribbean West Apartments, which are being rebuilt with the help of AFL-CIO financing, Clinton met Eugene "Buddy" Howanitz and his daughter, Danica.

The Howanitz family had moved into a FEMA trailer when their home was destroyed. In March, however, a freak winter storm demolished the trailer and killed Danielle Howanitz, who was 36. Clinton took the child's hand and walked with her to the rally site.

Entourage was bipartisan

The only thing resembling a Labor Day parade, long the traditional method by which presidents have celebrated the holiday, was the bipartisan entourage that followed Clinton.

Through most of the day, he was accompanied by Housing Secretary Cisneros, Labor Secretary Reich; U.S. Sen. Bob Graham; Gov. Lawton Chiles; Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay; Congressmen Alcee Hastings, Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Peter Deutsch; Congresswomen Carrie Meek and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen; Dade Commissioners Dennis Moss, Hawkins and Art Teele; state Sens. Daryl Jones and Ron Silver; state Reps. John Cosgrove

and Ron Saunders; Homestead Mayor DeMilly; Homestead City Manager Alex Muxo; Florida City Mayor Wallace and on-site coordinator Otis Pitts.

"Part of what we're battling is psychological," the governor said. "It's very important for us that he came because it keeps everyone focused on what needs to be done."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Sept. 11, 1993

NOTE FOR: Bob Reich:

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

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

cc:

The Washington Post Writers Group

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r k

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

9.9.93

1150 15TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20071-9200

TEL: (202) 334-6375

(800) 879-9794

To Dick Riley / ce Drunk

^bc-yoder-column adv08<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Wednesday, September 8, 1993, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--It once was said that the ideal school would be Mark Hopkins, a famous teacher, at one end of a log and the student at the other.

Why a log I can't recall. But as the new academic year begins, the log seems to be crowded with intermediaries and cluttered by half a century of curricular tinkering.

If you believed the papers, moreover, you would conclude that the great educational issues of our time are vouchers or "cultural diversity" or some other political passion of the moment.

Not so. As always, the real issue is the oldest and simplest: What are our children learning--or failing to learn--and why?

I suspect, on the basis of some personal experience, that what is missing from the American educational system today is a zeal to teach basic facts, literary, scientific, historical. The best way I can think of to dramatize the concern is a brief quiz which you can give yourself -- or, if you like, administer to the student whose tuition costs you're slaving or borrowing to pay. These randomly chosen questions just might give some inkling of what is being absorbed at the schoolhouse these days:

What does it mean to be "wise as Solomon" or "old as Methuselah," and where do these similes come from? How does a picture get onto a television screen? Name three specific rights (apart from freedom of speech, press and religion) guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. What is "balkanization"? Why does Shakespeare's Prince Hamlet hesitate to avenge his father's murder? Can a radio signal pass through a vacuum? What happened on the July 4th weekend of 1863 in Gettysburg, Pa.? What did Gutenberg "invent" in the mid-16th

(more)

century? How does a plane fly--or, to put it another way, what's the function of a wing?

These are typical of thousands of random general-knowledge questions that often stump bright and able students these days, though all have more or less simple factual answers. When such tests reveal how little is being learned--literary, scientific, historical--educational theorists are ready with boiler-plate excuses. The tests, they claim, are "culturally biased," or "mere facts" are less important than "skills," or the schools need to "teach values" lest our diverse society come unglued, or students must be prepared for the practical "world of work."

Only a fool would scorn the concerns echoed in these patented excuses. Fair-mindedness, a sense of the limits of one's own experience, mental agility, good behavior, the ability to function on the job--all these are important and highly desirable byproducts of formal education; but they are no substitute for the thing itself.

Help may be on the way. In The New York Times recently, Professor E.D. Hirsch of the University of Virginia described a new kind of schooling, the "core knowledge curriculum," which with the aid and advice of a foundation he has founded is being tried in about 100 schools around the country. The results, he says, have been extremely promising.

What is the secret? "About 50 percent of classroom time," he writes, "is spent teaching each student a core of knowledge that is the same material offered to every other child in the same grade." The plan is incremental, avoiding repetition. It is assumed that everyone learns, as well as possible, the same things at the same time. Bread and butter things, for the learning is fact-specific--not, to cite his examples, "map skills" or "learning about plants" but the names of the seven continents and the difference between evergreen and deciduous trees.

If all this sounds old-fashioned, it is. Imparting basic knowledge is a function that schools once considered paramount. It is strange to

(more)

think that many schools (and colleges, too) now not only think ``core knowledge'' is beneath their dignity but are scornful of those who cling to it as an educational goal.

Hirsch deserves a medal for reviving and advocating a proposition so simple that it is radical: Schools are in the knowledge business! Without a core of basic knowledge--``cultural literacy'' as he calls it--Hirsch argues that we can't function in this knowledge-rich and scientifically complex world.

Indeed, he suggests, it would be hard even to read a newspaper, which is theoretically written at the seventh-grade level. Needless to add, he has in mind the old seventh-grade level.

(c) 1993, Washington Post Writers Group

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Sept. 11, 1993

NOTE FOR: Dick Riley

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:

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9.9.93

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TEL: (202) 334-6375

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YODEU6 1

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To Dick Riley / ce D Reuh

^bc-yoder-column adv08<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Wednesday, September 8, 1993, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

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(more)

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Only a fool would scorn the concerns echoed in these patented excuses. Fair-mindedness, a sense of the limits of one's own experience, mental agility, good behavior, the ability to function on the job--all these are important and highly desirable byproducts of formal education; but they are no substitute for the thing itself.

Help may be on the way. In The New York Times recently, Professor E.D. Hirsch of the University of Virginia described a new kind of schooling, the "core knowledge curriculum," which with the aid and advice of a foundation he has founded is being tried in about 100 schools around the country. The results, he says, have been extremely promising.

What is the secret? "About 50 percent of classroom time," he writes, "is spent teaching each student a core of knowledge that is the same material offered to every other child in the same grade." The plan is incremental, avoiding repetition. It is assumed that everyone learns, as well as possible, the same things at the same time. Bread and butter things, for the learning is fact-specific--not, to cite his examples, "map skills" or "learning about plants" but the names of the seven continents and the difference between evergreen and deciduous trees.

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(more)

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6. The goal includes the reductions directed in Executive Order No. 12839.
7. The streamlining plans shall be consistent with legislation to be submitted by the Administration based on recommendations of the National Performance Review relating to procurement, Federal employment, and other governmental systems.
8. All independent regulatory commissions and agencies are requested to comply with the provisions of this memorandum.

The Director of the Office of Management and Budget is authorized and directed to publish this memorandum in the Federal Register.

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E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

11-Sep-1993 09:04am

TO: Roy Neel
TO: Eli J. Segal

FROM: John Podesta
 Office of the President

SUBJECT: National service

The Clerk received the National Service legislation last night.
The bill must be signed on or before 9-22-93.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.9.93

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Marcia Hale

RE: Barry Goldwater and Roger Altman

DT: September 8, 1993

*left deep
cathy
and*

I wanted to make sure that you were aware that we invited Barry Goldwater to accompany you on Air Force One on your last trip out West (Colorado and California). He could not go, but appreciated the offer. We told him we would keep in touch and invite him another time. I will pass this on to the new scheduler (when we have one) so that this does not get lost in the transition.

again

Also, I don't know if you are aware of how much of the press about your vacation plans centered on Roger Altman and whether or not you would be staying at his house. Roger handled what could have been an awkward situation him very well. I know he has sent to you (through Nancy) an invitation for dinner at his house sometime this Fall. You might want to consider accepting, or -- easier for you -- adding them to one of the dinner parties you are having in the residence.

cc: Nancy

CS: 402

YODE06

r k

9.9.93
To Dick Riley / ce D. Reuk

^bc-yoder-column adv08<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Wednesday, September 8, 1993, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--It once was said that the ideal school would be Mark Hopkins, a famous teacher, at one end of a log and the student at the other.

Why a log I can't recall. But as the new academic year begins, the log seems to be crowded with intermediaries and cluttered by half a century of curricular tinkering.

If you believed the papers, moreover, you would conclude that the great educational issues of our time are vouchers or "cultural diversity" or some other political passion of the moment.

Not so. As always, the real issue is the oldest and simplest: What are our children learning--or failing to learn--and why?

I suspect, on the basis of some personal experience, that what is missing from the American educational system today is a zeal to teach basic facts, literary, scientific, historical. The best way I can think of to dramatize the concern is a brief quiz which you can give yourself -- or, if you like, administer to the student whose tuition costs you're slaving or borrowing to pay. These randomly chosen questions just might give some inkling of what is being absorbed at the schoolhouse these days:

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/9

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 3, 1993

Truman up?

MEMORANDUM TO MARK MIDDLETON

FROM: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: INQUIRY FROM DAVID PRYOR

David Pryor called me over the break and expressed some of the same concerns regarding Dr. Gene Joyce that Truman Arnold has conveyed to you and me for several months.

We need to do something about this promptly. Perhaps Gene could meet the President when he is in Texas for a 5 minute visit with Truman, since he probably will be at Ann Richards birthday celebration.

Also, Anita is hosting a tea for Donna Kay on September 28th. It might be a good time for Gene and Mary Kay (his wife) to be invited to Washington, she for this event, and you and Gene could have lunch.

Use some Middleton creativity, and get this handled. ^{1.1} Let me know what works.
= = =

And God bless Mark Middleton.

U. of

TFM/pm

In
bcc: pots/p.1e
Burns
PENDING -
5 DAYS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

a. a. 93

9/8/93 Tony
need comments
asap

16 Sutton Place 9A
New York City, New York 10022

September 7, 1993

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
The White House, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Nancy,

I would be grateful if you would pass the enclosed to the President.

My home telephone in New York is 212 319-6541. The office number at the Council on Foreign Relations is 212 734-0400. I will be out of New York for speaking engagements in Little Rock, St. Louis and Nashville, September 14-16, but my office will know how to find me if you need to contact.

I hope that Washington is beginning to seem a friendlier and even relatively hospitable town!

With best regards,

Rich

Richard W. Murphy

Tony
Mae Neil-Mayer
with a bea da

16 Sutton Place 9A
New York City, New York 10022

September 6, 1993

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

Dear Bill,

I want to report a private conversation which I had with Bandar in Aspen recently as we were talking about how to settle the controversy over handling the Saudi educational grant. (Thanks to him that now seems to be moving to an acceptable solution.)

My conversation with Bandar was on the same day I believe you had a long telephone conversation with Fahd about the prospective Boeing sale. I asked Bandar how bilateral US-Saudi relations were going. He said there had been excellent cooperation on several issues but the King periodically raised with him the question of why there was still not an American Ambassador in Riyadh. You may recall I mentioned this as a likely problem when we met in Little Rock during January.

Bandar agreed that we obviously intended no slight in leaving the post open for more than a year but urged there be some early personal contact with the King. He said there are no early plans for Fahd to come to the States for long delayed knee surgery which would have given you the chance to see him yourself.

Bandar then said that Fahd continued to have very good memories of my tour there and my subsequent visits as Assistant Secretary and asked if I could go out with a personal message from you. Bandar said that if you were to send me out with a private "to stay in touch" message, he knew that the King would appreciate this. He added that to assure a meeting he would have to be able to tell Fahd that I was travelling out after having met with you.

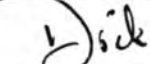
Knowing the demands on your time, I was initially reluctant to pass this suggestion on. But I also feel there is no point in letting a friend of the U.S., such as Fahd unquestionably is, brood unnecessarily about the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. The King is famed for needing repeated, first hand reassurance.

If you think this would be a helpful exercise, I would travel to see Fahd in connection with a visit to Riyadh on other matters. I would ask Bandar that the meeting itself be kept entirely private to avoid speculation and I am confident the King would do so.

I am free to travel during the week of September 20th or after the 7th of October. Please let me know if you would like to proceed.

The pace of Middle East events are making even me, the ever optimistic observer, gape. The caution you publicly expressed has been sound. These last weeks have constituted an astounding turning point but, as I understand it, the Israelis and Palestinians leapt the Oslo hurdle on their own. Our help, including fund raising, will be vital to keep the race going but it will be wise to let the protagonists themselves stay center stage to work out some immediate and very knotty problems.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dick".

Richard W. Murphy

9/10
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a decision memo from Bob Rubin recommending that you endorse an action by the Senate and House Armed Services Committees to authorize about \$300 million more in FY 94 than the Administration's request for your Technology Reinvestment Project. OMB, NSC, DoD and Congressional all concur in NEC's recommendation.

NEC would like an early public endorsement of this and suggests doing it as early as tomorrow in California. We will run this by the Vice President's office and the Communications staff and to see whether it can be integrated with tomorrow's event, assuming you approve of the approach.

John Podesta
Todd Stern

Make sure this
fact sheet is put in
my packet to go to Calif

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

23 SEP 9 09:17

September 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Robert E. Rubin *REN*

SUBJECT: Congressional Increase for TRP

The Senate and House Armed Services Committees have authorized roughly \$300 million more than the Administration requested for the ARPA-led Technology Reinvestment Project in FY94. The defense appropriators have yet to act. When you are in California tomorrow, you may want to endorse this "plus-up" in the authorization for the TRP, which is a cornerstone of your defense conversion initiative. This memo lays out the arguments for and against such an endorsement.

