

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/9

TO: IRA, MACK, Rubin, Laverne Tyson

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

Did you see this
one?

BUMPERS CONCERNED ABOUT EFFECT OF CLINTON PLAN ON SMALL BUSINESS

Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark) said Oct. 7 that, while he recognizes the U.S. health care system needs restructuring, he is concerned about the effect of the Clinton administration's health care proposal on the small business community.

"I want to be helpful," he said, "but having said that I don't feel that as chairman of the Small Business Committee I can abandon the people who produce about 70 percent of the new jobs in this country, either."

Bumpers was addressing the 39th annual conference of the National Broiler Council, which represents companies that produce, process, and market 95 percent of the poultry sold in the United States.

He told the industry group he is concerned that the Clinton proposal calls for employer contributions to be tied to the number of employees in a company rather than to the average employee wage.

Under the Clinton plan, the employer's share of the premium paid to health alliances would be capped at 7.9 percent of payroll for most companies with 50 or more employees. For companies with less than 50 employees, employer contributions would range from 4 percent to 7.9 percent.

"It's an incentive not to hire more people, to stay under the 50 limit so you pay smaller premiums," he said. "I don't understand that." Bumpers said he plans to hold hearings on the proposal as soon as it is introduced as legislation.

"When you take a health care delivery system that has been literally decades in the making, scrap it overnight, and go on to something that's totally revolutionary, that's dangerous," Bumpers said. "We are in for some really unhappy votes. Everything about this is going to be sort of a lose-lose situation, no matter how you look at it."

Gingrich: Plan Has Too Many Bureaucracies

House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga) also addressed the industry group and had dire predictions for the Clinton proposal, calling it "astonishingly out of touch" and "an amalgam of Italian corporatism and German socialism."

According to Gingrich, the central problem with the Clinton plan is its premise is that bureaucracies are reasonable and efficient uses of resources and that they work.

"They have at least 75 different bureaucracies in their plan," Gingrich said. "I submit to you that a Clinton administration which cannot get the right speech in the right teleprompter for a joint session of Congress for the President of the United States probably can't get the right CAT scan in the right operating room for you."

Gingrich said a better approach to restructuring health care is contained in the House Republican proposal, called the Affordable Health Care Now Act of 1993 (HR 3080). The measure calls for all employers to offer, but not pay for, insurance coverage for all their workers. It also addresses malpractice, administrative, and antitrust reforms.

"It does the right kind of things in the right direction," Gingrich said. "Our bill is pro-free enterprise, pro-personal responsibility, very anti-bureaucratic, and very anti-trial lawyer."

Chen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/9

TO: Neil Eggleston; Bidel Stern

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

we need to get a
House & Senate office to
get regular updates from
the GAO. (Biden?/Congress?)
see page 6

C.C. MARK



**The Comptroller General
of the United States**

Washington, D.C. 20548

B-255157

September 30, 1993

To the President of the Senate and the
Speaker of the House of Representatives

This is an interim report on the General Accounting Office (GAO) review of the White House travel office being conducted pursuant to Public Law 103-50.

During May 1993, White House and other officials took a number of actions that led to the announcement of the dismissal of the seven White House employees who had for some years operated the White House Travel Office. Those actions and others involving the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) raised concerns in the Congress about the propriety of the dismissals and related activities of the agencies involved.

Although the White House initiated an internal management review of the situation, the Congress provided for an independent review by GAO. Specifically, Section 805 of Public Law 103-50 provides that:

"Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Comptroller General of the United States shall conduct a review of the action taken with respect to the White House travel office and shall submit the findings from such review to the Congress by no later than September 30, 1993."

In response to this statutory mandate, we initiated a review of the White House Travel Office matter. To ensure that we included in our review the full range of congressional concerns about the episode, we consulted with congressional staff representing each of the committees and Members of Congress, both majority and minority, who had expressed an interest to us in the White House Travel Office. From the outset of our work, we said that it was unlikely that a comprehensive review of the issues involved could be completed before the September 30 reporting date contained in the statute. We agreed that we would inform the Congress by that date of the scope and progress of our review. That is the purpose of this report.

GAO/GGD-93-143 White House Travel Office

OBJECTIVES OF OUR REVIEW

Our review is designed to provide a comprehensive assessment of the full range of issues raised in the July 2, 1993, White House Travel Office Management Review and in the subsequent congressional debate about those events. Specifically, we are examining (1) the procurement practices, financial management, and oversight of the Travel Office prior to the events of May 1993; (2) the investigation of the Travel Office conducted by the White House officials, including the involvement (if any) of other investigative agencies of the government, such as the FBI and the IRS, as well as the involvement of nongovernment individuals and organizations; (3) actions taken to improve the management and operations of the Travel Office since the events of May; and (4) personnel actions affecting the Travel Office employees.

If other relevant issues arise during the course of our work, we will expand our objectives as necessary to ensure that our report provides a comprehensive assessment of all of the circumstances surrounding these matters. If we uncover evidence of possible criminal action, we will refer that evidence to the FBI for further investigation.

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN ESTABLISHING PROCEDURES FOR OUR WORK

It is taking considerable time and effort to negotiate access to the information and individuals necessary for us to complete our review. We are making progress in establishing suitable procedures, and our access to records and individuals is beginning to accelerate. However, some access issues remain which we will continue to pursue.

This review of the White House Travel Office is unusual and time-consuming because of the combination of three highly sensitive concerns. First, because of balance of power concerns, the White House traditionally has been reluctant to open its operations to GAO review. Our reviews of other matters at the White House, such as the use of military aircraft for White House staff travel¹ or retroactive

1Military Aircraft: Travel by Selected Executive Branch Officials: (GAO/AFMD-92-51, April 7, 1993).

appointments of White House personnel,² have required extensive negotiations with White House officials for us to obtain access to the records and individuals necessary to complete our work. In some cases, we have been unable to reach conclusions or assure that the entire matter was reviewed because records were not made available. Over the years, and through many administrations, White House officials' actions to restrict our access have been based on the premise that the activities of the immediate offices of the President are confidential and not subject to routine congressional or public scrutiny.

The second sensitive matter in this review is the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI have initiated several internal investigations of matters related to the White House Travel Office episode. The FBI and the Public Integrity Section of the Justice Department's Criminal Division are conducting a criminal investigation of the travel office operations. The Department of Justice's Office of Professional Responsibility is conducting an independent investigation of such matters as the interaction between the White House and the FBI during the episode and whether the criminal investigation was properly initiated through the Attorney General's office. Under most circumstances, it is GAO policy not to interfere with or duplicate ongoing criminal investigations. Thus, we generally do not need access to records and information associated with criminal or other internal Department of Justice investigations. However, in this case, because the investigations are central to the objectives of our statutorily required review, we have sought to obtain access to records and individuals despite the other ongoing investigations.

Because our requirements for information involve access to records and individuals at both the White House and Department of Justice, there have been extensive and time-consuming negotiations with both White House and senior Department of Justice officials to reach agreements that will permit us to obtain the breadth of access necessary to complete our review in a reasonable period of time. As a result, we have not made as much progress on the review itself as would have been desirable. Nonetheless, we have obtained some records of White House Travel Office activities both before and after the events of May, and we have conducted some of the interviews

2Personnel Practices: Retroactive Appointments and Pay Adjustments in the Executive Office of the President
(GAO/GGD-93-148, Sept. 9, 1993).

necessary to our work. We expect our work to accelerate in the near future as additional records and individuals are made available.

Until the past few days, however, we have not had any success in reaching agreement with the Department of Justice on access to records or individuals. We were told in mid-August by a high-level Justice official that the Department would work with us to reach agreement on appropriate procedures for obtaining records and access to individuals. However, subsequent requests to, and meetings with, relevant Justice organizations produced no progress toward that end. In response to our reiteration of the critical importance of this access to our ability to complete our review, the Associate Deputy Attorney General notified us, in a letter dated September 24, 1993, that we will be given access to most of the records and individuals requested to date (see app.). Some limitations remain, but the records and interviews promised, if provided, should permit us to make considerable progress on our objectives while we further pursue the remaining matters.

The third sensitive area involved in this review is related to the issue of assessing the IRS actions related to the White House Travel Office episode. Section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code, which prohibits, under criminal penalties, release of information about taxpayers--individuals or corporations--unless the taxpayer consents, must be carefully adhered to in our work. Through the cooperation of the IRS and the Department of the Treasury Inspector General, as well as our own access authority in this area, we expect to obtain the information we need to assess this issue. However, it is unlikely that we will be able to provide detailed information about the matter in a public report.

POTENTIALLY SERIOUS OBSTACLES
REMAIN UNRESOLVED

Although both the White House and the Department of Justice have provided or promised the access needed for our work, several obstacles remain which must be overcome if we are to provide the comprehensive review we have planned and to which we are committed. Although the White House is providing documents at an increasing rate, those documents are reviewed prior to our receipt, and some decisions have been made to redact information on the grounds that it is not pertinent to our review or is information that the White House Counsel's office believes is privileged.

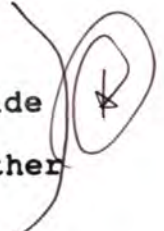
We have discussed with White House Counsel officials our concern that procedures must be established for us to obtain an overview of the universe of records involved, so that we can satisfy ourselves that we have obtained all the relevant documents and understand the basis for any decision to withhold records. White House officials have stated that such procedures can be established, but it is not clear to us how that will be accomplished. Failure to achieve this objective, which is central to government auditing standards, could compromise our ability to report comprehensive findings.

Another important obstacle is the limitation imposed by the FBI's ongoing criminal investigation. In his letter of September 24, 1993, the Associate Deputy Attorney General declined at this time to release documents associated with the criminal investigation. He requested that we postpone efforts to interview certain individuals because "premature interviews [of those persons] would create the risk of compromising an ongoing criminal investigation." The individuals named include the seven former Travel Office employees, as well as certain other individuals who are central to the completion of our review. The Associate Deputy Attorney General stated in his letter that an effort will be made to expeditiously complete the criminal investigation, we will be notified promptly when Justice determines that any particular interview no longer presents a problem for the criminal investigation, and the Justice Department will reconsider our request to pursue an interview on a case-by-case basis if an urgent need develops as our review proceeds.

Considerable information has been recently provided or promised and it will take some time to complete the interviews with the individuals the Justice Department has agreed we can meet with. Thus, we plan to proceed with our review and temporarily postpone certain interviews as the Justice Department requests. Such cooperation is consistent with our general policies on such matters when a criminal investigation is ongoing. If the criminal investigation is completed "expeditiously," it should not adversely affect the timely completion of our work. However, unforeseen further delays or limitations generated by the outcome of the investigation (such as the continuing unwillingness of some individuals to meet with us because they have been or might be criminally charged) may limit our ability to reach clear conclusions about the activities of the Travel Office before May 1993 or may require that we qualify our observations and conclusions. We will continue to work with the Department of Justice to minimize the impact of these problems on our review.