Background

The TRP is an innovative effort to develop dual-use technologies and to help small defense firms make the transition to commercial production. It consists of eight programs established by the Defense Conversion Act of 1992. Matching funds, on a competitive basis, will go to (1) industry-led consortia to develop dual-use technologies with the potential for commercialization within five years; (2) manufacturing extension programs and other mechanisms to deploy existing technology and best practices to small firms; and (3) programs to educate and train manufacturing engineers and technicians.

Over 2,800 proposals, requesting \$8.5 billion, were submitted in response to the offer of \$472 million in matching funds. (The technology development programs were most heavily subscribed: 2,000 proposals, requesting \$6.5 billion, are chasing \$200 million of federal funds.) Each proposal had, on average, 5 participants.

Nearly one-quarter of the proposals came from California. Large numbers of proposals also came in from New York, Massachusetts, Florida, Pennsylvania and Texas. Awards will be announced beginning late this month.

Funding

The Administration's FY94 request for the TRP programs is \$275 million, down from \$472 million in FY93. The decrease is due largely to a substantial drop in requested DoD funds for technology deployment, which the Commerce Department is expected to take the lead in funding (although at lower levels) beginning in FY95.

Arguments for Endorsing the TRP Plus-Up

1. The TRP has drawn a powerful show of interest from American industry and from states hard-hit by defense cutbacks. The TRP's technology development programs are oversubscribed by a factor of 30-to-1. Applicants pledged \$3 billion in cash match (that's 5 percent of industry's R&D budget) as well as \$5.5 billion of in-kind match.

2. The TRP is seen as the heart of the Administration's defense conversion initiative; it is what industry talks about and what the press writes about. Moreover, you are personally identified with the TRP.

3. California will likely be a big winner under the TRP. Nearly one-quarter of the proposals came from California, and they should fare well in the competition, given the state's superb science and technology base.

4. Because of the discretionary caps, the Administration will have a tough, year-by-year fight to get a high fraction of its \$20 billion in investments for defense conversion. Given that reality, we should take conversion funds where we can get them.

5. The plus-up does not jeopardize DoD's military mission. The Senate diverted funds largely from test and evaluation accounts that remain at 1980s levels; unlike military bases, the T&E facilities (e.g., Aberdeen Proving Grounds or White Sands Missile Range) have not yet been subject to a consolidation and closure process. (The House plus-up is impossible to trace because it draws from many different accounts.)

Arguments Against Endorsing the TRP Plus-Up

1. The TRP represents a new approach, and we don't yet know what the quality of the proposals will be. We should proceed with caution, and avoid ramping the program up too quickly, lest we ruin a good thing.

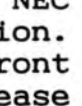
2. An endorsement of the plus-up would undermine the integrity of the Administration's budget. We ought not set that precedent.

3. DoD has major fungibility problems. Everything in the defense budget is getting squeezed, and there is pressure to cut still more. In this kind of budget environment, an increase for the TRP is not justified.

4. The appropriators may earmark some of the TRP funds. (Last year, they earmarked one-quarter of the TRP appropriations; but because the earmarks were in report language, rather than bill language, DoD was able to defer to the authorization requirement for competitive selection.) The plus-up may be more susceptible to earmarking than the Administration request.

Recommendation

NEC, DoD and OMB all recommend that you endorse the increase for the TRP. DoD wants your endorsement to convey as well a strong opposition to any earmarking of the funds, and that's consistent with the NEC's view.

 The NEC staff feels especially strongly about the wisdom of this action. Gene Sperling thinks it is important that you get out in front on the TRP and be seen as aggressively going after the increase in appropriations. Dorothy Robyn, our technology policy expert, believes that the TRP is an excellent program: The authorizing legislation was enlightened (competitive selection of proposals, requirement for matching funds), the implementation has been visionary (six federal agencies; led by ARPA, working hand-in-hand), and the program has catalyzed industry to form much-needed partnerships to apply for the funds.

The message you should convey is threefold:

- ✓ • I strongly support this increase; the additional funds are essential, given industry's enthusiastic response to the TRP, and I will do everything possible to see that the funds are fully appropriated.
- ✓ • Part of what has made this program so successful is the requirement for competitive selection. We will work closely with Congress to prevent "earmarking" of any of the funds.
- ✓ • This program is an example of "reinventing government." Through grants to locally-based projects, the TRP is giving communities the tools to rebuild their local economies. Our nation's most dynamic regional economies have grown out of strong regional economic strategies. The TRP is about getting resources and decision-making to flow back to regional efforts, which is the best way to spark economic growth.

Timing

The sooner the better. Silicon Valley would be a good place, because of the high interest there in the TRP.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

TO: TONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

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

Please prepare a Presidential
response and return to my office.

(The original letter has been
forwarded to the President.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Mack wanted you to see. I've
forwarded to Howard and Tony
for a response.

John Podesta

BOB SMITH
NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN NEW HAMPSHIRE
1-800-922-2230

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2903

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
ENVIRONMENT AND
PUBLIC WORKS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
ETHICS
COMMISSION ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION
IN EUROPE

September 3, 1993 28:20

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing you concerning your impending decision, required by law before September 14, 1993, on whether to extend for another year the exercise of your authority to maintain prohibitions on trade with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

I respectfully suggest that the central issue affecting your decision should be the historically dragged-out and overall disappointing performance of communist authorities in the region, including Laos, in accounting for our missing and captured personnel, especially the most troubling cases where the U.S. intelligence community knows that Vietnamese communists have direct knowledge as to the fate of personnel who were last known to be alive. Other issues you must consider are Hanoi's terrible record on basic human rights issues (including their most recent affront to Senator Robb), their long-standing support of terrorist and hostile nations to the U.S (ie: Libya, Cuba, North Korea), and the decades-old U.S. national security interest of seeing the collapse of communism in Southeast Asia.

You are well aware of my deep concern over the historic tendency and mutual desire of both Washington and Hanoi to sidestep around the very core of the POW/MIA issue -- ie: what happened to the more than 1,150 still unaccounted for U.S. personnel (1,300 in 1973) who were listed as missing and captured at the end of the war. And more importantly, what happened to those individuals from this category who did not return even though we knew they had fallen into communist hands. (The number of these cases range anywhere from 92 to 299 still unaccounted for POW/MIAs depending on the criteria used and whether Laos discrepancy cases are included).

Mr. President, in February, March, April, and June of this year, I personally made you aware of my concerns about the POW/MIA issue and its relation to our policy toward Hanoi. However, as you consider your decision on the embargo, I want you

DIRKSEN BUILDING
SUITE 332
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2903
(202) 224-2841

THE GATEWAY BUILDING
50 PHILLIPPE COTE ST.
MANCHESTER, NH 03101
(603) 634-5000

46 S. MAIN STREET
CONCORD, NH 03301
(603) 228-0453

ONE HARBOUR PLACE
SUITE 435
PORTSMOUTH, NH 03801
(603) 433-1667

136 PLEASANT STREET
BERLIN, NH 03570
(603) 752-2800

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 3, 1993
page 2

to be aware of two matters concerning the POW/MIA issue which disturb me the most. Both of these matters concern American POWs reported alive but not returned at the end of the war.

First is the Russian language translation of the 1972 North Vietnamese politburo presentation which addressed the total number of American POWs held by North Vietnam at the time -- a number far greater than those who eventually came home. As you know, this report was located in the archives of the former Soviet Union this past spring, and to date, Hanoi has dismissed it as a complete fabrication, maintaining that no such presentation even remotely resembling the Russian language translation ever took place. Are we to seriously believe that their politburo was never briefed by their military in 1972 on the results of interrogations of American POWs and the total number captured to date? Of course not, yet we have not even officially asked Hanoi for the dates or content of any politburo briefings in 1972 on American POWs.

What is startling to me after reading the document, Mr. President, is not just Hanoi's position (which one might expect from a Communist regime with a well-established propaganda machine), but the lack of any firm position from Washington which holds Hanoi's feet to the fire in explaining the content of the document. At the request of my friend Ross Perot, I have enclosed for your review a copy of an analysis of this document I recently submitted to Ambassador Malcolm Toon. I hope it will underscore for you the seriousness of this discovery and why it must have a direct impact on our future relationship with Hanoi. (Last month, I provided a copy of this analysis to Kent Wiedemann on your NSC staff.)

I recall your public commitment during your April East Room news conference to apprise the American people and the POW/MIA families once you had personally drawn your conclusions on the veracity of this document. You should know that the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs found that on occasion, the Department of Defense had been "evasive, unresponsive, and disturbingly incorrect and cavalier" in its dealings with the Senate on this issue last year. This conclusion is contained in the Final Report of our investigation which I co-chaired. Given this fact, I would strongly urge you to read my analysis of the Soviet archival document, so you can present a balanced and fair report to the American people on this document.

Second, Mr. President, I am extremely concerned about the fate of unaccounted for American pilots known to have been captured and held in Laos during the war by both North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces. To date, the United States has received

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 3, 1993
page 3

no convincing explanation on what happened to the vast majority of these men, especially the American pilots whom we know were held in northern Laos and captured along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Our Committee found last year that the Secretary of Defense in 1973 had informed the White House at the time in a Top Secret memorandum of his grave concern on this matter. You may also know that Ross Perot was specifically briefed on the presence of U.S. POWs in northern Laos by the CIA during his trips to Laos in 1969/70 at the request of the Administration, and our Committee found substantiation of this fact.

During my trip to Hanoi last month, I shared with the Vietnamese recently-declassified NSA radio intercepts, human intelligence reports, and overhead wartime photography on this subject to demonstrate that we know conclusively that the Vietnamese have the ability to easily account for the American personnel they captured and held in Laos.

Even your current Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Ambassador Winston Lord, stressed this fact in Senate testimony before our Committee last year, and he is well aware from his work with Dr. Kissinger in 1972/73 of Hanoi's control over Laos. Simply put, I hope we not let a few tripartite meetings between Laos, Vietnam, and the U.S. be a substitute for Hanoi telling us what happened to the U.S. personnel they captured in Laos.

Mr. President, as I stated to you personally in June, I accept your offer to discuss any of these matters with you, to include briefing you on the most compelling and troubling information about living American POWs left behind in Communist countries in 1973. I had hoped we could have had such a meeting prior to your decision on removing our long-standing and legitimate objection to granting IMF status to Hanoi. I hope that you would now consider having such a meeting prior to any decision by your Administration to further relax any portion of the U.S. trade embargo currently in place against Hanoi.

In June, I urged you not to be deceived by those who claim enormous progress is being made on POW/MIA issues. The families of these men can count, Mr. President, and your intelligence community is well-aware of what Hanoi is capable of doing if it truly wanted to account for hundreds of our missing and captured personnel. Now more than ever, we must not abandon the only credible leverage we have to convince Hanoi of our resolve to obtain a full and honorable resolution to this issue. And Mr. President, I would also recommend that this time around we use this leverage wisely to bring Hanoi to the table for a resumption of serious negotiations on this issue -- the likes of which have

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 3, 1993
page 4

not been seen since the Paris Peace Accords.

It is no coincidence that only yesterday the Vietnamese issued a press release entitled "New Documents on MIA Found." You and I both know that these documents have long been in the possession of Hanoi's Ministry of National Defense and they could easily have been provided to General Vessey long ago. Two of the items listed in their press release will have no bearing on resolving "MIA" matters, and, indeed, one of the items pertains to POWs who returned in 1973. I understand the last item, concerning the list of plane crashes along the Ho Chi Minh trail between Laos and Vietnam, is being brought to Washington for analysis this weekend. I assure you, Mr. President, if Hanoi had a list of plane crashes, they also have a complete list of the pilots who were captured in these important wartime areas, and one should expect this list to match, in many respects, what U.S. intelligence knew in 1973. In short, you have the opportunity to send a message to the Vietnamese that you will not be fooled into accepting such "activity" as real progress in accounting for missing servicemen. We want a serious and honorable resolution to this issue.

Mr. President, I again urge you, for the sake of our missing men and their families, do not accept at face-value what the bureaucracy or some in Congress might like you to believe on this issue. Study the facts for yourself because your decisions will be critical in our efforts to find our missing and captured men, and they will have a lasting effect on those Americans who wear our uniform today and in the future.

You are a very busy man, and I thank you for taking the time to read this letter and the attached analysis of the Soviet archival document. I also thank Mr. Perot and your Chief of Staff, Mr. McLarty, for their efforts to get the enclosed analysis into your hands prior to your decision on the trade embargo against Hanoi.

I look forward to hearing from you.

With warm regards,



BOB SMITH
United States Senator

BS/dc
enclosure



SENATOR BOB SMITH

New Hampshire

Report to Ambassador Malcolm Toon, Chairman of the U.S. Side of
the Joint U.S./Russian Commission on POW/MIAs
from U.S. Senator Bob Smith, Commissioner

July 21, 1993

AN INTERIM ANALYSIS

of the

1972 TRANSLATION OF A NORTH VIETNAMESE REPORT CONCERNING U.S. POWS
DISCOVERED IN 1993 IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION
AND SUBSEQUENTLY PROVIDED TO THE U.S. SIDE OF THE
JOINT U.S./RUSSIAN COMMISSION ON POW/MIAS

I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Dr. Stephen Morris, the man who first discovered the North Vietnamese report on POWs in Russian language form, deserves special thanks from the United States of America. General Dmitri Volkogonov, head of the Russian side to the U.S./Russian Joint Commission on POW/MIAs, likewise deserves our gratitude for continuing to open the archives of the former Soviet Union in an effort to resolve outstanding humanitarian issues such as the fate of our POWs and MIAs.

B. The report found by Dr. Morris contains numerous statements which can be corroborated by U.S. knowledge. Because of this, I am convinced the presentation took place in 1972. In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary from Vietnam, I can only assume that from 1964 to 1973, the leadership of North Vietnam withheld the total number and identity of American POWs in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia over whom it had direct control.

C. The position of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam that the report in Russian language form is a "pure fabrication" which they "completely reject" is unacceptable to me, and I believe, the majority of the American people. This matter is still wide open.

D. The U.S. Government does not know the fate of many of its missing personnel in Vietnam and Laos, and the U.S. Government should stop believing that it knows the fate of just about everybody. It's time people study the facts, even if it means revisiting "old" issues.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

TO: DAVE GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
BOB 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
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE DIRECTOR

September 9, 1993

178 P6:26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Leon E. Panetta 
SUBJECT: CBO Economic and Budget Update

Following is a summary and talking points on the CBO Economic and Budget Outlook: Update, which was released yesterday; and a packet of graphs and numerical data to illustrate the major points.

The Economy

- ***CBO's economic outlook has been revised closer to OMB's.***
 - CBO has raised their real growth forecast much closer to OMB's, particularly in the outyears (see the first graph). Part of this movement is that CBO has provided a "deficit reduction bonus" for long-term growth of about 0.1 percent per year; but there is more going on. In January, CBO projected 2.0 percent growth for 1998; now, they project 2.4 percent.
 - CBO has brought their inflation projections up toward OMB (see the second graph). OMB sees a long-term CPI of 3.5 percent per year; CBO sees more like 3.0 percent now, while in January they projected 2.7 percent.
 - CBO and OMB are now very close on long-term interest rates in the outyears -- *but both are still substantially above current levels* (see the third graph). OMB projects the ten-year Treasury rate at 5.9 percent; CBO projects 6.1 percent; and the current rate is near 5.2 percent. (Both CBO and OMB are significantly lower than the private sector Blue Chip consensus, but the Blue Chip outyear survey is almost three months old and has been overtaken by events. The next survey should be much closer to CBO and OMB.)
 - OMB is marginally more optimistic than CBO on the other major economic variables: short-term interest rates and unemployment.

- Overall, OMB and CBO provide similar, cautious, credible forecasts.
- *CBO says that the recovery has now reached the point of being self-sustaining.* Now that employment is growing, and low interest rates are stimulating demand for cars, homes, and business investment, CBO believes that the recovery will continue. However, they do not look for any marked acceleration of growth -- just the 2.5 percent to 3.0 percent that we and they forecast.

The Budget

- *CBO has estimated a budget deficit path quite close to OMB's (see the fourth graph).* CBO is lower than OMB for the current year, by about \$20 billion. By 1995, the estimates are almost identical. In the outyears, OMB is lower than CBO by about \$20 billion. However, for a deficit estimate five years from now, a \$20 billion difference is very small.
- *CBO writes that the deficit reduction package will reduce growth by about 0.25 percent per year over the next five years.* All else equal, deficit reduction does slow the economy. But CBO's forecast assumes interest rates higher than the current level (see above). We should argue that this extra deficit reduction bonus should hold economic growth approximately harmless, and that there will be a significant growth bonus in the long run.
- *CBO claims that OBRA 1993 did not stabilize the ratio of debt to GDP; our estimates indicate that it did (see the fifth graph).* This is one major difference between CBO and OMB; if it comes up, we need to be prepared to assert that the debt:GDP ratio has been stabilized. However, we should be aware that health care costs under the current delivery system, even using our economic assumptions, will eventually drive the deficit and the debt out of control.
- *CBO shows a marked improvement in the long-term deficit outlook -- but the deficit still turns up in the outyears (see the sixth and seventh graphs).* The biggest component of this improvement is net interest -- which demonstrates the importance of the deficit reduction program. The only major budget component to drive the deficit up in the outyears is health care; all other parts of the budget grow at or below the rate of growth of the economy as a whole.
- *CBO presents their estimate of the deficit reduction effect of OBRA 1993 in the most favorable way.* CBO was committed to scoring the bill from their capped baseline. They presented scoring alternatives, however, showing both our baseline and a totally uncapped baseline. That put the estimate using our baseline in the middle. CBO also

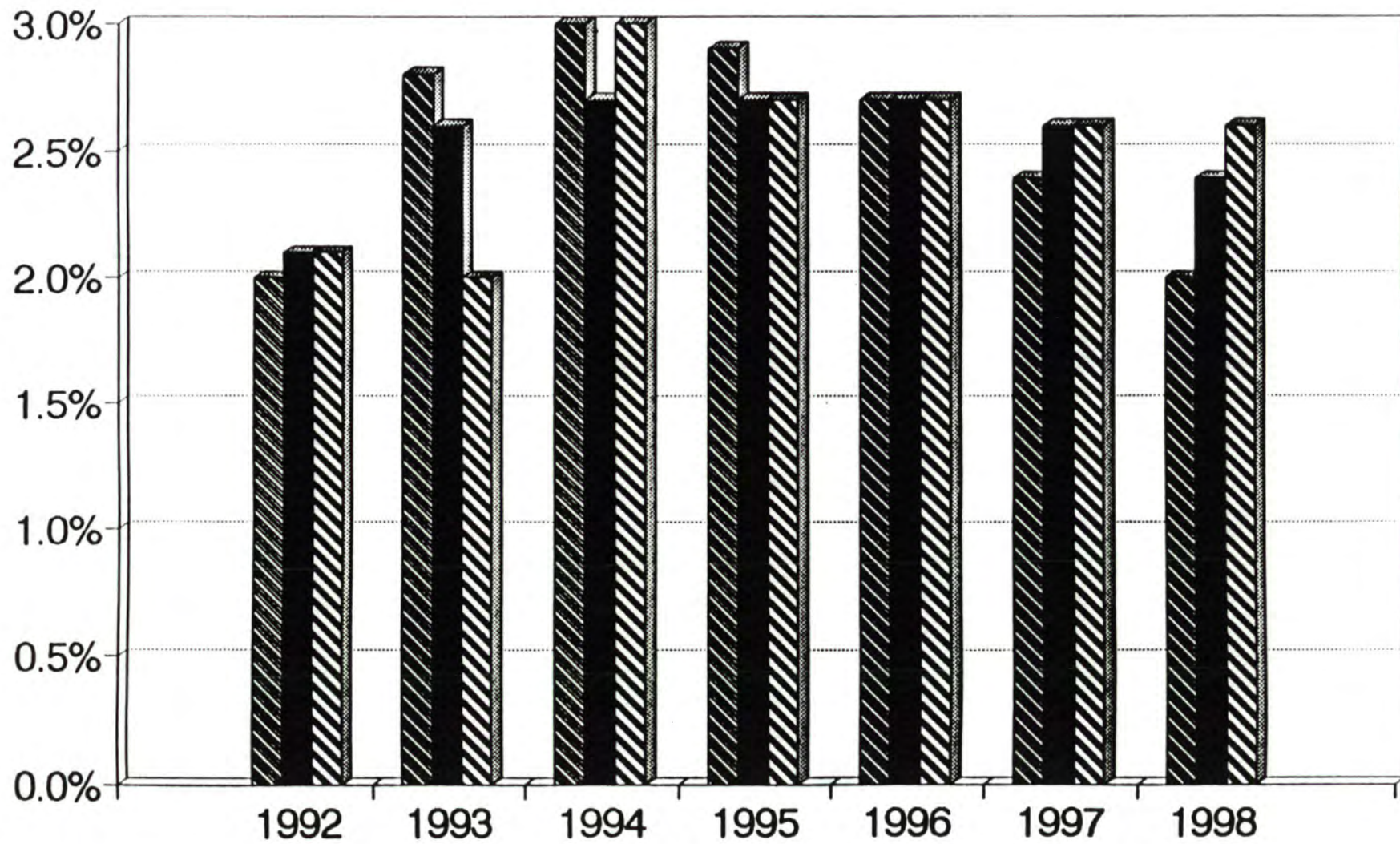
included language indicating that the choice of a baseline is essentially arbitrary, and that it does not affect the ultimate projected deficit.

CBO scored the reconciliation bill at \$432.9 billion from their capped baseline; \$476.9 billion from the Administration (Bush defense, uncapped nondefense) baseline; and \$564.4 billion from a fully uncapped baseline. Recall that the choice of baseline does not affect the ultimate deficit; and that we believe that our baseline choice is justified because the Bush administration never indicated how it would achieve the discretionary savings mandated in the 1990 budget agreement, and in fact their last budget relied on a sequester to comply with the Budget Act targets.

Assuming our baseline, the major differences between CBO's \$476.9 billion estimate and our \$504.8 billion estimate, in descending size, are:

- Debt Maturity: CBO scored Treasury's changes in its auction processes at \$6.4 billion; we claim \$16.5 billion. However, CBO interpreted the change as a technical reestimate; they gave reconciliation no credit for achieving savings. Therefore, the \$16.5 billion comprises almost two-thirds of the \$27.9 billion difference between OMB and CBO.
- We believe that we achieved real savings through this change, and that even CBO's technical scoring of \$6.4 billion was too low -- because their assumption that Treasury would sell the same volume of 30-year bonds in the face of rising budget deficits was unrealistic, and in effect already assumed the policy change.
- Spectrum Auction: CBO scored the spectrum auction at \$7.2 billion; we claimed \$12.6 billion; so the difference of \$5.4 billion is about one-fifth of the total.
- Published estimates of the market value of the spectrum to be auctioned range up to \$40 billion. Current sales prices are well beyond what CBO assumes.
- Paygo Balance: CBO scored at zero the institution of a point of order to prevent spending of the \$4 billion of paygo balance that preexisted the reconciliation bill.
- The \$4 billion was available to be spent, and no longer will be.
- Miscellaneous: All remaining differences net to less than \$2 billion.