PLANS FOR COMPLETION
OF OUR REVIEW

From the outset of this review, we have devoted the resources necessary to carry out the work in a timely fashion. We will continue to do so. We plan to provide regular status reports to interested congressional officials and will call attention promptly to any further unanticipated obstacles if they arise.



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We are sending copies of this report to the Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members of relevant congressional committees, the White House Chief of Staff, the Attorney General, the Director of the FBI, the Commissioner of the IRS, and other interested parties upon request.



Milton J. Socolar
Acting Comptroller General

(966604)



U.S. Department of Justice

Office of the Deputy Attorney General

Associate Deputy Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

September 24, 1993

Ms. Nancy Kingsbury
Director
Federal Human Resource Management Issues
United States General Accounting Office
General Government Division
Washington, DC 20548

Dear Ms. Kingsbury:

The Department of Justice is making every effort to cooperate with your review of the treatment of the employees of the White House Travel Office, and I believe that you will be able to make a great deal of progress in your investigation without compromising our ongoing investigations.

I understand that the FBI and the Public Integrity Section of the Criminal Division have made arrangements for you to review documents of the White House Travel Office, and that your review of those documents is already underway. We are also prepared to make the following documents available to you:

1. Policy Statements or Operating Procedures:

All documents requested, if they exist, will be provided to you by the FBI.

2. Documents related to the FBI's interaction with the White House at the time of the dismissal of the Travel Office employees:

- a. Copies of correspondence between the FBI and Members of Congress concerning the Travel Office will be provided.
- b. The May 24, 1993 letter from Mr. Heymann to Senator Biden stating the Department of Justice policy regarding contacts between the White House and the Department will be provided.
- c. Copies of the following documents prepared by the FBI concerning its interaction with the White House will be provided:

1. FBI "Chronology" regarding the Travel Office matter. (This internal FBI document apparently was not transmitted to the Attorney General, but formed the basis for the FBI "Management Review" which also will be provided to you.)
2. FBI "Management Review" submitted to the Attorney General will be provided.
3. Copies of any FBI statements to the press about the White House Travel Office will be provided.
3. A copy of the final report of the Office of Professional Responsibility about the White House Travel Office matter will be provided when it is completed and submitted to the Deputy Attorney General.

The following documents that you have requested do not exist:

1. Copies of any records in FBI files concerning press inquiries. The FBI has advised me that no such records are kept.
2. Copies of any documents associated with the processing of a GAO Hotline complaint about the White House Travel Office filed in December 1988 by GAO with the White House Legal Counsel's office. It appears that GAO did not report this allegation to the FBI. A review of the FBI indices has been conducted and there is no record of anyone else having reported it to the FBI.

Consistent with Department of Justice policy, we are not able to provide internal FBI and Justice Department documents relating to the criminal investigation at this time. Similarly, any written correspondence with persons involved in the Travel Office investigation or their attorneys will not be released at this time. In the event that you have a specific compelling need for any particular document, please let me know and we will consider your request.

We have no objection to your request to interview the officials of the Department of Justice named in your letter about their interaction with White House officials during the early stages of the Travel Office investigation. However, we do request that you begin those interviews no earlier than October 8 so that the Office of Professional Responsibility may complete its interviewing process.

I am not aware of what involvement the FBI special agent

based in Nashville, Tennessee had in the Travel Office matter. He is not a Special Agent in Charge, and I ask that you defer any request to interview him until I can determine what if any involvement he had.

I understand that the Public Integrity Section has already agreed that you may proceed to interview all but 2 of the 18 White House staff members and 1 of the 2 OMB employees mentioned in your letter. In the category of "other" individuals, the Public Integrity Section has removed its objection to one of the persons listed and requested that you defer interviews of the others. Also, the Public Integrity Section has agreed to notify you when it determines that any particular interview no longer presents a problem for the criminal investigation.

After a thorough review, it is my considered judgment that premature interviews of the remaining persons whose interviews the Public Integrity Section has requested that you postpone would create the risk of compromising an ongoing criminal investigation. As you know, GAO traditionally has deferred to the Department of Justice when actions by GAO might interfere with ongoing investigations. However, I understand your legitimate need to comply with your statutory obligation and ask only that you postpone certain interviews until the criminal investigation has progressed to the point at which there would be no undue interference. If an urgent need develops to conduct any particular interview as your investigation proceeds, we will reconsider any requests on a case-by-case basis.

As we discussed, it is important that GAO agree to disclose the results of any interviews that you conduct in the event that such disclosure is required by a court pursuant to the Jencks Act in any future prosecution.

We are trying to move expeditiously to complete our criminal investigation. I appreciate your understanding and look forward to working with you in an effort to accomodate your interests.

Sincerely,



David Margolis
Associate Deputy Attorney General

Chiron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/9

TO: Sylvie MATTHEWS

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

Please incorporate
in your EITC/m.p.
memo
John



THE CHAIRMAN

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

October 1, 1993

038546

3 OCT 1 P3:33

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LAURA D. TYSON *Laura D. Tyson*
FROM: MARK J. MAZUR *Mark J. Mazur*
SUBJECT: EITC and the Marriage Penalty

In a recent article in the New York Times, Jonathan Marshall criticized the expansion of the earned income tax credit (EITC) contained in OBRA 1993 for creating a substantial marriage penalty for lower income individuals. You asked how this perceived problem could be "fixed". The problem noted does not lend itself to a simple fix. Instead we are providing some suggestions on how to respond to this type of criticism.

Background on Marriage Penalty: A marriage penalty (or subsidy) exists whenever (i) the income tax rates are progressive; and (ii) there is a filing status that permits individuals to pool incomes and file a return as a single earning entity. Generally, the marriage penalty is larger when the individuals involved have similar incomes.

Application to the EITC: The increase in the EITC contained in OBRA 1993 made the income tax system more progressive for lower income taxpayers. Moreover, since EITC receipt does not turn on marital status, the legislated EITC increases will exacerbate any marriage penalties and subsidies that existed in pre-OBRA 1993 law.

Observations: First, it is impossible to completely eliminate the marriage penalty without eliminating progressive income tax rates in the income-eligibility range or eliminating the potential for married couples to "pool" their incomes and be treated as a single earning entity. Second, it would cost many billions of dollars to substantially reduce the marriage penalty inherent in the EITC expansion by maintaining the same maximum credit and reducing the phaseout rate (which would extend the credit to a relatively populous part of the income distribution). Third, it would probably be politically impossible to reduce the marriage penalty by reducing the maximum credit allowed.

Suggested Actions: Given the foregoing, we suggest making the following points, which address, but don't fix, the problem.

(1) The EITC increase contained in OBRA 1993 both increased and decreased marriage penalties, with the outcome depending on actual household composition and on the size of relative incomes.

(2) Marriage penalties contained in other tax/transfer system programs may be more significant than those for the EITC (e.g., the marriage penalty for an AFDC recipient can be enormous in some States). The issue of marriage penalties is not a concern for just the EITC or for the income tax system.

(3) The Welfare Reform Working Group is aware of the potential for large marriage penalties in tax/transfer system programs and is working to ensure that these are reduced wherever possible as part of its reform package.

Chen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/09/93

THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARK GEARAN
ROBERT RUBIN

TO:

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



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

THE CHAIRMAN

October 8, 1993

26:58

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA TYSON *Laura Tyson*

SUBJECT: Foreign Economic Developments

Exchange Rates: The dollar weakened slightly against most currencies this week. However, a gain against the yen was posted today when an Administration official commented that the U.S. did not desire improvement in its trade deficit if it came at the expense of dollar depreciation.

Value of the Dollar in terms of:	Week Ending 10/1/93	Week Ending 10/8/93	Percent change from:	
			Week ago	Year ago
Deutschemark	\$1 = 1.6290 DM	\$1 = 1.6055 DM	-1.4%	+8.5%
Yen	\$1 = 105.87 Yen	\$1 = 106.10 Yen	+0.2%	-12.7%
Multilateral (March 1973 = 100)	92.66	91.82	-0.9%	+8.3%

Debt Relief for LDCs: ▶ On Tuesday, the Director-General of the IMF, Michel Camdessus, announced that he was in favor of waiving a substantial fraction of some LDCs' debts. Camdessus said that he could envisage debt reductions of 75 percent or more in "exceptional" cases, arguing that such measures are needed to ensure that the world's poorest debtor nations achieve sustainable growth.

Japan: The August current account surplus was \$7.2 billion, up slightly from August 1992. Prime Minister Hosokawa announced a new trade policy Thursday that, if fully implemented, would represent a fundamental shift in Japanese policy. The announcement contained few concrete immediate measures, calling for reduced import barriers, enhanced foreign direct investment in Japan, more competition in the domestic market, increased government procurement of foreign goods, and economic growth led by domestic demand.

Europe: ▶ The German current account deficit rose to DM 8.5 billion in July from DM 0.5 billion in June as both exports and imports fell. In the west, September unemployment was 7.4 percent, down from 7.5 percent in August, but up from 5.8 percent a year ago. In the east, unemployment stood at 15.2 percent. The DAX stock index finished today at a record high.

▶ The German Constitutional Court will decide Tuesday whether last year's ratification of the Maastricht Treaty on European union is valid.

Other Countries: ▶ Canadian September unemployment fell by a tenth of a point to 11.2 percent. A decline in unemployment among women and youths accounted for the decline.

▶ Mexican prices rose 0.7 percent in September. So far this year, prices have increased 6.3 percent; this is lowest level of inflation in Mexico since 1972.



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

THE CHAIRMAN

October 8, 1993

P 6:50

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

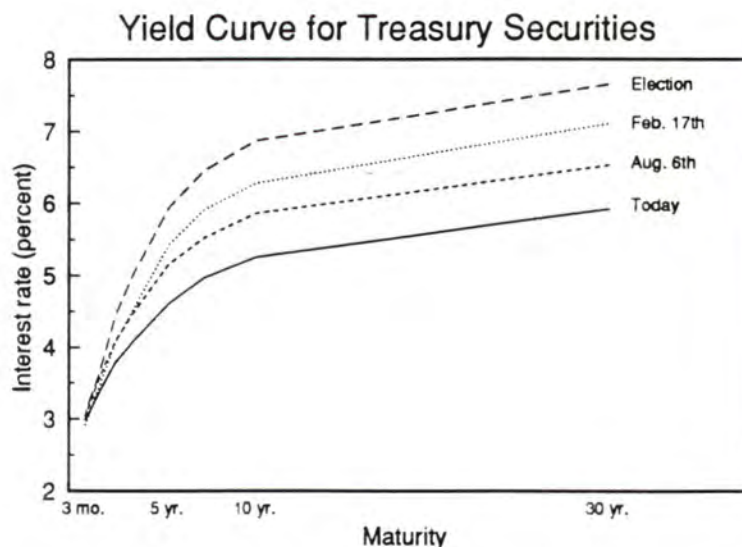
FROM: LAURA TYSON *Laura Tyson*

SUBJECT: Interest Rates and the Stock Market, Week Ending Friday, October 8, 1993

Interest rates fell at the long end this week, while short-term rates rose. Changes in Treasury borrowing rates over the week were as follows:

	Close 10/1/93	Close 10/8/93	Change
3-month bills	2.92	2.98	+0.06
10-year bonds	5.34	5.26	-0.08
30-year bonds	5.98	5.92	-0.06

The stock market closed virtually unchanged for the week. The S&P index closed Friday (October 8) at 460.31, down 0.2 percent from the preceding Friday's close. The Dow Jones Industrial Average rose 0.1 percent over the week to close at 3584.74.