CBO Growth Rates: January vs. September



January estimate

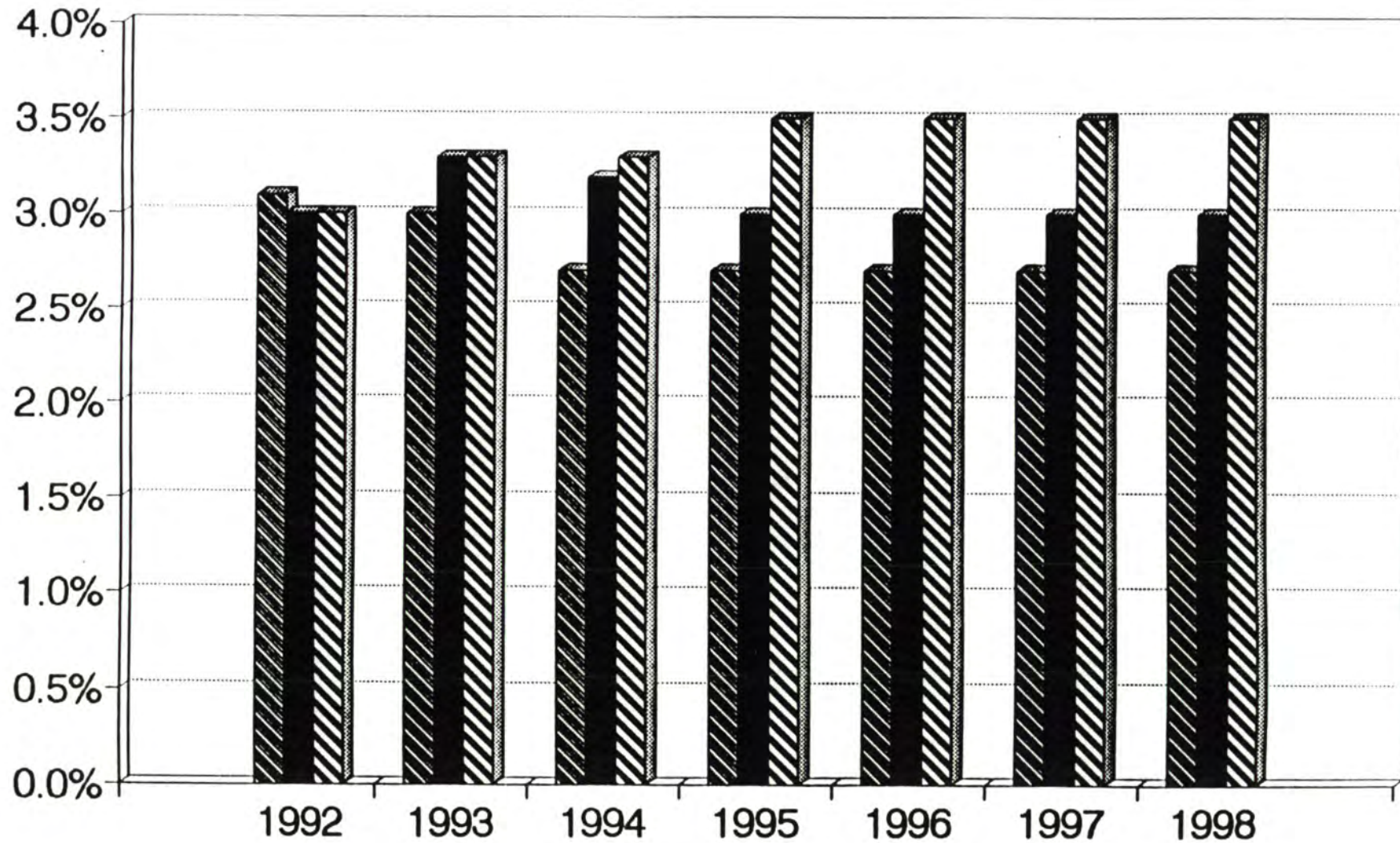


September estimate



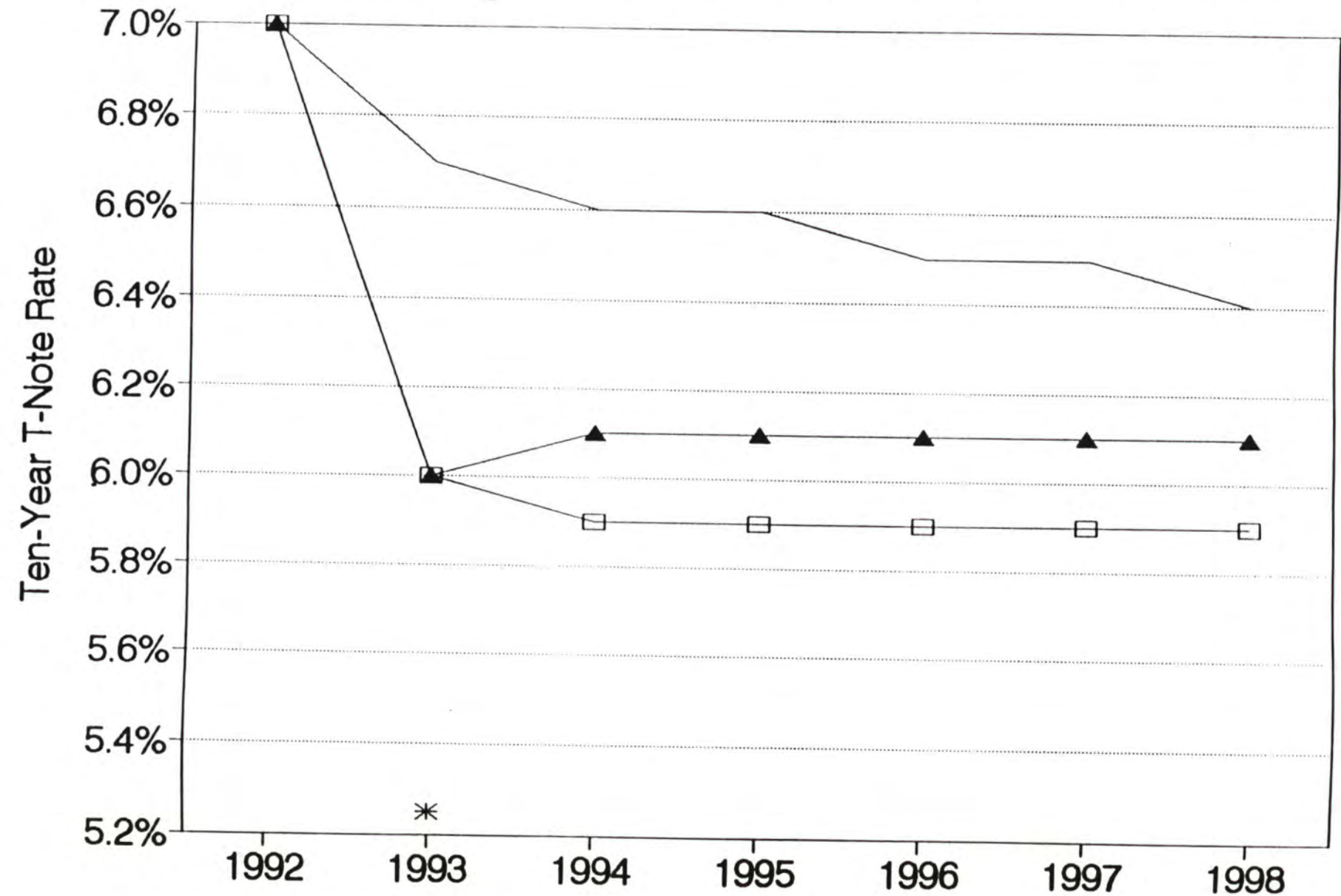
OMB September

CBO CPI Rates: January vs. September



January estimate September estimate OMB September

CBO Long-Term Interest Rates



— January estimate



September estimate



OMB September

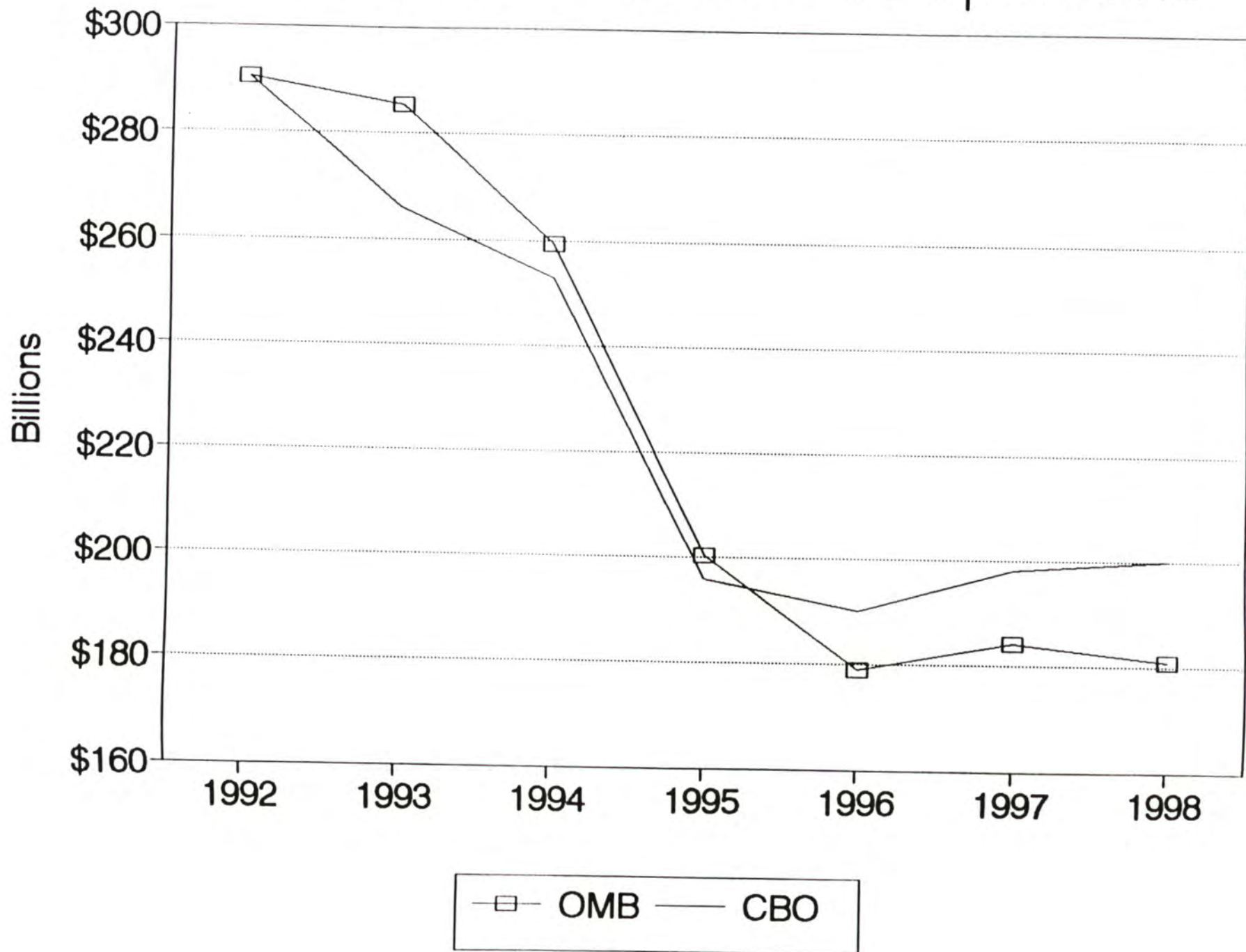


Current actual

MAJOR ECONOMIC VARIABLES

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Real GDP Growth							
OMB	2.1%	2.0%	3.0%	2.7%	2.7%	2.6%	2.6%
CBO January	2.0%	2.8%	3.0%	2.9%	2.7%	2.4%	2.0%
CBO September	2.1%	2.6%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.6%	2.4%
CPI							
OMB	3.0%	3.3%	3.3%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%
CBO January	3.1%	3.0%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%
CBO September	3.0%	3.3%	3.2%	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%
Unemployment							
OMB	7.4%	6.9%	6.5%	6.1%	5.9%	5.7%	5.5%
CBO January	7.4%	7.1%	6.6%	6.2%	6.0%	5.8%	5.7%
CBO September	7.4%	6.9%	6.6%	6.3%	6.0%	5.8%	5.7%
Three-Month T-Bill							
OMB	3.4%	3.1%	3.6%	3.9%	4.2%	4.5%	4.5%
CBO January	3.5%	3.1%	3.7%	4.4%	4.7%	4.8%	4.9%
CBO September	3.4%	3.1%	3.6%	4.1%	4.5%	4.6%	4.6%
Ten-Year T-Note							
OMB	7.0%	6.0%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%
CBO January	7.0%	6.7%	6.6%	6.6%	6.5%	6.5%	6.4%
CBO September	7.0%	6.0%	6.1%	6.1%	6.1%	6.1%	6.1%

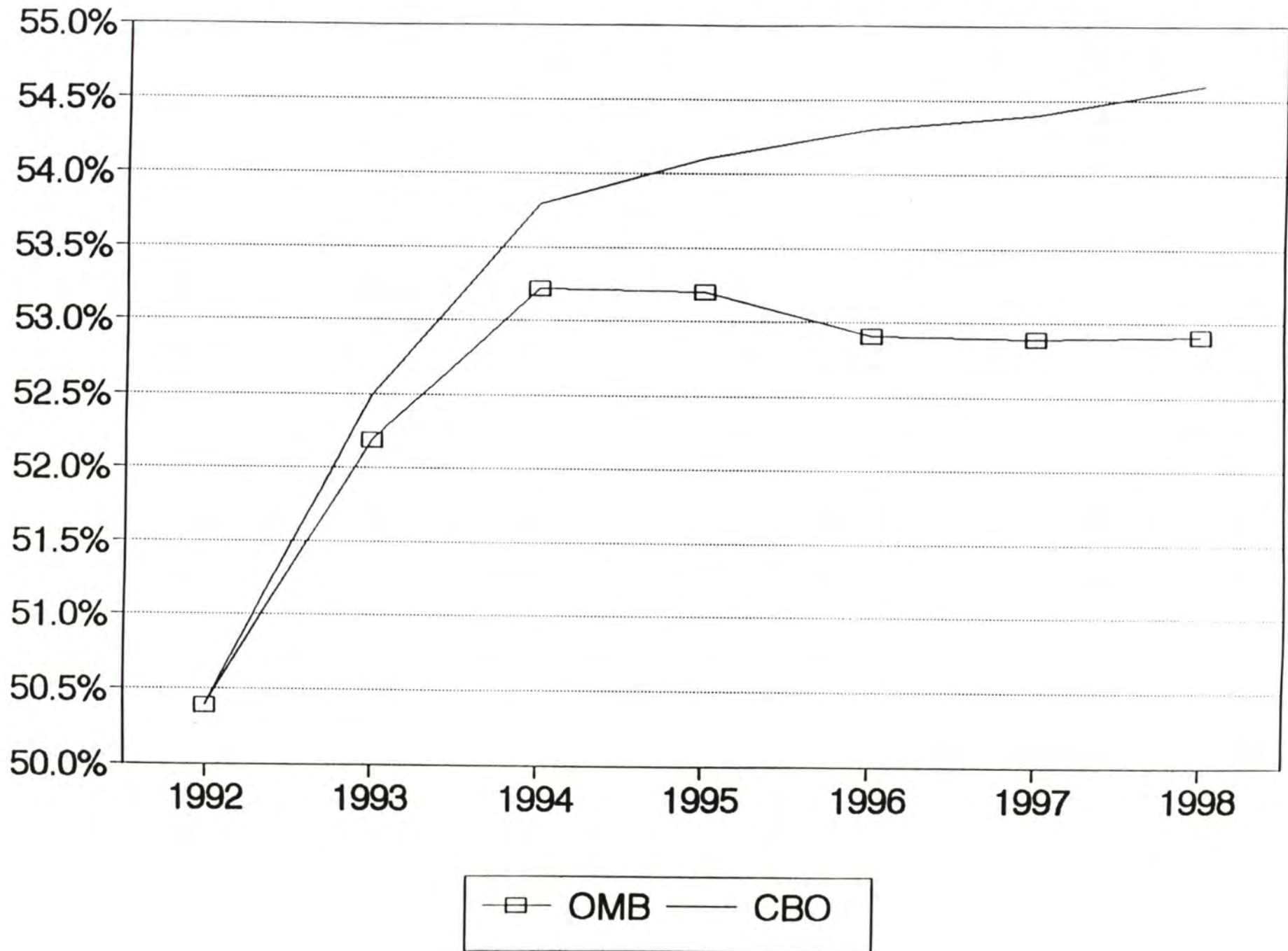
OMB and CBO Deficit Projections



OMB AND CBO DEFICIT PROJECTIONS

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
OMB	290.4	285.3	259.4	200.4	179.0	184.3	181.0
CBO	290.4	266	253	196	190	198	200

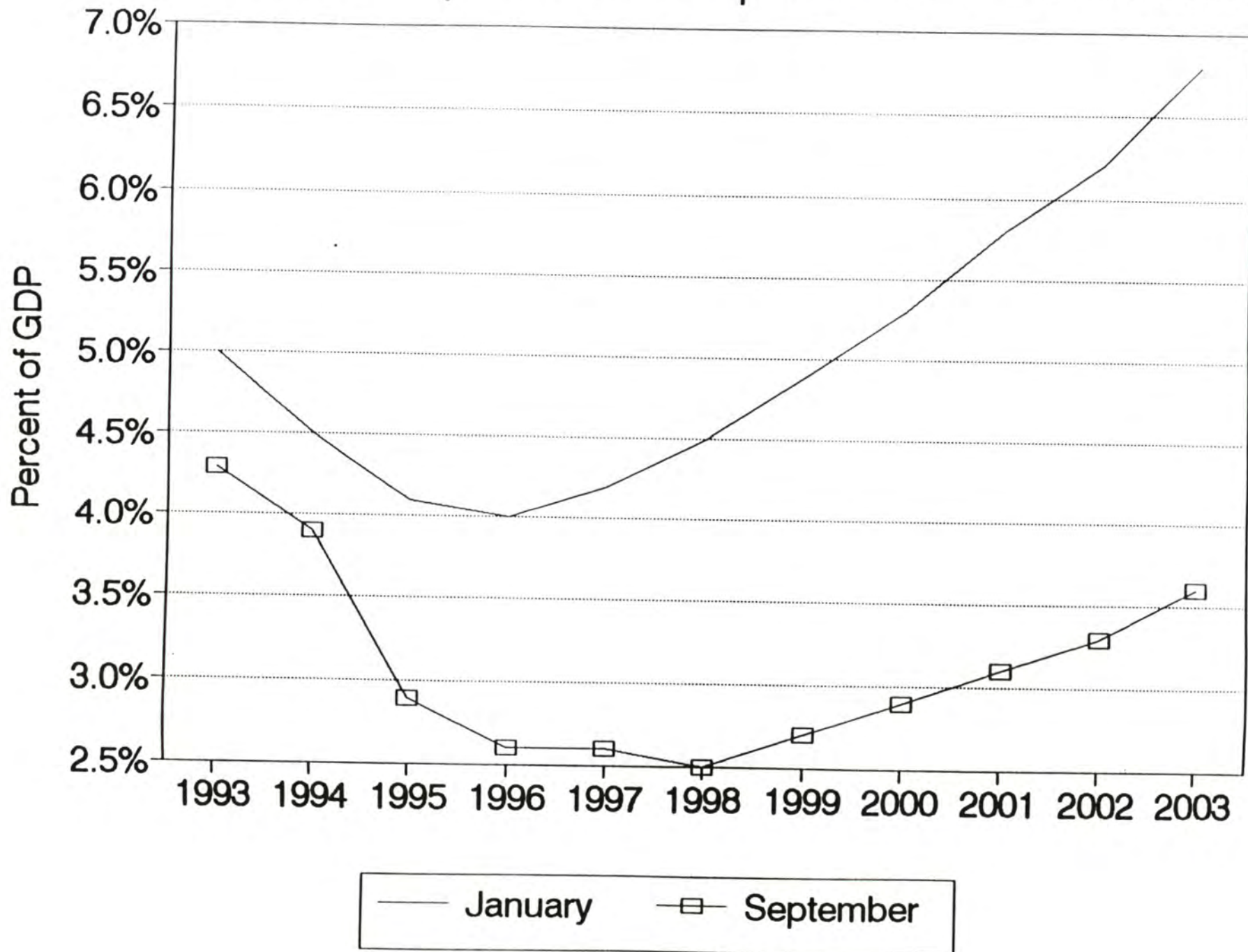
OMB and CBO Debt:GDP Paths



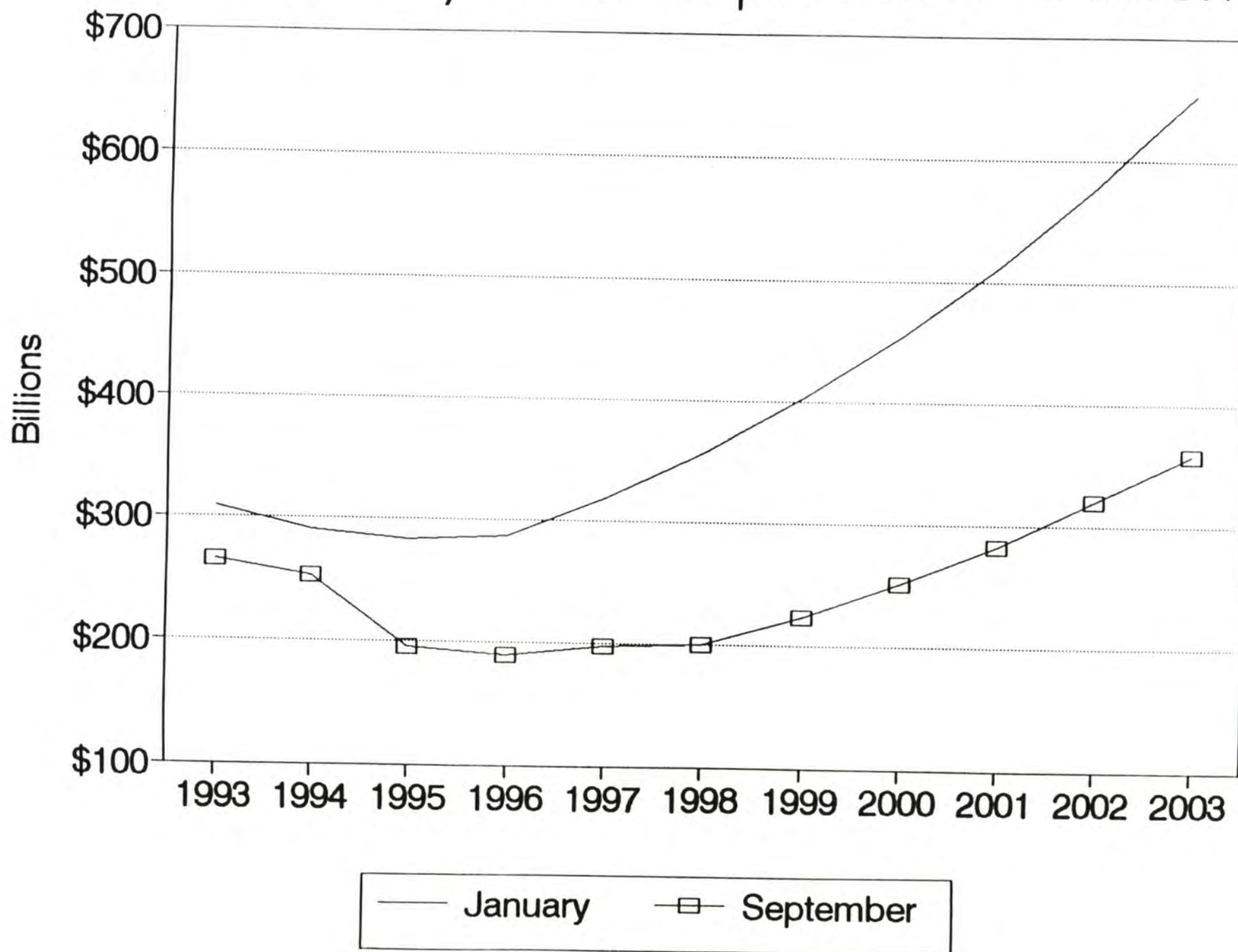
DEBT:GDP RATIOS

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
OMB	50.4%	52.2%	53.2%	53.2%	52.9%	52.9%	52.9%
CBO	50.4%	52.5%	53.8%	54.1%	54.3%	54.4%	54.6%

CBO January and September Deficits



CBO January and September Deficits



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Robert E. Rubin *REN*
SUBJECT: Congressional Increase for TRP

The Senate and House Armed Services Committees have authorized roughly \$300 million more than the Administration requested for the ARPA-led Technology Reinvestment Project in FY94. The defense appropriators have yet to act. When you are in California tomorrow, you may want to endorse this "plus-up" in the authorization for the TRP, which is a cornerstone of your defense conversion initiative. This memo lays out the arguments for and against such an endorsement.

Background

The TRP is an innovative effort to develop dual-use technologies and to help small defense firms make the transition to commercial production. It consists of eight programs established by the Defense Conversion Act of 1992. Matching funds, on a competitive basis, will go to (1) industry-led consortia to develop dual-use technologies with the potential for commercialization within five years; (2) manufacturing extension programs and other mechanisms to deploy existing technology and best practices to small firms; and (3) programs to educate and train manufacturing engineers and technicians.

Over 2,800 proposals, requesting \$8.5 billion, were submitted in response to the offer of \$472 million in matching funds. (The technology development programs were most heavily subscribed: 2,000 proposals, requesting \$6.5 billion, are chasing \$200 million of federal funds.) Each proposal had, on average, 5 participants.

Nearly one-quarter of the proposals came from California. Large numbers of proposals also came in from New York, Massachusetts, Florida, Pennsylvania and Texas. Awards will be announced beginning late this month.

Funding

The Administration's FY94 request for the TRP programs is \$275 million, down from \$472 million in FY93. The decrease is due largely to a substantial drop in requested DoD funds for technology deployment, which the Commerce Department is expected to take the lead in funding (although at lower levels) beginning in FY95.

Arguments for Endorsing the TRP Plus-Up

1. The TRP has drawn a powerful show of interest from American industry and from states hard-hit by defense cutbacks. The TRP's technology development programs are oversubscribed by a factor of 30-to-1. Applicants pledged \$3 billion in cash match (that's 5 percent of industry's R&D budget) as well as \$5.5 billion of in-kind match.
2. The TRP is seen as the heart of the Administration's defense conversion initiative; it is what industry talks about and what the press writes about. Moreover, you are personally identified with the TRP.
3. California will likely be a big winner under the TRP. Nearly one-quarter of the proposals came from California, and they should fare well in the competition, given the state's superb science and technology base.
4. Because of the discretionary caps, the Administration will have a tough, year-by-year fight to get a high fraction of its \$20 billion in investments for defense conversion. Given that reality, we should take conversion funds where we can get them.
5. The plus-up does not jeopardize DoD's military mission. The Senate diverted funds largely from test and evaluation accounts that remain at 1980s levels; unlike military bases, the T&E facilities (e.g., Aberdeen Proving Grounds or White Sands Missile Range) have not yet been subject to a consolidation and closure process. (The House plus-up is impossible to trace because it draws from many different accounts.)

Arguments Against Endorsing the TRP Plus-Up

1. The TRP represents a new approach, and we don't yet know what the quality of the proposals will be. We should proceed with caution, and avoid ramping the program up too quickly, lest we ruin a good thing.
2. An endorsement of the plus-up would undermine the integrity of the Administration's budget. We ought not set that precedent.
3. DoD has major fungibility problems. Everything in the defense budget is getting squeezed, and there is pressure to cut still more. In this kind of budget environment, an increase for the TRP is not justified.
4. The appropriators may earmark some of the TRP funds. (Last year, they earmarked one-quarter of the TRP appropriations; but because the earmarks were in report language, rather than bill language, DoD was able to defer to the authorization requirement for competitive selection.) The plus-up may be more susceptible to earmarking than the Administration request.

Recommendation

NEC, DoD and OMB all recommend that you endorse the increase for the TRP. DoD wants your endorsement to convey as well a strong opposition to any earmarking of the funds, and that's consistent with the NEC's view.

The NEC staff feels especially strongly about the wisdom of this action. Gene Sperling thinks it is important that you get out in front on the TRP and be seen as aggressively going after the increase in appropriations. Dorothy Robyn, our technology policy expert, believes that the TRP is an excellent program: The authorizing legislation was enlightened (competitive selection of proposals, requirement for matching funds), the implementation has been visionary (six federal agencies, led by ARPA, working hand-in-hand), and the program has catalyzed industry to form much-needed partnerships to apply for the funds.