The yield curve flattened slightly this week as the spread between long and short interest rates declined.

David Gergen —

I assume you know
Jim. Thought you'd be
amused by the attached

Tom 10/9

AKIN, GUMP, STRAUSS, HAUER & FELD, L.L.P.

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September 23, 1993

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(011) 32-2-535.29.11

The Honorable John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

While driving in this morning, I heard the radio report about the close shave with the teleprompter at last night's health care speech, and wanted to empathize. While I had many near-death experiences while in the White House, only one came that close to nationally televised hara-kiri.

It happened just before a Rose Garden event with Helmut Kohl, and in the midst of tense gamesmanship with the Soviets over German unification. An early version of the speech included an incredibly obtuse paragraph that would have undone our whole policy on German unity within NATO, i.e. in opposition to the neutralized state that Gorbachev was demanding. On spotting the paragraph, I screamed, the NSC screamed, the speechwriters apologized, the paragraph came out, and the President never saw the faux pas in his two reviews of the speech.

The morning of the event, the President took one last look at the speech and made a few minor edits. Like normal, I sent these to the speechwriters, they changed the speech cards, and I double-checked the final version to be sure all the President's edits were made. With minutes to go, I walked the final up to the President, who was ready to go out to the podium. As I walked into the Oval Office, my belief in a benevolent God was strengthened forever because, for some reason, I was thumbing through the speech cards -- something I wouldn't normally do at that stage (nor would the President, having reviewed it for the last time only minutes earlier). As he extended his hand for the speech, I gasped, froze, and said "Oh my God" (or perhaps something worse). The paragraph had reappeared, stuck unobtrusively in the midst of the text through the miracle of modern technology. While everyone waited (and peered curiously

The Honorable John D. Podesta
September 23, 1993
Page 2

into the Oval Office), I fixed the speech and handed it to President Bush who smiled, both of us knowing how close we'd come to a disaster -- for there is no doubt the paragraph would have been read before the President realized it didn't belong.

Bottom line -- modern technology makes for modern technological mistakes, so don't search too hard for the guilty. But I learned the hard way to double check speeches and teleprompters personally, even if Bill Gates himself had done the programming.

One other thing: it appears to this observer that the White House staff is beginning to function very well. Even though, as you know, I disagree with many of your policies, no one should wish for a President's failure, nor should staff glitches be a basis for partisan glee. By now you know the truth of what I've been telling the press since January -- the only real preparation for working in the White House is to work there. As people learn their jobs, and learn from their mistakes, they'll simply get better. Thankfully, you're now seeing that. And the better you all do your jobs, the easier it will be for us to focus the national debate on philosophical and policy issues, which is where it should be.

Best wishes and regards,

Sincerely,


James W. Cicconi

/jh

PODESTA
associates, inc.

8/22 P3:20

August 9, 1993

Mr. John Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

I have enclosed the résumé of Brian Fontes, with whom I have worked on several issues. Brian is currently Chief of Staff to the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and is an expert in international communications questions. He is interested in serving in the Administration, particularly in the Bureau of International Communications and Information Policy at the State Department.

Brian is talented and intelligent, and I give him my highest recommendation. I thought that as you continue to strive for diversity, you might be interested in learning about this exceptional Hispanic candidate. I have also sent a copy of Brian's résumé to John Emerson. Let me know if you need further information.

Sincerely,

Anthony T. Podesta

Enclosure

John Emerson
is this guy
in the mix
John Podesta

BRIAN F. FONTES

**5505 Seminary Road #2315N
Falls Church, Virginia 22041
703/671-1880 (Home)
202/632-6600 (Office)**

February 1993-PRESENT

POSITION: Chief of Staff

Serves as chief advisor and personal representative for the Chairman, Federal Communications Commission. Represents the Chairman in numerous conferences with individuals or groups representing the communications industries, other government officials, foreign dignitaries, and private citizens. Makes independent judgments on, and recommendations with respect to, all matters coming before the Chairman, i.e., matters relating to external policy and implementation of the Communications Act, as well as internal policy and administration of the Commission's regulatory responsibilities. Reviews all Commission agenda items and staff analysis and recommends and consults with the Chairman on these items. Responsible to the Chairman for maintaining cooperative relations with individual members of Congress, their staffs and Congressional committees. Also responsible for general overall supervision of members of the Chairman's office and serves as liaison between the Chairman and the other Commissioners, the Managing Director, Bureau/Office Chiefs and the Commission employees, conveying the Chairman's policies and viewpoints. Participates with the Chairman in meetings with the Managing Director, Bureau/Office Chiefs, members of Congress, and representatives of the communications industries and may personally advise him on appropriate course of action.

Regularly confers with the Managing Director and with Bureau/Office Chiefs to assure that policy decisions are consistent with the Chairman's overall policy objectives. The Chief of Staff briefs the Chairman on these matters. Conducts or directs the conduct of research to gather necessary information needed by the Chairman in the preparation of policy statements, and other written or published materials.

1985-February 1983

POSITION: SPECIAL/SENIOR ADVISOR

Office of Honorable James H. Quello, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission. Provided expert advice on telecommunications policy matters, focusing on, but not limited to, international telecommunications, spectrum management, technology issues and mobile communications. Represented the Commissioner in discussions with Congressional staff, Commissioners, Bureau Chiefs and other FCC personnel. Served as a liaison with land mobile, broadcast, cable, telephone, and other industry groups. Drafted opinions, prepared for Congressional hearings and developed and analyzed long-range policy trends affecting the telecommunications industries.

1987-PRESENT

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Participated in a variety of international conferences and meetings. Served as a delegate to the International Telecommunications Union's (ITU) 1987 World Administrative Radio Conference, Geneva, Switzerland. Panelist of the ITU's TELECOM '91, Geneva, Switzerland. Participant in the 1991 World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) bilateral negotiations with Venezuela officials in Caracas, Venezuela and with the Caribbean Telecommunications Union officials in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad-Tobago. Participated in United States Information Agency (USIA) Academic Specialist programs advising government officials and major communications groups and industry groups in South Africa (1991), Nigeria and Niger (1992) on telecommunication policy issues. Served as U.S. delegate to the 1993 Asia-Pacific Regional Development Conference, Singapore, and as the FCC representative to the 1993 Round III U.S./EC Conference, Rome, Italy. Member of the 1993 U.S. team advising Slovenian officials on U.S. regulatory approaches, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

1974-1984

POSITION: POLICY ANALYST

Mass Media Bureau, Policy and Rules Division, 1980-1984; and Office of Plans and Policy, 1978-1979, Federal Communications Commission. Designed, directed and supervised policy research. Served as member of FCC Task Forces on Broadcast Ownership, Temporary Commission on Alternative Financing for Public Telecommunications, and Children's Television. Applied research findings to policy planning. Briefed Commissioners, Congressional committees and Federal agency staffs on FCC research and proceedings. Authored FCC rule makings.

1977-1978

POSITION: ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

Mass Communications, Department of Communication Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Taught courses in research methods/statistics; the effects of mass media; children's television; and mass media and society. Chaired Master's degree committees and served on various faculty committees.

1975-1981

POSITION: MEDIA CONSULTANT

United States Commission on the International Year of the Child; the Children's Advertising Review Unit, National Advertising Division, Council of Better Business Bureaus, Incorporated; Michigan State University Instructional Television Service; Michigan State University/National Science Foundation. Also consulted for members of Congress on political matters.

EDUCATION

Ph.D, Michigan State University, 1977, Mass Media/Telecommunications.

M.S. and B.S., Brigham Young University, 1974, 1972, Sociology.

PUBLICATIONS/REPORTS

Coauthored reports to Congress for the Temporary Commission on Alternative Financing for Public Telecommunications; to the White House for its Conference on Families; as well as for academic journals, such as Journal of Broadcasting, Central States Speech Journal, Feedback. Also authored and coauthored several FCC documents.

AWARDS/ACTIVITIES

Listed in Who's Who Among Hispanic Americans, 1992-93 edition.

Washington, D.C. Chapter, Brigham Young University Management Society, 1985-present.

Professional Advisory Board, Michigan State University,
Department of Telecommunication, 1987-1991.

Recipient of FCC Special Achievement and Incentive Awards.

1980's Outstanding Young Men of America Award, Junior
Chamber of Commerce of America.

Graduate Fellow, College of Communication Arts and Sciences,
Michigan State University, 1976.

Rotary International Scholar, University of Southampton,
England, 1971-1972.

Phi Kappa Phi, National Honor Society.

COMPUTER SCIENCE AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS BOARD

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418

PHONE (202) 334-2605

FAX (202) 334-2791

BITNET:

MBLUMENT@NAS

OFFICE LOCATION:

MILTON HARRIS BLDG. RM. 560

2001 WISCONSIN AVENUE, NW

(OFF WHITEHAVEN STREET)

25 August 1993

The Honorable John D. Podesta
The White House
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary
Ground Floor, West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Podesta:

It is my pleasure to invite you to participate in a workshop on the Changing Nature of Telecommunications/Information Infrastructure being organized by the Computer Science and Telecommunications Board of the National Research Council. The workshop will take place on October 12-13, 1993 at the National Academies building located at 2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, in Washington, D.C.

The workshop will start with a panel discussing the genesis, nature, and limitations of the current telecommunications infrastructure, setting the stage for two panels that will discuss mechanisms. One will cover the spectrum of perspectives on regulatory interventions (from just "level the playing field" to "proactively stimulate development in a particular direction"); the other will assess the spectrum of perspectives on direct public investment (from just "fund precompetitive research" to "procure or subsidize facilities or services"). Complementing those three panels will be an airing and discussion of federal perspectives and a retrospective on the Modified Final Judgment. The format will involve a mix of succinct presentations and discussion among participants. Your active involvement in the discussion of federal perspectives is particularly encouraged. Please see the enclosed preliminary agenda.

The workshop will be an invitation-only discussion among policy analysts, executives, and key government officials and staff. The size will be limited to around 60 participants to further discussion. Since space is limited, we need to know by **10 September** whether you will participate.