The message you should convey is threefold:

- I strongly support this increase; the additional funds are essential, given industry's enthusiastic response to the TRP, and I will do everything possible to see that the funds are fully appropriated.
- Part of what has made this program so successful is the requirement for competitive selection. We will work closely with Congress to prevent "earmarking" of any of the funds.
- This program is an example of "reinventing government." Through grants to locally-based projects, the TRP is giving communities the tools to rebuild their local economies. Our nation's most dynamic regional economies have grown out of strong regional economic strategies. The TRP is about getting resources and decision-making to flow back to regional efforts, which is the best way to spark economic growth.

Timing

The sooner the better. Silicon Valley would be a good place, because of the high interest there in the TRP.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

NOTE FOR: MARCIA HALE

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

9.9.93

SEP 8 12:01

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Marcia Hale *jlh*

RE: Southern Governor's Conference

DT: September 7, 1993

*Let's discuss
this with Mack,
Hamm, and
Delia*

As you know, the Southern Governor's Meeting is scheduled September 19-20, in Richmond, Virginia. I believe you have spoken with Governor Wilder about attending the meeting.

There are several reasons why you might consider not attending the SGA meeting. They are:

1) The effect your appearance might have on the Mary Sue Terry race for Governor. The polling in this race shows it to be a closer race than is generally perceived. The Terry campaign would prefer as few national appearances in Virginia as possible between now and the election.

2) We are inviting all of the Governors to the NAFTA event at the White House on September 14. They will also be invited to a health care briefing later that day. We want to encourage as many Governors as possible to attend both of those events.

3) Governor Wilder, I believe, wants you to attend the session with the African Heads of State -- the NSC is preparing a separate memo on that event. However, I believe, it is fair to say that they have some concern about your attendance.

4) Your schedule over the next several weeks is very demanding and the SGA meeting is just two days before your joint session speech on health care.

However, I do believe it is important for you to have a presence at the SGA meeting. I think you should consider an interactive satellite appearance. Do you agree? Or, do you believe you need to attend the SGA meeting?

Thanks.

cc: Mack
Roy
Joan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

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

93 SEP 8 P8:22
September 8, 1993THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-9-93ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Inouye Call

In your call today to Sen. Inouye, he mentioned an alternative idea for funding the Russian aid package. The idea he refers to was floated over a month ago and was rejected by the Administration. It is not clear why he did not know this.

The basic idea was this: create a publicly-chartered foundation; give the defense share of the Russian aid money to the foundation in FY 93; let the foundation transfer the funds back to the federal government, which would then disburse the funds over the coming years.

The idea had many problems. OMB believes it runs afoul of budget scoring rules. It was opposed by State.

Today OMB Director Panetta called Inouye and let him know that not only OMB, but also CBO and the Senate Budget Committee believe this approach would not achieve his goal of avoiding FY 94 outlays. Inouye indicated he likely would cooperate once we call his committee staff, which is now done. We will arrange a call back from you to Inouye.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

NOTE FOR: SECRETARY REICH

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

Information	☒
Action	☐

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1993

Abby Ginzberg
1136 Evelyn Avenue
Albany, California 94706

Dear Abby:

Thanks for the great picture and the letter. I
have alerted Bob Reich to the fact that you
will write him, and I appreciate your
willingness to help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive, stylized script.

May
 1864
 1864
 1864
 1864

[illegible]

Abby Ginzberg

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9-9-93

NOTE FOR:

George S

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

Howard wants this
letter to go out ASAP

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9, 1993

3 SEP 9 P5:06

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HOWARD PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT:

Letters to Members of Congress

Attached are letters for your signature which respond to various letters from members of Congress.

The following is a brief description of each letter:

✓ 1) Carlos Romero-Barceló (D-PR), birthday greeting. His birthday was September 4 but his staff has asked that you send a greeting to be read at a surprise celebration on September 10;

2) Kika de la Garza (D-TX), concerning honey support program;

3) Dianne Feinstein (D-CA), concerning California's economy.

CS-

*Before sending
this, please see Mr*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your hard work on behalf of the reconciliation bill.

Of particular note within reconciliation are the provisions affecting the honey program. It is my understanding that the conference report provides for a lowering of the payment levels to which honey producers are entitled. In addition, the bill contains a gradual decrease in the price support for honey beginning at 50 cents per pound down to 47 cents per pound over five years. With these reforms, the honey program would become under current projections a no net cost program (apart from administrative costs) by 1998. This agreement represents an important step forward and I commend you for your efforts in this area.

In addition, I am aware of the grave concerns held by honey producers with regard to the impact that imported honey from China has had on our domestic markets. As a result, I am requesting that the International Trade Commission initiate an investigation under Section 406 of the Trade Act of 1974 to determine, with respect to imports of honey from China, whether market disruption exists. This investigation will be completed no later than three months following receipt of my request.

Mr. Chairman, I applaud your efforts to achieve a compromise that is acceptable to all parties involved, and look forward to continuing to work with you.

Sincerely,



The Honorable E (Kika) de la Garza
Chairman
Committee on Agriculture
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN
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.

PLEASE NOTE EMBARGO



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE CHAIRMAN

September 9, 1993

SEP 9 P7:14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA D. TYSON *Laura Tyson*

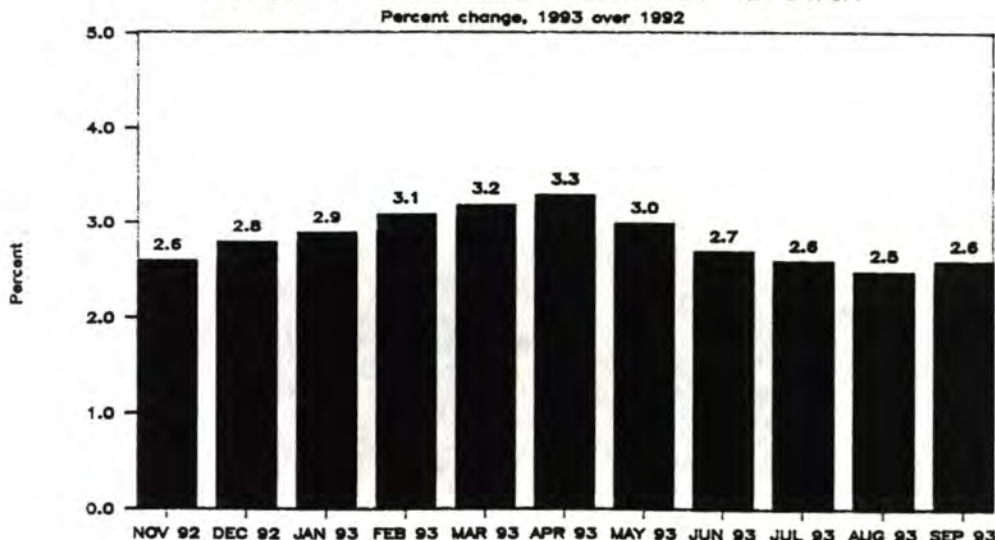
SUBJECT: Blue Chip Economic Indicators
Embargoed Until Friday, September 10, 1993

The September Blue Chip consensus forecast for 1993 real GDP growth was revised up slightly. The revision mainly reflects the upward revision of GDP in the first two quarters of the year.

- o The Blue Chip consensus forecast now expects 2.6 percent real GDP growth in 1993, compared to the 2.5 percent growth expected in the August survey. It was the first upward revision since April.
- o From the fourth quarter of 1992 to the fourth quarter of 1993, the Blue Chip forecast expects 2.1 percent growth, about the same as the Administration's 2.0 percent growth assumption in the Mid-Session Review released last week.
- o Expected GDP growth in 1994 was revised downward from 2.8 percent to 2.7 percent. The report cited the fiscal drag (both actual and psychological) of higher taxes, military downsizing, and weak foreign economies as the main reasons for the decline.

The survey also reported lower expected growth for 11 of America's 15 leading trading partners, including all other G-7 countries except the United Kingdom.

Forecast for 1993 Real GDP Growth



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/09/93

THE VICE PRESIDENT
CAROL RASCO
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
TO: DAVID GERGEN
BRUCE LINDSEY

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



THE DIRECTOR

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

7:53

September 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Leon E. Panetta

SUBJECT: Border Patrol Staffing and Funding

This is in response to your question, relayed through John Podesta, regarding Border Patrol staffing and funding.

As I understand it, you preferred "option 3" as outlined in the attached memorandum. However, you also asked what additional resources, above the \$45 million you have requested as part of the FY 1994 Department of Justice Budget Amendment, would be required to hire the full 600 Border Patrol agents.

Department of Justice (DOJ) Decision Process

Attorney General Reno plans to meet with DOJ staff next Wednesday to discuss the various options for using the \$45 million requested for the Border Patrol in FY 1994. DOJ staff is continuing to discuss alternative options. It has developed a variation of option 3 which would increase new support staff even further (in order to return Border Patrol agents from support/clerical to patrol duties). The resources to hire additional support staff would be taken from the amount currently allocated for sensors and other technological improvements in option 3. In any case, the Attorney General has indicated to DOJ staff that she wants to preserve the prerogative to choose the mix of programs.

Providing for 600 Border Patrol Agents

Nominally, option 3 provides for 443 agents and 167 support staff. However, because 100 support staff would be hired to allow 100 agents to return to patrol duty, functionally this option would strengthen the patrol force by 543 agents.

Depending on whether you look at it nominally or functionally, the additional cost would be as follows:

	<u>NOMINAL</u> Increase to Reach 600 Agents	<u>FUNCTIONAL</u> Increase to Reach 600 Agents
Current Option	443	543
Added Agents Required	+157	+57

Total Agents	600	600
 FY 1994 Cost Associated with Increase*	 +\$11 million	 +\$4 million

*Includes training, uniforms, vehicles, firearms, etc.

Potential Offsets for \$4-11 Million

If you should choose to add the \$4 million to \$11 million referenced above, discretionary offsets would need to be found. The National Performance Review's recommended cuts provide two opportunities:

- \$8 million from INS. Proposal to strengthen the Regional INS structure could eliminate about 100 headquarters positions in FY 1994.
- \$6 million from US Marshals Service. Proposal to professionalize the Marshals could eliminate about 100 Presidentially appointed Marshals' positions in FY 1994 by having the career Marshals perform their functions.

However, the appropriations committees are more likely to find \$4 million to \$11 million in offsets for the Border Patrol by cutting from State Department or Agency for International Development programs. These programs are in the same appropriations bill as Justice. Generally speaking, the committees prefer funding domestic programs.

You should also know that the pressure on DOJ to meet their FY95 planning ceiling will be severe. As OMB views the Department's predicament, the above NPR savings should be on their list of must-do cuts. Using the cuts now for Border Patrol will marginally increase the pain elsewhere.

Attachment (previous memorandum)



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

September 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROL RASCO
DONSIA STRONG

FROM: Christopher F. Edley, Jr., Associate Director
Ken Schwartz, Deputy Associate Director

SUBJECT: The President's Question on Border Patrol Increases

The President is correct -- the response to Duncan Hunter "fuzzed" the issue of how many Border Patrol agents would be hired because no one in the Administration (Department of Justice (DOJ), Office of Management and Budget and Domestic Policy Council staff) has been particularly enthusiastic about the utility of hiring more agents. Rather, it has been our assumption that the Administration would get a bigger "bang for the buck" if improved technologies were employed on the border (see attachment for more information.)

DOJ has not made final decisions on how it would use the \$45 million. DOJ is evaluating three primary options, as follows:

Increase Compared with 1994 President's Budget
(Budget Authority in millions)

	<u>Option 1</u>	<u>Option 2</u>	<u>Option 3</u>
Restore Border Agents that were cut pursuant to Presidential 100,000 FTE cut.....	+5.9 (+93 Positions)	+5.9 (+93 Positions)	+5.9 (+93 Positions)
Additional Border Agents.....	+31.9 (+450 Positions)	+31.9 (+450 Positions)	+24.8 (+350 Positions)
Additional Border Support Staff.....	---	+2.4 (+67 Positions)	+2.4 (+67 Positions)
Additional Support Staff to Free Agents From Support Duties.....	---	---	+3.6 (+100 Positions)
Sensors and Other Technological Improvements.....	+7.3	+4.9	+8.4
Total.....	+45.0 (+543 Agents)	+45.0 (+543 Agents; +67 Support)	+45.0 (+443 Agents; +167 Support)

At this point in time, DOJ/INS seems to prefer Option 3. While that option contains the fewest additional agents of the three options under consideration, DOJ staff indicate that:

- 100 of the support staff increase will be used to release 100 Border Patrol agents from clerical duties; hence, functionally it should be perceived as an increase in "agents-on-the-border" of 543, not 443; and
- This option gives INS the largest increase of the three options in terms of new sensors and other equipment. INS believes that this is its highest Border Patrol priority.

Further, INS/DOJ are currently working on a strategy to utilize the additional resources in order to control the border. The Attorney General plans to review this strategy personally.

Finally, it should be recognized that the FY 1995 budget picture is not pretty. While DOJ's 1995 planning ceiling has fared well in comparison with those of other agencies, DOJ will still be extremely hard pressed to fund all announced Presidential priority activities (e.g., 100,000 cops, "Brady Bill" criminal records upgrades, and National Performance Review suggested consolidation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Drug Enforcement Administration, which costs money in the first year).

September 8, 1993

NOTE TO DONISIA STRONG

From: Ken Schwartz and Lin Liu

Subject: Border Patrol Technology

INS seems to prefer the option which enables the Border Patrol to purchase \$8.4 million worth of "improved technology" while hiring 443 agents and 167 support personnel.

The Vice President led group which crafted the July 27th Immigration Initiatives announced by the President favored an investment in technology to give the Border Patrol agents the necessary tools to effectively do their jobs and to maximize their resources. The following are some ways technology is useful in carrying out Border Patrol responsibilities:

- o The Border Patrol place sensors in selected "known" areas of illegal traffic. Sensor "hits" are monitored in communications headquarters and dispatchers provide these information to Border Patrol agents who then move into the target areas to apprehend the illegal crossers. The sensors and the dispatch service are effective because they enable the agents to use the personnel more strategically and to patrol larger areas.
- o Infrared devices, like sensors, assist the agents in targeting resources to areas which illegal movement is occurring. For example, the Border Patrol owns several infrared devices called the "Scope." The Scope provides video coverage of an expansive area and detects heat movements. When the agent who is manipulating the Scope sees movement on the video screen, he directs the ground agents to the areas which the illegal aliens are.
- o Secured communication radios enable ground agents to report new information and solicit assistance. Border Patrol agents do not generally work in teams and radios provide the only means to keep in touch. Secured devices are important because alien smugglers also employ technology to track BP movements through radio communications.

Technology enhances the Border Patrol's ability to cover vast land areas more strategically. In many ways, items like the secured radios are not luxury goods but are basic tools for agents. More agents, complemented by technology, therefore make the Border Patrol more effective.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT: Immigration

This responds to your note on a letter to Congressman Duncan Hunter.

As you can see from the attached, DOJ/INS are considering spending the additional \$45 million that was requested for the INS on a combination of border patrol agents, clerical support and new technology. None of the options under consideration fund an increase of 600 agents. The money was requested for new technology and "up to" 600 new agents.

There is strong resistance to funding only new agents at the expense of new, upgraded equipment and technology.

Fully funding the 600 new agents, therefore, is likely to mean finding additional money for the equipment and additional offsets.

Do you want OMB/DOJ/INS to pursue those additional resources?

cc: The Vice President
Mack McLarty
Carol Rasco
David Gergen
George Stephanopoulos

*I'll like
to know how
much it would cost*

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Name:	John Podesta			
Agency:	The White House		Room:	Gr FL1WW
			Extension:	x 2702
Signature:	Dumini Bird			
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Addressee:	Reverend and Mrs. G.A. Mangum			Phone:
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Street Address:	2817 Rapides Avenue			
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			Zip:	71301
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9-9-93

Samuel
Horn-
BC

Document Indicates Hanoi Held Additional U.S. POWs

Pentagon Seeks to Authenticate Soviet Report

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Another document has surfaced from Russian intelligence archives suggesting that North Vietnam held far more U.S. prisoners of war than it acknowledged in the early 1970s.

If authentic, it would tend to confirm a similar document found earlier this year by Harvard-based researcher Stephen J. Morris, showing a substantial discrepancy in North Vietnam's accounting of American prisoners. The earlier document touched off widespread speculation that North Vietnam had killed hundreds of POWs or was still holding them.

Questions about the fate of more than 2,200 Americans still listed as unaccounted for from this nation's longest war are the only remaining obstacle to normal relations between the United States and Vietnam. President Clinton has promised not to lift the U.S. embargo on trade with Hanoi until the questions are answered, a process that is being complicated by inexplicable documents from Russia.

The latest document, from the archives of Soviet military intelligence, is a Russian-language version of what purports to be a report by a Vietnamese official to the 20th Plenum of the Vietnam Workers Party in late 1970 or early 1971. Russian officials presented it Sept. 2 to Malcolm Toon, U.S. cochairman of the U.S.-Russian Joint Commission on POW-MIA, the Pentagon said.

According to an unofficial translation released by the Pentagon, the latest document consists of an address by "Khoang Anya," apparently a Russian mistransliteration of Hoang Anh, identified as secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Vietnam.

In December 1970, Vietnam

gave the names of 368 captured U.S. airmen to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.). But Anh said "the total number of American aviator POWs in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is 735," according to the Russian document.

Publication of the 368 names, Anh is quoted as saying, was "a diplomatic step. If the Americans agree to the withdrawal of all their troops from South Vietnam, we will, as a start, return to them these 368 people. And when the Americans withdraw their troops, we will return to them the rest."

Most of those on the list of 368 given to Kennedy were among the 591 American prisoners who returned to the United States in Operation Homecoming in the spring of 1973. No second group was ever released.

"This new document has not been analyzed," a Pentagon statement said yesterday. "The Department of Defense cannot speak to its authenticity, or the accuracy or validity of its information, until it has undergone a thorough review by the intelligence community."

The 368 figure also appeared in the earlier document, a Russian translation of a purported 1972 Hanoi politburo briefing by Gen. Tran Van Quang, described as deputy chief of the Vietnamese general staff. That document said Hanoi held 1,205 American prisoners while acknowledging only 368 described as "holding progressive views."

Pentagon officials who analyzed that document said it appears to be an authentic Soviet intelligence report, but its numbers cannot be accurate because there is no group of more than 700 Americans who could have been secretly detained. According to the Pentagon, the fate of fewer than 100 of the missing Americans is still in doubt; most of the rest are known to have died.

Brown Hires Lawyer in Light of Hiring Allegation

By Jerry Knight
Washington Post Staff Writer

Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown, whose dealings with two Vietnamese businessmen are being investigated by a federal grand jury in Miami, has hired a prominent Washington criminal lawyer, Commerce Department officials confirmed last night.

The attorney, Reid Weingarten, is a former prosecutor in the Justice Department's Public Integrity Section and is now a partner in the Washington law firm of Steptoe & Johnson.

Weingarten's hiring was reported yesterday by U.S. News & World Report magazine.

In letters to several news organizations, Bin T.

Ly, a Vietnamese businessman now living in South Florida, alleged that Brown agreed to work on behalf of the government of Vietnam to end the U.S. government's 20-year embargo on trade with that country.

Ly said his former partner, Nguyen Van Hao, told him he arranged to hire Brown and agreed to pay Brown \$700,000 through a Singapore bank account.

Brown has called Ly's allegation "absolutely ridiculous."

An attorney for Hao has said his client approached Brown about working for Vietnam, but neither hired nor paid him. Hao has issued statements saying the allegation is false and calling Ly a disgruntled former business partner who is lying.

Ly has provided no evidence to substantiate his allegation.

According to Ly, Brown was hired last November, after the election and several weeks before he was chosen to be commerce secretary. At the time, Brown was Democratic Party chairman.

Under terms of the U.S. trade embargo, it is illegal for Americans to work for the government of Vietnam or to receive payment from it.

Hao was called last week to testify before a federal grand jury in Miami that is investigating Ly's allegation.

Also called before the grand jury was Marc Ashton, a Florida businesses executive and acquaintance of Brown, who reportedly introduced Brown to Hao.

9.9.93

Tony
Harris B.

Disputes Hamper U.N. Drive For a War Crimes Tribunal

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 8 — A series of disputes over staffing and money are hampering the United Nations' efforts to set up an international tribunal to judge those accused of committing war crimes and other atrocities in Bosnia and Croatia.

After agreeing earlier this year to create the first such war crimes tribunal since those set up by the victorious Allies to judge German and Japanese leaders at the end of the World War II, the 15-member Security Council now finds itself divided over the choice of a prosecutor.

Last Friday the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, surprised Council members by nominating the Clinton Administration's candidate, Cherif Bassiouni, an Egyptian-American law professor from De Paul University in Chicago, for the prosecutor's post.

Only the previous week Britain, France and Russia all made clear that they opposed the choice of Mr. Bassiouni. The Security Council, which wants its choice of a prosecutor to be unanimous, decided to rule him out along with rival British and Kenyan candidates.

Muslim Background Cited

Nations opposed to Mr. Bassiouni maintain that he lacks prosecutorial experience and that his Muslim background makes him an unsuitable choice for prosecuting crimes committed in a war between Christians and Muslims. They also say he actively campaigned for the post, particularly in the Islamic world.

Diplomats speculated that by formally nominating him despite the opposition of several Security Council members, the Secretary General wants to force the Council to a vote or Mr. Bassiouni to make it accept public responsibility for rejecting him.

The task of selecting judges for the court is going more smoothly, with the General Assembly due to meet on Sept. 16 to select 11 from a list of 23 candidates.

The court, which will include two trial chambers and a chamber of appeal, would have the authority to impose prison sentences on those it convicts but not the death penalty.

But it is far from certain that the new court will ever be able to try any war crimes cases arising from the wars in Croatia and Bosnia. The court has no means of compelling governments to hand over those it believes guilty of murder, torture, rape and other crimes against humanity.

The court could have similar problems obtaining evidence. A Geneva-based commission of four legal experts with a fund of \$1 million is trying to compile a preliminary base of evidence, helped by submissions from human rights organizations like Helsinki Watch and Amnesty International. But

until a prosecutor is appointed and has had time to sift through this material it is unclear whether the commission has yet assembled enough evidence even to justify a prosecution, let alone secure a conviction.

Effectiveness Doubted

Writing in the summer issue of Foreign Affairs, the magazine of the Council on Foreign Relations, Prof. Theodor Meron of New York University warns that "despite its desirability, it is probable that the tribunal will not be very effective."

Mr. Meron points out that unlike the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes tribunals after World War II, the new court is unlikely to have the support of

Doubts are raised about the future court's effectiveness.

victorious governments in control of the territory where the crimes were committed. As a result, the collection of evidence and the detention of suspects will be far more difficult than it was then.

If, as seems likely, Serbia emerges as the main victor from the Balkan fighting, he warns that Security Council members may quickly lose interest in pressing war crimes charges against a country they will soon look to as a source of stability in a notoriously volatile region.

But despite these obstacles, Professor Meron argues that the failure of the new war crimes tribunal would be a major setback for the rule of international law, because it represents the first attempt the United Nations has ever made to act against war criminals.

"The Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals were essentially victors' courts," he wrote. "This is the first genuinely international tribunal."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.9.93
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are signature pages for the NAFTA supplemental agreements. A courier is standing by to take these pages to Canada this evening for signature by Prime Minister Campbell after you sign. As Mickey Kantor's memo indicates, your signing of these pages now is necessary in order to orchestrate a final simultaneous signing next Tuesday.

TDS
Todd Stern

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.9.93

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20506

SEP 9 P4:56
September 9, 1990

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Michael Kantor

SUBJECT: Signature for NAFTA Labor and Environmental
Supplemental Agreements

Attached for your signature are four final pages from the Environment and Labor supplemental agreements that we have negotiated with Mexico and Canada. As you may know, we have arranged for you, President Salinas, and Prime Minister Campbell to hold final signing ceremonies in the three capitals this coming Tuesday, September 14.

In order for each of you to sign a copy on September 14 that already has signatures from the other two, each of you must sign copies in advance. President Salinas began the signing process in Mexico City earlier this week.

mm

DONE in triplicate at

Ottawa,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993,
Mexico, D.F.,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993,
Washington, D.C.,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993.

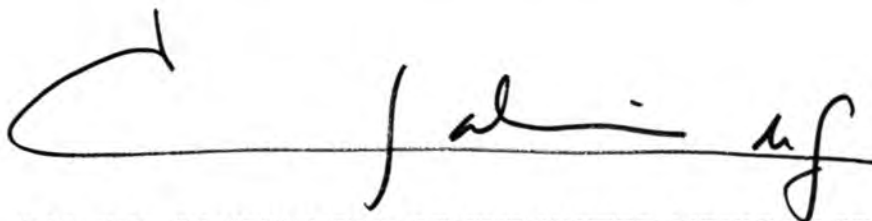
FAIT en trois exemplaires à

Ottawa,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993,
Mexico, D.F.,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993,
Washington, D.C.,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993.

HECHO en tres originales en

Ottawa,	a los	días y a los	días de septiembre 1993,
México, D.F.,	a los	días y a los	días de septiembre 1993,
Washington, D.C.,	a los	días y a los	días de septiembre 1993.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DU CANADA
POR EL GOBIERNO DE CANADÁ



FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS MEXICAINS
POR EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS



FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE
POR EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA

DONE in triplicate at

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Washington, D.C.,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993.

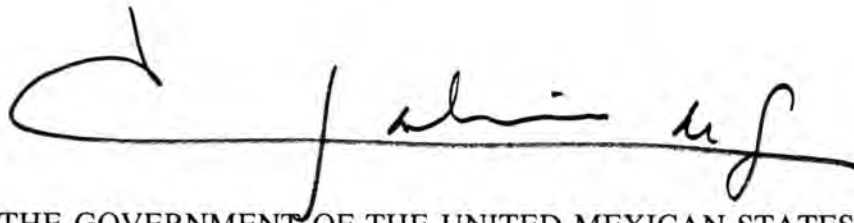
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Washington, D.C.,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993.