As you may know, the Computer Science and Telecommunications Board was one of the earliest advocates of information infrastructure. The topic was identified as one of the Board's strategic emphases at its outset in 1986, developing such infrastructure was a central recommendation of its first major reports in 1988, and most of the Board's other reports have addressed relevant issues, from security to systems integration. The enclosed *Update* provides a snapshot of what the Board has been doing and who its members are. Also enclosed is the membership list for the steering committee that has organized the infrastructure workshop.

Please do not hesitate to contact me at 202/334-2605 if you need further information about the Board or this workshop. I look forward to your involvement in what I know will be a lively exchange.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Marjory Blumenthal".

Marjory S. Blumenthal
Director

Enclosures

The Changing Nature of Telecommunications/Information Infrastructure

12-13 October 1993
National Academy of Sciences
2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, DC
Entrance: 2100 C Street, NW (until 5:30 p.m.)

Name: _____

Organization: _____

- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Y | N | |
| ☐ | ☐ | I will attend the workshop beginning at 8:30 a.m. on 12 October in the Lecture Room. |
| Y | N | |
| ☐ | ☐ | I will attend the reception/dinner at 5:00 p.m. on 12 October in the Auditorium Gallery and Great Hall. |
| Y | N | |
| ☐ | ☐ | I will attend the workshop at 8:00 a.m. on 13 October in the Lecture Room. |

Please note any special needs that you may require (e.g., dietary, access) and any other comments: _____

Please complete and return by 10 September 1993

COMPUTER SCIENCE AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS BOARD
FAX: 202/334-2791
Phone: 202/334-2605

COMPUTER SCIENCE AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS BOARD

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

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MILTON HARRIS BLDG. RM. 560
2001 WISCONSIN AVENUE, NW
(OFF WHITEHAVEN STREET)

The Changing Nature of Telecommunications/Information Infrastructure

12-13 October 1993

Lecture Room

National Academy of Sciences

2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, DC

Alternative Entrance (until 5:30 p.m.): 2100 C Street, NW

Preliminary Agenda

12 October 1993

- 8:00-9:00 Registration and CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST
- 9:00-9:15 Welcome and introduction—George Turin, Teknekron Corp., *Chair*
- 9:15-12:00 **Panel 1—Setting the Stage—Al Aho, Bellcore, *Chair***

Keynoters

Robert W. Lucky, Bellcore

Charles Firestone, The Aspen Institute

Why do the technology and industry structures look the way they do? What are the key economic and policy factors that have brought us to today's conditions? How, now that we are a decade past divestiture, did the industry and public policy structures yield the current infrastructure—and what is the baseline in terms of industry and policy? Where would we like to be by the year 2000?

Panelists

Colin Crook, Citicorp

Corporate perspective

Edward (Ted) Shortliffe, Stanford University School of Medicine

Health care perspective

Gloria Frazier, WEB Associates

Education reform perspective

Clifford Lynch, University of California (Office of the President)

Library community perspective

12:00- 1:00 p.m. LUNCH

Panelists

Robert Kahn, Corporation for National Research Initiatives

Government support for infrastructure-related research and development

Bridger Mitchell, RAND Corporation

Pros and cons of subsidies for direct construction of network facilities and for users

Chuck Jackson, Strategic Policy Research, Inc.

Carrier perspectives on government investment in public telecommunications infrastructure

Laura Breeden, FARNET, Inc.

Perspective of noncarrier transport providers

Bill Gillis, INFO Enterprises at Motorola Company, Inc.

Perspective of emerging service providers

11:30-12:30 p.m. **Concluding Discussion**

12:30 **ADJOURN**

June 1993

Phone: (202) 334-2605
Internet: mblument@nas.edu
Fax: (202) 334-2791
Address: 2101 Constitution Ave., N.W.
Room HA-560
Washington, D.C. 20418

update

COMPUTER SCIENCE AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS BOARD NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

Next Board Meeting: September 13-14, 1993 in Washington, D.C.

New Members and New Staff: CSTB will welcome nine new members July 1, among them Jeff Dozier, University of California-Santa Barbara; Henry Fuchs, University of North Carolina; Deborah Joseph, University of Wisconsin; Butler Lampson, Digital Equipment Corporation; Barbara Liskov, MIT; David Messerschmitt, University of California-Berkeley; Casimir S. Skrzypczak, NYNEX Science and Technology, Inc.; and Leslie Vadasz, Intel Corporation. James Mallory has joined the CSTB staff, replacing Monica Krueger.

Recent Activities and Accomplishments

National Collaboratories: Applying Information Technology for Scientific Research. Released in March 1993, this report is the result of a year-long effort to study the needs of scientists for computing and communications technology to facilitate collaboration.

Computing Professionals: Changing Needs for the 1990s. Building on an October 1991 workshop, this report, released in February 1993, is a comprehensive examination of supply, demand, and training issues for computing professionals.

Project News and Upcoming Events

Convergence of Computing, Communications, and Entertainment. The third colloquium on competitiveness was held on June 7-8, 1993; a summary report will be prepared. Planning for the fourth colloquium is underway.

The Impact of Information Technology on the Performance of Service Activities. The report is being revised and is expected to be completed in the summer.

Academic Careers for Experimental Computer Scientists. The last meeting was held in January. A draft report was reviewed and is being revised; publication is expected in July.

Rights and Responsibilities of Participants in Networked Communities. Following a November 1992 workshop, the February strategic forum expanded discussion and dialogue to a wider community. CSTB will capture the highlights of the forum and preceding workshop in a summary report.

National Research and Education Network. Under the name NRENAISSANCE, the committee will develop a five-year vision for an NREN program in the context of an emerging national information infrastructure. It is taking testimony from a variety of interested parties.

EOSDIS. A reorganized committee will meet in June to continue activities through the end of the year.

Review of the Tax Systems Modernization of the Internal Revenue Service. At the request of IRS, CSTB will build on its completed review of the tax systems modernization program by assessing IRS progress and plans in connection with its major technology and operational transitions.

The Changing Nature of Telecommunications Infrastructure. An October 12-13 workshop will assess infrastructure status, needs, and impediments and explore issues relating to regulation and public investment. A summary report will be prepared.

Information Technology and Manufacturing. In cooperation with the Manufacturing Studies Board, CSTB will develop a research agenda relating to information technology for manufacturing. The committee first met on May 27-28.

Telecommunications in Transition. A planning meeting was held on February 19. Project proposals are being developed to address critical issues.

Workshop Series on High Performance Computing and Communications Program. A series of workshops will bring together elements of the HPCC/NII community to address cross-cutting issues in applications enabled by HPCC technologies. A steering committee is being appointed.

Technology and Telecommuting. New project will assess applicable technologies and the prospects for technology to facilitate telecommuting. A committee is being empaneled.

National Agenda for Virtual Reality R&D. Committee has explored technology and application issues. Its third meeting, focusing on physiological and human factors, is scheduled for mid-August.

Health Care Benefits of Information Infrastructure. CSTB is developing proposals for two projects, one to address health care information infrastructure and the other on machine-readable representations of patient knowledge.

Study of Long Term Retention of Scientific and Technical Records. The steering committee will integrate the findings and recommendations of several panels' case studies into a final report.

Other initiatives under development include: Wireless Communications and Mobile Computing, Computational Science Infrastructure, Software Safety, Undergraduate and Continuing Education, Funding Computer Science and Engineering Research in a Changing Environment, Cryptography Policy, Next Generation Information Technology Hardware/Roadmap to Petaflops, Privacy, Computing and the Humanities, Interdisciplinary Training and Career Paths, Software Development and New Perspectives, and Digital Libraries.

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COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE CHANGING NATURE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS INFRASTRUCTURE

George L. Turin, *Chair*
Teknekron Corporation

Dr. Alfred V. Aho
Bell Communications Research

Dr. Alan E. Baratz
IBM Corporation

Dr. Deborah Estrin
USC/Information Sciences Institute

Dr. Irwin M. Jacobs
Qualcomm, Inc.

Dr. Robert E. Kahn
Corporation for National Research Initiatives

Dr. David G. Messerschmitt
University of California at Berkeley

Dr. Roger G. Noll
Stanford, University

Staff

Marjory Blumenthal, Staff Director
mblument@nas.bitnet

Leslie Wade, Project Assistant
lwade@nas.bitnet

2101 Constitution Avenue, NW, HA560
Washington, DC 20418
202/334-2605
202/334-2791 [fax]

Marjory S. Blumenthal, Staff Director
Herb Lin, Senior Staff Officer
Greg Medalie, Staff Officer
Renee Hawkins, Staff Associate
Gloria Bemah, Administrative Assistant
Leslie Wade, Project Assistant

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/09/93

TO: TONY LAKE

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President. for his information.

Please prepare a response and
forward it to my office.

Thanks.

cc: Mark Gearan



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE HOLY SEE

RAYMOND L. FLYNN
Ambassador

Oct. 8TH

Mr. President,

I can't imagine how
your mission could be
handled better. We were able
to bring great credit to our
country and to our President.

I'm grateful for your
confidence.

Always available for
efforts to carry out policy
priorities — Ray Flynn



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Report to President Clinton on the Earthquake in India

**submitted by
United States Ambassador
Raymond L. Flynn**

October 8, 1993



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

**Report to President Clinton from
United States Ambassador Raymond L. Flynn
Regarding Earthquake in India
October 8, 1993**

Introduction

On October 1, President Clinton, deeply concerned about early reports of a severe earthquake in India, asked me to head a relief mission to the area of Maharashtra State that had been devastated early the previous day. There was no time to lose; two U.S.A.F. C-5 Galaxies were to depart the next day from Cairo, and then arrive in Bombay on October 3.

Within twelve hours I and my deputy, Cameron Hume, were airborne on the first flight from Rome to Cairo, beginning our five day tour of the earthquake site. On the flight from Cairo to Bombay, I consulted with Thomas Brennan and Peter Smith, the two experts from the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance sent to manage this operation. The Indian authorities had asked for urgent help with shelter materials for the people in the devastated areas. We would bring tents for 1,000 families and enough re-enforced plastic tarpaulin to provide roofing for more than 11,500 families along with emergency medical supplies including bandages, gauze and dressing supplies to manage fractures..

Following the President's instructions, I would be in touch with the local authorities including a personal message to the Indian Prime Minister which stated:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I was very distressed to hear of the recent earthquake in Western India. My heart goes out to the victims of the devastation and to those left homeless. I am confident that the efforts of your government and the courage and resilience of the Indian people will succeed in mitigating the worst effects of the disaster. A U.S. transport plane carrying humanitarian supplies will be leaving the United States for India on October 2, and my administration will continue to make significant efforts to provide relief throughout the crisis. I wish your country a quick recovery.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

I would also accompany the relief supplies to the devastated area, express the concern of the President and the American people and report back.