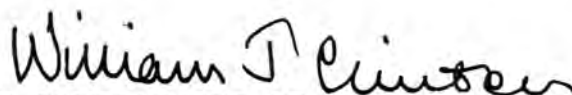
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Washington, D.C.,	a los	días y a los	días de septiembre 1993.

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POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DU CANADA
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Washington, D.C.,	a los	días y a los	días de septiembre 1993.

DONE in triplicate at

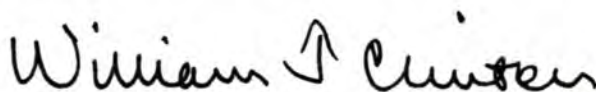
Mexico, D.F.,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993,
Ottawa,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993,
Washington, D.C.,	on the	day and the	day of September 1993.

FAIT en trois exemplaires à

Mexico, D.F.,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993,
Ottawa,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993,
Washington, D.C.,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993.

POR EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS MEXICAINS

POR EL GOBIERNO DE CANADÁ
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DU CANADA



POR EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE

HECHO en tres originales en

México, D.F.,	a los	días y a los	días de septiembre 1993,
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Mexico, D.F.,	le	jour et le	jour de septembre 1993,
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POR EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS MEXICAINS

POR EL GOBIERNO DE CANADÁ
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DU CANADA


POR EL GOBIERNO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
POUR LE GOUVERNEMENT DES ÉTATS-UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.9.93

SEP 8 09:15
September 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HOWARD PASTER *HP*

SUBJECT:

HANDWRITTEN NOTE FROM SENATOR BUMPERS

Attached is a note you received today from Senator Bumpers regarding his daughter, Brooke.

do if can

cc: NRC

cc: Not

cc Scheduling

Metro. Paper. Church

Chk's W.H. fellow

This Sunday - 9/12

possibly 80

NH

DALE BUMPERS
ARKANSAS



United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510-0401

8/31/93

Dear Bill & Hillary,
Brooke & Berken Low (a fine
australian-via-England lad) will wed
on Oct. 16 @ 6:30 P.M. in
Metropolitan Memorial Methodist.
Our family, but esp. Brooke, would
be most honored if you could
attend — not being a political
family, & having a keen appreciation
for the demands on your time,
will understand if you can't
make it.
Brooke admires & loves you both
very much. You will receive a
slightly more formal invitation.
Dale

9.9.93

Space Station Backers Are Worried Over Uncertainty on Russia's Role

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

New confusion over Russia's role in the planned U.S. space station has shaken the project's supporters as they approach their next congressional budget fight for survival.

"We support a cooperative effort with Russia, but we believe the space station effort, if approved by Congress, must be an American space station," said Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), who chairs the Senate appropriations subcommittee that funds NASA.

She was referring to a U.S.-Russian agreement announced by the White House last Thursday that seemed to endorse "a unified space station" to be planned jointly by the two countries.

Mikulski spoke yesterday as her subcommittee approved a \$14.6 billion 1994 budget for the space agency, including \$2.1 billion for the space station. The full committee is scheduled to act on it today, aides said, and the measure could reach the Senate floor as early as next week.

A key Senate aide described the space station's chances in the full Senate as "a toss of the dice . . . Our last [vote] count was 40 to 33 in favor, and that was back before the Mars Observer fiasco."

Meanwhile, because of significant uncertainties remaining as to "what we're buying," Mikulski's panel wrote in language that locks up until Jan. 31 about \$946 million of the space station funds, according to the aide, who spoke on condition of anonymity. That means "NASA cannot spend it until they come back and tell us what the redesign looks like."

Use of Russian rescue vehicles, docking systems and launch vehicles, if feasible, would be acceptable, as would perhaps Russian life support systems and space suits. But any attempt to use Russian instead of U.S. modules for living and working in orbit would be "a non-starter," he said.

In addition, the aide said, "the president or his designee" must certify that the new design provides the same capabilities for scientific researchers that existed in the previous design: "It is the linchpin of whether this space station is worthy of support."

No space station money can be

spent on payments to Russia. But there is \$100 million a year for the purpose elsewhere in the NASA budget.

A few months ago, President Clinton gave NASA the go-ahead on a slimmed-down, cheaper version of the Space Station Freedom, with refinements in the design and costs to be presented to Congress upon its return from summer recess.

Since then, NASA has suffered the devastating loss of its Mars Observer mission and a major weather satellite. As a result, congressional aides said, the agency will find it difficult to win approval for any new programs "in the foreseeable future." And since the announcement of the Russian agreement, space station supporters inside NASA, on Capitol Hill and in industry have expressed bewilderment.

"We can't keep floundering around searching for a new configuration, trying to decide how to build it—and with whom. We're spending \$2 billion a year," said a House staff member who follows the issue.

A senior NASA official, who requested anonymity, yesterday attempted to clarify the matter.

The space station on the table for now, he said, is the redesign selected by the president and known as

Baseline Alpha, or simply the Alpha station, with certain refinements and the use of a few Russian elements such as, possibly, a "space-tug" to move the station in orbit. "That is what Congress is to vote on."

But on a separate, parallel track is the U.S.-Russian initiative that involves gradually increasing joint activities leading—perhaps—to a phase in which "we start getting serious. . . . At this point, the U.S. and Russia start to build something new."

In other words, the Russians would launch a new version of its existing Mir space station, to which the United States would add a lab. To this core could be added the entire Alpha station, including the facilities of the international partners—the Europeans, Japan and Canada. This is the Russian option.

NASA's report on the option is to be completed by Nov. 1. "If, in November, the [international] partners and the president and the Congress agree to bring Russia in," the NASA official said, "we can then, at very little cost—at virtually no cost," rearrange the launch sequence to go with the Russian option.

Under that option, he added, the first launch could come in 1997, instead of 1998 as now planned.

9.9.93
Cup
Campbell's soup
not a
B.S. —
B.S.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1993 THE WASHINGTON POST

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

chron
9/9
original to
Chad

3 26 P6:16

August 26, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: LORI ABRAMS *LA*
ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR, PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

THROUGH: JIM DORSKIND *JD*
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CORRESPONDENCE

RE: PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE FOR ROSH HASHANA *Sept 16*

Attached is the President's message for Rosh Hashana. It is ready for release to the press.

If you have any questions, please give me a call at extension 7487. Thank you.

*8/30/93
OK for release
per Paul Richard
TW*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Rosh Hashana, 1993

Rosh Hashana is a time of reflection and hope -- thoughtful reflection on the year just past and hope for a good year to come.

The days between Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur are the most solemn of the Hebrew calendar. But in the midst of heartfelt repentance and prayer, it is the promise of life -- the rich possibility of realizing our most compelling dreams -- that inspires the soul and lifts the spirit.

The ancient customs that are handed down to each new generation in this season are reminders of life's enduring sweetness and its perpetual renewal. The Jewish people celebrate Rosh Hashana above all as a time to rejoice in God for giving us life, for sustaining us, and for again enabling us to reach this season.

May this holiday season be filled with good health and happiness for you and your families, and may the year ahead be one of peace for the people of the United States, Israel, and all the world.

Best wishes for a wonderful New Year.

Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: Andre Oliver
RE: Charleston Base Closure Update
DATE: 3 September 1993

Here's the latest from Charleston. I've placed a call into Mayor Riley, who's in transit today.

o **Charleston Submits \$740,000 Grant Request**

The Charleston base closure committee has just completed a planning grant application to DOD for \$740,000, to cover staff salaries, community relations efforts and the development of a strategic plan for reuse of the shipyard and naval station. Staff at DOD assert that this initial planning grant will likely be approved by early next week. DOD is also working out details on who will announce the grant award.

o **Perry Offers Charleston Maritime Prepositioning Ships**

Deputy Secretary Perry recently chose Charleston as the service location for 13 Army supply vessels, or "Maritime Prepositioning Ships." This will greatly ease the transition from the base for hundreds of shipyard workers. As you know, Charleston's shipyard has had excess capacity for several years.

cc: Bill Burton
Marcia Hale
David Lane

POTS -

We are following

this matter closely and positively @
this point.

Q.

cc: Andre / POTS file

UUP

9/9
Good, But
We should have
called the Congress
from main pol. folks
in S.C. on this - We
are still not handling
this right

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/9

September 7, 1993

To: John Podesta

The attached is for The President from
Mack McHarty - his note reads:

"Mr. President -
"Been meaning to send Bill's letter
to you for sometime now. Thought
you would get a chuckle out of
his comments. Mack"

Patty
Gus

William Ebbert Enterprises

Post Office Box 1515
Jonesboro, Arkansas 72403-1515
501-935-1700 Voice or Fax Either Number 800-737-1700

RE: Response to Questionnaire from American Conservative Union

406 South Main Street, 72401

July 12, 1993 ✓

Sept 3 1993

Mr. President -

Honorable Robert Dole ✓
c/o American Conservative Union
Post Office Box 96473
Washington, D. C. 20090-6473

Beer money to send

Bill's letter to you in

some time now. Thought you

would get a chuckle out of

Today, I just returned from a visit to Washington and received your letter asking that I send a contribution and answer questions for the American Conservative Union. *his coming*

I am an Arkansan, considered a conservative by both Mr. McLarty and President Clinton, and a concerned American. I feel it is very important for you to know that I voted for President Reagan twice and President Bush once. I further consider what the Republicans have done with our money to be extremely foolish. *Ullap*

Communism has fallen of its own weight and has created even worse financial disasters than we have even been able to duplicate in this country. However, our elected officials, including yourself, appear to have been totally unaware of this fact up until the final moment. Considering the resources available to your office and that of Presidents Reagan & Bush, it appears that there is a greater need for hard work than more speeches and conflict within.

Please remove my name from your roles and please understand that I am one of those who consider you to be a part of the problem rather than a part of the solution. Had you been sincerely interested in solving these problems, the time to have done it was when you had the previous two presidents in office to help you achieve these goals, however, you helped increase the debt considerably and I therefore believe that President Clinton should now have support and a fair opportunity to implement what he proposed. It is obvious that we need to move differently than we have in the past or the debt will overwhelm us all.

I sincerely hope that you will give some serious thought to what you are attempting to do as well as what might be in the best interest for the majority of U. S. Citizens.

Sincerely,

Will Ebbert

THE PRESIDENT

9/9 The President

MACK McLARTY

September 2, 1993

To Bruce Lindsey:

Disturbed by the attached commentary.
Please give me a prompt response on
why we are behind in the Pentagon
post and what our outlook is.

u.c.f

TFM/
Attachment

cc: Roy Neel

bcc: SKIP

Pending 7 days

① POTS

② Ltrc

*Mack
Adrian
I would believe
this - I have
old many names
I'm not sure
Any - that too
Now*

Mack-Yon often pointed out this. I did

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whose licenses have been revoked in one state are permitted to practice in another. Don't these facts begin to make you suspect the current system of licensing that permits highway drunks and operating room butchers to move from state to state with impunity? Why not have national licensing? ...

Further evidence of Clinton's terrible slowness on appointments comes from the Congressional Research Service, which found that by July 4 of his first year John Kennedy had filled 93 percent of the top Pentagon posts, and Jimmy Carter had named 76 percent. Clinton's score is a miserable 33 percent. ...

One reason the Clinton economic plan had a rough time in Congress is that it was consistently described in media leads as raising taxes. That the increase in income tax would fall solely on the affluent was usually mentioned far lower in the story, which on television often means not at all. The cover of the August issue of *Money* magazine, for example, supplied the Republicans with this slogan: "Beat the Biggest Tax Hike Ever." Although *The New York Times* later revealed "the biggest ever" was a lie, it was a lie that gave Bill Clinton fits.

The Wall Street Journal even contended in its Notable & Quotable section that "Support for redistributive economics has never rallied a majority; even in the thirties, polls showed that Franklin Roosevelt's redistribution was not a vote getter."

Doubtless those polls used the same scientific techniques that produced the *Literary Digest* poll that predicted an FDR defeat in 1936.

Actually, after Roosevelt came out in 1935 with a plan to use

taxation to secure "a wider distribution of wealth," he won the presidency by a tremendous landslide, sweeping all states but Maine and Vermont.

If there was any American who was even more beloved than FDR during that era it was the comedian Will Rogers. Interestingly, he too wanted to "arrange some way of getting more equal distribution of wealth in the country."

Will Rogers fascinates me for other reasons. He was, at least in his public persona, absolutely innocent of the snobbery we have endured from the fifties on as more and more Americans try to emulate the rich. He was Huck Finn grown up, and that was what the average American aspired to be back then.

As one contemporary puts it in Ben Yagoda's fine new biography of Rogers, "Wise in years, young in humor and love of life, shrewd but gentle, he is what most Americans think other Americans are like."

To some extent Henry Fonda and James Stewart were able to carry on his tradition, but since they too have faded away, there is now a danger we will forget that Huck Finn is what we are at our best, and that is a very great loss for this country.

The fact that there are fewer Huck Finns around means that there is less support for redistribution economics today. Another factor is that in the thirties, 90 percent of the people were getting the shaft where today the figure is 68 percent. These are the people with family income of under \$50,000. But they are still a clear majority and I am convinced they will rally to the cause if Clinton does a better job of explaining and the media does a better job of reporting. The discouraging thing here is that so many of the major media stars are now in the affluent class and are tempted to identify with its interests. For