Site Visits

I arrived in Bombay on Sunday, October 4th on the first aircraft. As a brief ceremony took place to officially turn over the relief commodities to the Indian authorities, the emergency medical supplies and shelter materials were off loaded from the plane's cargo bay. In a professional display of organizational skill and civilian/military cooperation, our disaster aid was re-loaded onto a fleet of 35 heavy duty trucks and was dispatched to the earthquake area within a matter of 12 hours. Indian newspapers were generous in their coverage of U.S. concern and disaster aid, which amounted to somewhat over \$3 million, as well as my expression of U.S. sympathy to the Government of India and the Indian people over this tragic event.

Before leaving for the disaster area, I met in Bombay with the senior political and civil service leadership of the State Government of Maharashtra, including Governor Alexander, who described the earthquake as the worst disaster he has ever seen in his 73 years living in India, Chief Minister Pawar, and Chief Secretary Raghunathan. On each occasion I stated that the President had asked me to express our concern at this time of need and to recognize that Indians living in the U.S. are making substantial contributions to U.S. culture. The Indian authorities, in turn, expressed gratitude for the U.S. contribution as well as particular appreciation for your having asked me to personally represent your concern and sympathy. The Governor said this personal touch was genuinely appreciated and that it added "grace and respect" to what the U.S. has done. One leading member of the Indian National Parliament who represents the impacted area termed the earthquake a situation beyond human understanding. He also praised U.S.A. efforts as "surprising but heartfelt."

The Indian Government arranged for me to visit the disaster area on the day following the visit by Prime Minister Narisimha Rao. Our chartered aircraft landed in Solapur, a capital of one of the effected districts in which the earthquake took place. I was met there by Lt. General A.S. Kalkat, the Commander-in-Chief of India's Southern Command. We took off immediately by helicopter to overfly and visit several effected villages. The scenes from the air were chilling and the odor from the cremation of human bodies was so evident. Entire villages, made up primarily of two and three story stone houses, were reduced to piles of rubble. Miraculously, the odd structure here and there survived the destructive power of the tremors -- a lone temple tower stood in silhouette against the ruins close by. The haze over the villages was punctuated by plumes of acrid smoke as the soldiers of the Southern Command, attempting to complete their work of sifting through the debris for signs of human life, turned their attention to burning on site the carcasses of animals to prevent the spread of disease.

Since the quake occurred in the early hours of the morning when most villagers were asleep in their homes, those on the lower floors of the structures were buried beneath tons of stone. Chances of surviving such a calamity were slim indeed. The grim statistics tell the tale. The death toll has reached roughly 10,000 but probably will not go much higher. Forty thousand victims were treated for injuries at government medical facilities. About 20,000 homes were destroyed and now more than 100,000 are homeless.

Despite the magnitude of this tragedy, some small miracles occurred. On the day I was in Mangrui five days after the earthquake, a father of three asked a military rescue team to search the rubble of his house for his missing eighteen month old daughter. His two other children were dead and he had only enough wood for one funeral pyre. As the team began the search, they heard the cries of a child. She was pulled from the debris and rushed to the hospital where she is doing well. In shifting his focus from cremating the dead to support for the living, this father symbolizes, I believe, the extraordinary will of the survivors to surmount this catastrophe and get on with their lives.

During my second visit to the affected area the following morning, I witnessed the determined relief effort of the Indian Army, the Government of the State of Maharashtra, and private relief organizations from India and throughout the world. One Indian volunteer organization is providing a hot meal twice a day for 15,000 people. The district government is preparing and distributing meals for a similar number. In talking with some of the survivors, I was impressed with their determination to pull together to overcome adversity and reestablish their lives.

The convoy of trucks bearing U.S. aid had arrived the previous night and some had already been distributed in the three villages I visited. Relief authorities told me that they planned to use some of the plastic sheeting to construct temporary schools because they want the children to quickly resume as normal a life as possible. USAID tents were already being erected for the villagers by army personnel and it was clear that our contribution would provide shelter for large numbers of survivors, thus meeting a principal remaining need.

At a ceremony in Sastur, a village near the epicenter of the quake that had lost 3,086 of its population of 11,500, I symbolically turned over an assortment of relief goods and told the assembled villagers of the concern and sympathy of the people of the United States for their plight. When, in front of another village, I started opening a large box of relief supplies with the flag of the United States of America on it, the survivors of the earthquake spontaneously cried out "God Bless America." A mother who lost five family members, including three of her children, said "I had no more tears left to shed in sorrow but one now for joy upon receiving U.S. assistance."

Observations

First, the political symbolism embodied in the immediate response of the United States to the earthquake and your request that I represent your concern to the people of India were fully understood by the Indian authorities at both the national and state levels. I was hosted during my entire stay in the effected area by the Commander of the Southern Command of the Indian Army. Two helicopters were virtually at my disposal the entire time. It is also impressive to note that the U.S. State Department officials in Delhi and Bombay had very positive working relationship with Indian authorities, which enabled rapid and efficient distribution of relief supplies effort.

Second, it was clear that by the time of our arrival, Indian authorities were beginning to bring the situation under control. The civilian authorities from Maharashtra state have worked well with both the militia authorities and private organizations from elsewhere in the country. Victims were also busy working to get back on their feet. Local authorities did not identify any additional need for foreign relief assistance. They are already beginning to organize the rehabilitation phase.

Third, our contribution was just right. We were able to deliver the supplies requested by the Indian authorities when and where they were truly needed. These supplies, by meeting a real need, will be worth many times their initial cost.

Fourth, throughout our four days in India, civilian and military authorities did everything possible to welcome us, to help our mission, and to express their gratitude. Just as I sought to convey President Clinton's message of friendship and concern to the Indian people, all the people I met expressed their appreciation for help in time of need.

I concluded my pre-departure press conference by saying in Hindi, the local language, "Bhaarat kay log bahut bahadur hain", which means "The people of India have great courage."

Seeds of friendship and mutual respect were planted in India during these difficult days. In the rubble of devastated homes and dreams we found hope for a stronger relationship between our two peoples.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/09/93

MARK GEARAN
ROBERT RUBIN

TO:

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

September 28, 1993

SEP 29 1993 P6:53

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to inform you of the successful outcome of our aviation negotiations with the government of Germany, the latest round of which concluded in Bonn on September 24. As you recall, Chancellor Kohl wrote to you personally on two occasions regarding this matter.

I was personally involved in these talks, and worked with my counterpart in Germany toward a positive resolution. The agreement that we have reached represents a good result, with benefits both to the American public and to our aviation policy.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Federico Peña", is positioned above the printed name.

Federico Peña

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE 10.6.63
WASHINGTON

Chas/columbus
stal

we need to discuss

B.

CC. Alexis Herman



U. S. Department of Justice

Office of Legal Counsel

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-6-93

Office of the
Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

October 2, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR WEBB HUBBELL

FROM: Walter Dellinger *WHD*

Attached is a preliminary draft of our opinion concerning the legality of the President deploying the D.C. National Guard to help maintain peace and order in the District of Columbia. Our view is that the President could use the D.C. Guard, at least for a limited period of time, for this purpose.

One possible approach is for the President to "federalize" the D.C. Guard. By making the Guard part of the United States military, however, this would subject them to the Posse Comitatus Act which prohibits use of U.S. military troops for civilian law enforcement. This ban does not apply in circumstances in which use of the "federalized" guard has been authorized by Congress. We believe that use of a "federalized" D.C. National Guard could be defended as falling within an existing statutory authorization allowing such use when the President seeks to suppress "domestic violence" that "hinders the execution of the law" and thereby deprives citizens of a right "named in the Constitution" (here, for example, the right of interstate travel, or the right of law abiding citizens to be able to assemble peacefully). The use of a "federalized" D.C. National Guard in the existing circumstances, however, would stretch this provision beyond any prior historical application and could lead to requests for the President to "federalize" the National Guard in many other cities facing significant violence.

An alternative would be for the President to deploy the D.C. Guard in their "state militia" status. Our office has consistently taken the position that the President stands in a relation to the D.C. National Guard that is similar to the relation obtaining between the Governors of the States and their respective State National Guard units. His use of the D.C. National Guard as a state militia is controlled by a 1889 law governing the District of Columbia. This Office concluded in 1989 that this century-old law authorizes the deployment of the D.C. Guard in militia status to carry out or support civil law enforcement. Although the matter is not free from doubt, we concur that there is plausible legal authority for this use of the D.C. guard (although it appears that no D.C. funds are presently available for this purpose.) Our detailed analysis is attached, as well as a summary of options.

Summary of Options

Calling Guard into Federal Service

- legally supportable, but
- would extend applicable authority beyond the reach of existing precedents
- would need an articulated objective to avoid indefinite Guard presence
- requires President to declare local law enforcement efforts a failure and situation in D.C. tantamount to a crisis
- creates a precedent for other cities petitioning President to federalize the Guard to assist them

Increasing Use of Current Counterdrug Program

- legally supportable
- limited to Guard volunteers
- permissible Guard activities limited to logistics, administrative support and surveillance
- must be tied to federal anti-drug efforts, not to freestanding support of local law enforcement

Using the Guard in D.C. Militia Status

- legally supportable, although no precedent exists except with respect to crowd control support for massive demonstrations and parades, and counterdrug efforts
- avoids creating a national precedent for federalizing Guard
- requires District funding of the operation, with such funding apparently not now available

Memorandum



PRELIMINARY DRAFT

Subject

The President's Use of D.C. National Guard
for Civilian Law Enforcement Activities in
the District of Columbia

Date

October 1, 1993

To

Walter Dellinger
Acting Assistant
Attorney General
Office of Legal Counsel

From

H. Jefferson Powell
Christopher Schroeder
Todd F. Gaziano
Office of Legal Counsel

Introduction and Summary

In response to your request this morning, we have examined the possibility of the President deploying the District of Columbia National Guard (D.C. Guard) as part of an effort to maintain peace and order in the District of Columbia. This memorandum presents our preliminary view that the President could call out the D.C. Guard in its "militia status" for certain civilian law enforcement functions. Although such action would not be free from challenge, our preliminary view is that the President could use the D.C. Guard, at least for a limited period of time, to maintain peace and order under current conditions.

State National Guards enjoy a dual status under the United States Constitution because they are subject to the command of either state authority or the President. State National Guards can be called into federal service by the President under various provisions of the United States Code, particularly 10 U.S.C. §§ 331-333. When that occurs, the President is their Commander in Chief, under the constitutional provision making him Commander in Chief of the "Militia of the several States, when called into actual Service of the United States," U.S. Const., art. II, § 2. State National Guards can also be deployed in their militia status, in which case they are subject to the command of the Governor of the respective states pursuant to whatever authorities state law grants. When that occurs in the District of Columbia, the President is also their Commander in Chief, under D.C. Code 39-109.

Each of the President's dual capacities presents him with different options. This memorandum discusses first the option of "federalizing" the D.C. Guard and using them in the federal

status, then the current use of D.C. Guard personnel in counterdrug activities, and finally the option of using the D.C. Guard in their militia status pursuant to D.C. law.

The President's "federal" options are defined in part by Congress. The Posse Comitatus Act, 18 U.S.C. § 1385, makes it a crime for anyone to use the Army or the Air Force to execute the laws "except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress." When the President calls a National Guard into federal service, the Guard becomes part of the United States Army or Air Force, and is thus subject to the Posse Comitatus restrictions. One can make a case that the restrictions would not apply here, because the President's power to enforce the laws and suppress insurrections or domestic violence under 10 U.S. §§ 332, 333 would authorize his action, but using these statutes here stretches beyond historical precedents and may otherwise be undesirable.

On the other hand, exercising his authority under the D.C. Code -- analogous to the authority of the governor of any state -- may be justifiable. If that authority is invoked, however, a significant question arises regarding funding the salaries of the D.C. Guard, as we understand that the District may not have such funds at the present time.

I. Calling the Guard into Federal Service

The Posse Comitatus prohibition is avoided if there is express statutory or constitutional authorization for deploying the National Guard in law enforcement activities. There are a number of such express statutory authorizations that are not applicable here, including authority to federalize the Guard in time of invasion. 10 U.S.C. §§ 3500, 8500.

The most nearly applicable is the President's authority under 10 U.S.C. §§ 332, 333.¹ Section 332 empowers the President to deploy the militia or the armed forces "whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States." In 1882, the Attorney General advised the President that this provision empowered him to send troops to combat "outlaws" in the Territory of Arizona, based on information from

¹ The President's inherent constitutional authority to federalize the state militias, if any, is limited by Congress's exercise of its constitutional authority to "provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, . . . and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States." U.S. Const., art. I, § 8, cls. 15-16.

the Territory that local law enforcement had insufficient personnel to make arrests, and that a situation of lawlessness existed in the Territory. 17 Op. Atty Gen. 333. This section has also been invoked along with § 333 in connection with the urban riots of 1967 and 1968, and as authority to send troops to aid in desegregation efforts in the 1950s.

Section 333 empowers the President to suppress any "insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy" that "hinders the execution of the law," and so deprives any part of the citizenry of a right "named in the Constitution" and secured by law, so long as the President finds that the existing authorities are unable, fail or refuse to protect those rights. 10 U.S.C. § 333(1). Alternatively, he can intervene in cases of insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination or conspiracy if any of these "opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws." § 333(2). Before exercising any of the authority under §§ 332 or 333, the President must first issue a proclamation ordering the "insurgents" to disperse. 10 U.S.C. § 334.

As indicated earlier, the authority of § 333 has been invoked a number of times in the past, including in aid of desegregating Central High School in Little Rock, and in helping quell violence during urban riots in Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore and the District of Columbia in 1967 and 1968.

The District is not now experiencing a pronounced episode of extraordinary unrest or violence to bring it easily within the scope of such precedents. Nevertheless, the President would probably be given considerable latitude in his judgment that sufficient domestic violence existed to warrant the action. A plain meaning justification for invoking § 333(1) proceeds as follows: High levels of domestic violence restrict the First Amendment right of assembly, and right of interstate travel, insofar as they instill a fear that moves people to stay indoors or discourages people from travelling through the District. Thus citizens in the District are being deprived of rights "named in the Constitution" and protected by numerous District of Columbia laws that ostensibly protect citizens from violence, because the level of domestic violence "hinders" the execution of those laws. That the condition is chronic rather than acute may not be significant.

Still, applying § 333(1) authority at a time when the amount of domestic violence now occurring is within the range of recent historical experience for the city would stretch its application beyond historical precedents, and would constitute an admission that the "normal" condition in Washington had become one in which regular law enforcement fails to accord the citizens their constitutional rights. On the other hand, it would appear that

the situation in Arizona that supported the deployment of troops in 1882 was one in which local law enforcement was proving inadequate to cope simply with day to day violence and lawlessness, but we have not researched the facts of that situation sufficiently to draw a firm comparison.

An argument for authority under § 333(2) can also be advanced. The climate of fear created by high levels of crime and violence can obstruct the enforcement of and impede the course of justice under federal criminal statutes aimed at drugs and associated violence by, among other things, making citizens less willing to cooperate in investigations.

Assuming §§ 332-333 can be invoked, there remains some doubt about the length of time the D.C. Guard could continue to be used. While the language of the statutes contains no express time limitation, the situations apparently contemplated by the statutes are ones in which local authorities are temporarily disabled from protecting citizens. In such cases, the Guard is to come in, help restore order, and then depart. This comports with the historical precedents.²

It would be prudent, and it may be legally necessary, to articulate a goal or objective that would enable withdrawal of the Guard after some reasonable period of time if these statutes were invoked, rather than contemplating indefinite supplementation of local law enforcement. Doing the latter would risk violating the Posse Comitatus Act. A preliminary examination of the legislative history of Posse Comitatus reveals several statements indicating that while appropriate actions under the predecessors of §§ 332-333 would not be violations, the Congress also meant "to put a stop to the practice, which has become fearfully common, of military officers of every grade answering the call of every marshall and deputy marshall to aid in the enforcement of the laws." Congressman Knott, 7 Cong. Rec. 3846, 3849 (quoted in 41 Op. Atty Gen. 313 (1957)). The limits of §§ 332-333 authority need to be read in light of the purposes the Posse Comitatus Act was designed to serve, namely to prevent the Army and the Air Force from becoming regular adjuncts to normal law enforcement activities.

Finally, not only would utilizing §§ 332-333 here run beyond existing precedents, it would also risk creating a difficult precedent for the future, as mayors of other cities and governors might ask the President to federalize the Guard in their states to aid in domestic law enforcement in other communities.

² We have not completely researched the legislative history of § 333 to determine whether it sheds any light on the expectations concerning how long the Guard could remain on active duty.

II. The D.C. National Guard and Counterdrug Activity

Title 32, section 112 authorizes appropriations to "the Governor of a State" who allows "the National Guard of that State" to participate in federal "drug interdiction and counterdrug activities." A 1989 OLC opinion addressed whether the D.C. Guard could participate in that program, and specifically, whether the money authorized pursuant section 112 could be used to pay the D.C. Guard. See "Use of the National Guard to Support Drug Interdiction Efforts in the District of Columbia," 13 Op. O.L.C. 110 (1989) (preliminary print) (1989 Opinion). The 1989 opinion concluded that the D.C. Guard, in its militia status, could participate in the federal program pursuant to § 112. The 1989 Opinion relied heavily on the authorization in section 112, and did not present the situation where the President independently was considering using the D.C. Guard in militia status to enforce the District's drug laws.

The use of the D.C. Guard in counterdrug activities pursuant to § 112 does not provide a useful analogy to the contemplated use of the D.C. Guard for general law enforcement activities for other reasons. Neil Woodcock, who is the National Guard Liaison Officer in the Bureau of Justice Assistance, Office of Justice Programs, DOJ, explained that the National Guard does not make any arrests, handle any contraband, testify in court, or engage in any front-line law enforcement activities. The general duties of the National Guard in the counterdrug program are to provide training to other federal officials, help in planning counterdrug operations, aerial surveillance (e.g., of marijuana fields), radar surveillance, transportation (both air and ground transportation), cargo inspection, and other logistical support, including engineering support. For example, an examination of the activities of the D.C. Guard volunteers for the week ending September 18, 1993 reveals that the great majority were assigned to record keeping and accounting functions. Other guard personnel were engaged in cargo inspection at Dulles Airport, aerial transportation of personnel and property to and from counterdrug operation sites, aerial surveillance, and one person was serving with the DEA as a liaison for the National Guard volunteers.

We obtained a Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense from Deborah R. Lee, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs (September 30, 1993) that questions the authority of the D.C. Guard to engage in anything but support activities. Moreover, Neil Woodcock has stated that the National Guard Bureau has issued regulations that would prohibit the state national guard to engage in any activity that would violate the Posse Comitatus Act while serving pursuant to 32 U.S.C. § 112. We do not believe that these regulations are required by the Posse Comitatus Act, because § 112 provides its own congressional

authorization, but it is further support for our conclusion that the existing use of the National Guard is not a good analogy for their use in general civilian law enforcement activities.

III. The D.C. National Guard in Militia Status

As we mentioned above, National Guard personnel have a dual status. "Since 1933 all persons who have enlisted in a State National Guard have simultaneously enlisted in the National Guard of the United States." Perpich v. Department of Defense, 496 U.S. 334, 345 (1990). The Supreme Court has drawn a sharp legal distinction between Guard members acting in their state capacity and the same persons acting as federal troops. "In a sense all of them now must keep three hats in their closets -- a civilian hat, a state militia hat, and an army hat -- only one of which is worn at any particular time." Id. at 348. Guard personnel in service are either acting as members of a state militia or as federal troops, never as both. See id. at 347 (state Guard personnel "ordered into federal service . . . lose their status as members of the state militia during their period of active duty"). When acting as state militia, Guard personnel do not fall within the terms of the Posse Comitatus Act. See, e.g., 1989 Opinion, 13 Op. O.L.C. at 111 n. 4. In most circumstances, therefore, the question of whether Guard personnel could be used to support law enforcement would be a pure question of state law, as long as the personnel had not been federalized.

The D.C. Guard, however, clearly present certain unique concerns. The District, of course, is not a state. Its National Guard is organized pursuant to an act of Congress, Act of Mar. 1, 1889, 25 Stat. 772, as amended, and its commander in chief is the President of the United States. D.C. Code § 39-109. It would be possible to argue, therefore, that members of the D.C. Guard are anomalous: unlike the members of state Guard organizations, the argument goes, D.C. Guard personnel have no "state militia hat" and when in service are invariably acting as federal personnel.

We reject this conclusion. In creating and organizing the D.C. Guard, the Congress plainly intended to establish a militia parallel in nature and status to the Guards of the several states. In light of Congress's broad powers to legislate for the District, U.S. Const., art. I, § 8 cl. 17, this intention is entitled to great weight. The 1889 Act, now codified at D.C. Code §§ 39-101 to 39-906, closely resembles state constitutional and statutory provisions organizing state Guards. The Act distinguishes between activity in militia status and activity "when called into the service of the United States," D.C. Code § 39-604, a distinction that would be meaningless if the D.C. Guard were necessarily and invariably acting in a federal capacity. The distinction Congress drew in the 1889 Act is parallel to that adopted by the Supreme Court in Perpich,

although that decision did not address specifically the status of the D.C. Guard.

The President's duties and responsibilities as commander in chief of the D.C. Guard, furthermore, resemble those of a state governor with respect to a State Guard. For these reasons, "[t]his Office has consistently taken the position that 'the President . . . stands in a relation to the D.C. National Guard that is similar to the relation obtaining between the Governors of the several States and their respective State National Guard units.'" 1989 Opinion, 13 Op. O.L.C. at 113-14 (footnote with citation omitted). If this conclusion is correct, the Posse Comitatus Act, which by its terms is limited to the Army and Air Force (and which applies to Army and Air Force National Guard units **when** called into federal service), is simply inapplicable.³ The President's authority with respect to the D.C. Guard, **in its militia status**, is defined entirely by the 1889 Act, which for these purposes is the equivalent of the state laws that define the powers of governors over state Guards. We therefore turn to the President's authority under the 1889 Act.

In our 1989 Opinion, this Office concluded that the Act authorizes the deployment of the D.C. Guard in militia status to carry out or support civil law enforcement. Citing D.C. Code § 39-602, we stated that that section's "authorization to order out the Guard for 'other duties, as [the Commanding General of the Guard] may deem proper' has long been viewed as broad enough to include law enforcement activities." 1989 Opinion, 13 Op. O.L.C. at 112. In support of this statement, the Opinion described the "natural reading of section 39-602" and two OLC memoranda from 1963. Neither of these bases for the Opinion's statement is, however, completely satisfactory. Section 39-602 states:

Prescribing Drills.

The Commanding General shall prescribe such stated drills and parades as he may deem necessary for the instruction of the National Guard, and may order out any portion of the National Guard for such drills, inspections, parades, escort, or other duties, as he may deem proper. The commanding officer of any regiment, battalion or company may also assemble his command, or any part thereof, in the evening for drill,

³ In addition to avoiding the Posse Comitatus problem, employing the District Guard in militia status, if lawful, will clothe the Guard members with immunity from civil criminal liability for actions undertaken "in the discharge of [their] military duty." D.C. Code § 39-805.

instruction, or other business, as he may deem expedient; but no parade shall be performed by any regiment, battalion company, or part thereof, without the permission of the Commanding General.

While the 1989 Opinion's reading of § 602 is not impossible, neither is it in our view the "natural reading" of the language. Except for the reference to "other duties," the section in its entirety seems to us plainly directed toward ceremonial and training activities. Involvement in law enforcement activities certainly would not be ceremonial, and would not seem to be concerned with "the instruction of the National Guard" which is, after all, a military organization. (Section 602 is in a chapter of Title 39 labelled "Active Military Duty.")

The 1963 memoranda cited in the 1989 Opinion are not particularly persuasive on this point. One memorandum addressed the narrow question of whether the D.C. Guard in militia status could act to supplement the civilian police "during a [specific] massive demonstration or parade." Memorandum of July 30, 1963, at 1. The memorandum concluded, without discussion, that the words "or other duties" are "broad enough to be construed as authorizing the National Guard to support activities of the civilian police force during any massive demonstration or parade in the District." *Id.* at 2. The other memorandum addressed the liability of Guard personnel who might fail to report for duty to supplement the police in "handling the crowd . . . in [a specific planned] civil rights demonstration." Memorandum of August 9. That memorandum's discussion of § 602 was not a ringing endorsement of the section's availability as authority for the employment of the Guard in law enforcement:

Although the term "other duties" can be reasonably interpreted as including activities in aid of civil authorities, thereby bringing such duty within the purview of the courts-martial provisions of Section 49, it is possible that such a construction would not be sustained by the courts in an action attacking the validity of such a court-martial, since it is possible that the term "other duties", as that term is used in Section [602], might be construed by the courts in pari materia with the other terms used in that section which relate primarily to drill- and training-type activities as distinguished from the aid-to-civil-authorities-type activities expressly covered by Section 48.

Although the issue is not free from doubt because of the existence of contrary authority, chiefly the 1989 Opinion of this Office, it is our conclusion that § 602 does not provide the President authority to employ the D.C. Guard in militia status in the manner proposed.

There is a second possible source of authority in the 1889 Act. Section 39-104 provides that the "enrolled militia shall not be subject to any duty except when called into the service of the United States, or to aid the civil authorities in the execution of the laws or suppression of riots." We think that § 104's reference to activity "in aid of the civil authorities in the execution of the laws" is affirmative authorization for the Guard's employment in law enforcement activities.⁴ Section 104, to be sure, addresses not the Guard per se but rather the "enrolled militia" of the District, which is described in another section as all able-bodied male citizens of the District, with certain exceptions and age limitations. See D.C. Code § 39-101. This provision nevertheless appears to authorize the employment of the D.C. Guard for law enforcement purposes because the Guard is a subset of the "enrolled militia" and nothing in section 104 forbids the use of a part rather than the whole. See 1989 Opinion, 13 Op. O.L.C. at 112-13 (assuming such an argument).⁵ While the question is not free from doubt, we conclude that § 104 provides plausible legal authority for the proposed use of the D.C. Guard.

Bear in mind, however, that calling up the D.C. Guard in their militia status will require funding the operation through District funds, which will require coordination with the appropriate District officials. At this time, we are unaware that such funds are presently available.

⁴ The 1989 Opinion apparently reached the same conclusion and quoted § 104 as ancillary support for its conclusion. See 13 Op. OLC at 112-13.

⁵ The District Guard includes, we assume, female as well as male personnel, and thus is not literally a subset of the "enrolled militia" defined in § 39-101 but rather an organization only some of whose members are part of the latter group. However, section 101 does not limit membership in the militia to males but simply provides that the designated males "shall be enrolled in the militia" (emphasis added). Women (as well as men older than age 45) plainly may volunteer for service in the militia under § 39-106.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY LAKE

FROM: JOHN PODESTA 
SUBJECT: MILITARY NOMINATIONS

I received your memo regarding the promotion of 38 Army officers to Brigadier General, including two with adverse information. The additional information you provided was helpful and I have processed the promotion list.

I believe that the system you outlined for providing adverse information and any mitigating circumstances will improve the staff's and the President's ability to review these nominations in a timely fashion. I appreciate your and Bob's attention to this matter.

cc: Bob Bell
Ron Geisler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

03 OCT 8 P 3: 23
October 8, 1993

TO: JOHN PODESTA
FROM: DAN BURKHARDT
THROUGH: MARSHA SCOTT
SUBJECT: HONORARY CHAIR AND EVENT
ATTENDANCE REQUEST

Please review the attached requests,
make your recommendations, and return
to me in rm. 94 EOB by Friday,
October 15, 1993.

Thank you.

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: October 7, 1993

Date of Request: 9/17/1993

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS

Type of Request: Dinner Committee Membership

Requestor Name: Mr. James H. Joy

Title: Executive Director

Organization: American Civil Liberties Union of Colorado
400 Corona Street
Denver, Colorado 80218

Contact Tel. #: 303/777-1773

Event Date: 11/13/1993

Event Description: Dinner-dance for the 1993 ACLU Carle Whitehead Award and Bill of Rights Celebration (honoring Joel Ehrlich and others) at the Westin Hotel in Denver, Colorado.

Notes: No request that the President and First Lady attend. The writer hopes that the President's and First Lady's association will boost ticket sales and attendance. The dinner's proceeds support the education and litigation programs of the ACLU of Colorado. One of the honorees is involved in challenging the anti-gay amendment to the Colorado State Constitution.

Recommendations:

MW _____

RN _____

JP _____

ND
10-13

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: October 7, 1993

Date of Request: 7/29/1993

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS/Chelsea

Type of Request: Honorary Co-Chairs

Requestor Name: Mr. David R. Mercer

Title: National Executive Director

Organization: YMCA of the USA *of Greater Baltimore*
101 North Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606-7386

Contact Tel. #: 312/977-0031

Event Date: Spring 1994 (date to be chosen)

Event Description: Celebration of the 140th Anniversary of the
Baltimore YMCA

Notes: _____

Recommendations:

MW _____

RN _____

JP _____

ND
10-8-93

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: October 7, 1993

Date of Request: 8/17/1993

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Co-Chairs

Requestor Name: Dr. Stanley S. Bergen, Jr.

Title: President

Organization: University of Medicine and
Dentistry of New Jersey
111 Administration Complex
30 Bergen Street
University Heights
Newark, New Jersey 07107-3000

Contact Tel. #: 201/982-4400

Event Date: 10/30/1993

Event Description: "The Race and Walk of Champions" is a benefit
for women and children living with AIDS to be
held in Newark and Stratford, New Jersey.

Notes: Writer requests that the President and First
Lady co-chair the race and walk. The medical
school uses the proceeds to provide various
medical and educational support services to
women and children living with AIDS in New
Jersey.

Recommendations:

MW _____

RN _____

JP _____

43

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: October 7, 1993

Date of Request: 10/01/1993
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Membership
Requestor Name: Ms. Aida T. Collazo
Title: Vice Chairperson, Board of Directors
Organization: Hispanic Action Society
P.O. Box 1242
Pensacola, Florida 32596
Contact Tel. #: 904/833-9320
Event Date:
Event Description:
Notes: The Hispanic Action Society is a non-profit,
non-partisan organization currently limited
to Florida) designed to protect Hispanic
American's rights.
Recommendations:

MW _____

RN _____

JP _____

ND

0-8-13

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: October 7, 1993

Date of Request: 9/17/1993

Request for: POTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Chairman

Requestor Name: Mr. Ralph Plessinger

Title: President

Organization: The Treaty of Greene Ville Bicentennial
Commission, Inc.
205 N. Broadway
Greenville, Ohio 45331

Contact Tel. #: 513/548-5250

Event Date: 10/15/1993

Event Description: Reenactment of the encampment of Greenville
at the Greenville City Public Park

Notes: The Treaty of Greene Ville Bicentennial
Commission has named the President Honorary
Chairman of the 200th Anniversary of the
signing of the peace treaty. That event will
take place in 1995. Scheduling has already
regretted the appearance of the President at
this year's reenactment.

Recommendations:

MW _____

RN _____

JP _____

10 693

Today's Date: October 7, 1993

Recommendations:

MW

RN

JP

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From the Office of the Chief of Staff

Phone: 202/456-6797 Fax: 202/456-1121

Date: 7 Oct 93 Response needed by: 8 Oct 93
 COS Office Contact: Bill Burton, Policy & Staff Director

	Action	FYI	P6:10	Action	FYI
Joan Baggett			Bernie Nussbaum		
Lee Brown			Leon Panetta		
Bill Daley			Howard Paster	X	
Rahm Emanuel			John Podesta	X	
Mark Gearan			Jack Quinn		
Kristine Gebbie			Carol Rasco		
David Gergen			Bob Rubin		
Jack Gibbons			Eli Segal		
Marcia Hale			Ricki Seidman		
Alexis Herman			George Stephanopoulos		
Nancy Hernreich			Christine Varney		
Tony Lake	X		David Watkins		
Bruce Lindsey			Maggie Williams		
Ira Magaziner					
Katie McGinty					
Dee Dee Myers					
Roy Neel					

Remarks:

Tony, Howard -
 Pls advise your thoughts on the
 attached ASAP
 Thanks. Mack

Response:

NSC Paster's
 Call

Podesta

10-8-93

FASCIMILE MESSAGE
FROM
THE OFFICE OF
CONGRESSMAN FRANK MCCLOSKEY

TO: Mr. Mack McLarty

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-2464

FROM: MARSHALL FREEMAN HARRIS, Foreign Policy Adviser

OUR OFFICE: 202-225-4636 (TEL); 202-225-4688 (FAX)
306 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER: 3

MESSAGE:

Further to the Chief of Staff's conversation with Congressman McCloskey last night, attached is an urgent letter to the President regarding a Congressional delegation's planned trip to Sarajevo.

FRANK MCCLOSKEY
8TH DISTRICT, INDIANA

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
MILITARY ACQUISITION
MILITARY INSTALLATIONS
AND FACILITIES

**POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
COMMITTEE**

CHAIRMAN, CIVIL SERVICE
CENSUS, STATISTICS AND
POSTAL PERSONNEL

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-1408

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

306 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-1408
202-225-4638

DISTRICT OFFICES:

800-382-6268

ONE CITY CENTRE, SUITE 208
120 W. SEVENTH STREET
BLOOMINGTON, IN 47404-3928
812-334-1111

FEDERAL BUILDING, ROOM 128
101 N.W. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. BLVD.
EVANSVILLE, IN 47708-1851
812 488 6484

October 6, 1993

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

The Honorable Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President and Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to you urgently to request approval for us to lead a delegation of international parliamentarians into Sarajevo on Sunday, October 10. Our group of approximately twenty-five people, including legislators from Malaysia, Italy, Great Britain, Canada, the Philippines, and other countries, would undertake a general fact-finding mission, conduct meetings with Bosnian government and civic leaders, and leave Sarajevo on the following day.

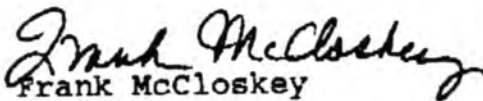
We understand that UNHCR and UNPROFOR have no objections to the visit and are prepared to make the necessary security and administrative arrangements. We are also aware that thousands of journalists, relief workers, U.S. government officials, and international parliamentarians have flown in U.S. and other nations' relief aircraft into Sarajevo without incident. We are prepared to split up our group and travel in more than one regularly scheduled military flight. We are also prepared to accept full responsibility for our own welfare and would not hold the U.S. government accountable for any possible incident.

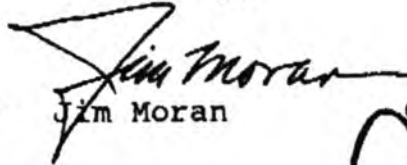
In addition, we understand that security conditions have improved in Sarajevo and that Ambassadors Jackovich and Redman have both spent considerable periods of time there in recent weeks. Indeed, in his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on October 5, Assistant Secretary of State Oxman was very careful not to refer to current conditions in the capital as resembling anything even approaching a "siege."

-2-

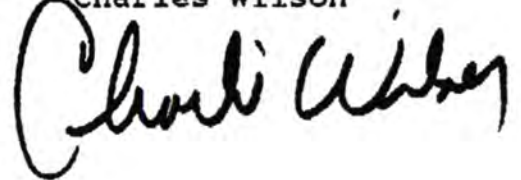
We believe that, particularly in light of Secretary Aspin's inability to complete his planned travel into Sarajevo last month, it is vital that American legislators such as ourselves make the trip and observe first-hand the conditions in the Bosnian capital. Accordingly, we are anxiously awaiting a favorable response from you. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


Frank McCloskey


Jim Moran

Charles Wilson



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/08/93

NOTE FOR: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

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:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George Stephanopoulos

October 1, 1993

Indian Earthquake Response

Per your instructions, Ambassador Ray Flynn is on his way to India early tomorrow morning.

He will be accompanying a C-5 loaded with tents, plastic sheeting and medicine. Humanitarian MRE's (meals ready to eat) are also available if the Indians want them.

We can't find Chris Hyland, but Alexis is starting to contact the Indian American community.

You should know that Brian Atwood of the Agency for International Development did a very good job in organizing this response on short notice.

cc: Mack McLarty
Tony Lake

→
You
left hand to him
from run

TALKING POINTS ON SEPTEMBER EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment report for September came in about as expected, with the unemployment rate holding steady and nonfarm payroll employment increasing moderately.

- o **The unemployment rate remained unchanged in September at 6.7 percent, as private analysts had expected.** The unemployment rates for August and September were the lowest since July 1991.
- o **Nonfarm payroll employment rose by 156,000 in September**, in line with the expectations of private analysts. In addition, the July increase in payroll employment was revised up while the August decline was slightly greater than previously estimated.
- o **NONFARM PAYROLL EMPLOYMENT HAS NOW INCREASED BY 1.2 MILLION JOBS SINCE JANUARY** (1.218 million to be exact). -- an average monthly increase of 152,000.
- o **PRIVATE NONFARM EMPLOYMENT HAS INCREASED MORE DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION THAN DURING THE ENTIRE BUSH ADMINISTRATION.** Between January and September of 1993 private nonfarm employment has increased by 1.067 million compared with only 1.002 million between January 1989 and January 1993.
- o Average hourly earnings were unchanged in September.
- o The average work week declined by .3 hours in September.
- o Manufacturing employment continued its decline, falling by 18,000 in September.

Handwritten notes:
 Bush
 we need to
 be careful
 this is a
 big deal
 B



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/8}

October 6, 1993

*HCC/In
G on Gov't in SF for
(84) Convention - good
Lunch - should write
him - B*

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

Dear President Clinton,

It was great seeing you in San Francisco for the AFL-CIO event. I thought your speech was magnificent and courageous. It was quite well received and, I believe, changed many opinions about NAFTA.

LaNita and I have always been very proud to have been among your earliest supporters in California. We are also very supportive of the agenda and the accomplishments of your administration. You and Hillary are doing a wonderful job!

Mr. President, it seems I have prepared my entire professional life to play a part in health care reform. I don't want to sit on the sidelines while the most important health care changes in American history occur. You know I have had extensive public policy experience as Health Commissioner for San Francisco since 1984.

Additionally, I been a primary care pediatrician in the inner city for 15 years and over the last 10 years become very experienced in managed health care delivery. I am presently very involved in the delivery of HMO services to Medicare enrollees. I could not agree with you more that there can be realized dramatic savings in providing quality health care to this population. I also contributed in a small way to the final reform package by joining other providers in the Executive Office Building to discuss health care delivery to disadvantaged populations.

Please consider me for a position on the National Health Board or chairing one of the Board's advisory committees. Also, I am prepared to contribute in any way you see fit to assure passage of the reform package.

I look forward to discussing these matters with you sometime in the near future. Thank you for your consideration and please accept from LaNita and I our best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely,

Richard Sanchez, M.D., M.P.H.

✓ sent
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: *June*

Fax Number: *512/475-1558* Phone Number: *512/475-1399*

FROM: *Paul Richard*

SUBJECT: *Hayden letter*

DATE: *7 Oct 93*

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): *2*

MESSAGE: *Per your request.*

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

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

013453

Senate
California Legislature

TOM HAYDEN
SENATOR
TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT



March 25, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

I urge you to reject a draft Executive Order dated February 3, 1993, from Secretary Hazel O'Leary expressing a "federal commitment" to double acquisition of "alternative fuel vehicles" in fiscal years 1994-97. This draft order would continue the pattern set in the previous administration of permitting petroleum based fuels to qualify under the definition of an "alternative" at the expense of zero-emission electric vehicles or low-emission natural gas vehicles.

I would be happy to provide a detailed explanation of the issues surrounding this controversy.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature of Tom Hayden in cursive script.
TOM HAYDEN

cc: The Honorable Al Gore
Vice President of the United States
The Honorable Les Aspin
Secretary of Defense
The Honorable Leon Panetta
Director of Management and Budget
Carol Browner
Administrator, Environmental Protection
Agency

**TEXAS GENERAL LAND OFFICE****Garry Mauro
Commissioner****TELEFAX TRANSMISSION**

TO:

Fran
The White House
FAX: (202) *456-2215*

FROM:

Jane Marshall

DATE & TIME:

10/7/93 11:30A

NO. OF PAGES:

2 (including coversheet)

IF PROBLEMS:

Call 512/463-5020 (Executive Office)

GLO FAX NO.:

512/475-1558

COMMENTS:

As we discussed. Thanks

Sent 10/7
gms

Executive Office

1700 North Congress Avenue

Austin, Texas 78701-1495

ID# 013453

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 19, 1993

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE TOM HAYDEN

SUBJECT: CONCERNS REGARDING A DRAFT EXECUTIVE ORDER
DATED FEB 3 93 FROM SECRETARY HAZEL O'LEARY
EXPRESSING A FEDERAL COMMITMENT TO DOUBLE
ACQUISITION OF ALTERNATIVE FUELS VEHICLES IN

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
REGINA MONTOYA		ORG	93/04/19		
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: FISCAL YEARS 94 AND 97

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

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

```

*****
*ACTION CODES:      *DISPOSITION      *OUTGOING      *
*                  *                  *CORRESPONDENCE: *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWERED      *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM      *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *OF SIGNER      *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED      *CODE = A      *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED      *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                  *OUTGOING      *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                  *                  *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE      *                  *                  *
*X-INTERIM REPLY      *                  *                  *
*****

```

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

GM Info
Tom H

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1993

The Honorable Tom Hayden
Senator of the State of California
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

Dear Tom:

Thank you for contacting me regarding your concerns about the proposed Executive Order on Alternative Fuel Vehicles. It was good to hear from you, and I apologize for the delay in my response.

As you know, I announced in my Earth Day Address in April my intention to sign an Executive Order that would require the federal government to exceed by 50 percent the previously established targets for acquisition of alternative fuel vehicles. I appreciate hearing your concerns about the draft Executive Order. I have forwarded a copy of your letter to Mr. Garry Mauro, Texas Land Commissioner, as he is spearheading the drafting of another Executive Order in this area. I am sure that he will give your concerns every consideration as we move forward on this important issue.

Again, thank you for sharing your thoughts with me.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



CALIFORNIA COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE

23 OCT 7 P8:08

To: Mr. John Podesta
Asst. to the President & Staff Secretary

From: Martina Johnson
Executive Director

Date: 10/7/93

Notes: _____

_____ 9 pages total

10/8
Please fax a note ~~to~~ ^{to} Martina Johnson
saying that I received
her fax + that I'll
see what I can do.
Tom



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/07/93

DONSIA STRONG
MICHAEL SCHMIDT

NOTE FOR:

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

October 6, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Donsia Strong and Michael Schmidt in response to a question you asked about legislation on religious freedom for Native Americans -- the Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act (NAFERA).

The bottom line is that there are still a number of open practical and constitutional issues surrounding the bill, and White House staff is participating in an interagency dialogue. The Administration has expressed support for the goals of the bill to the Coalition of Native Americans pushing the legislation.

The bill, which would amend the American Religious Freedom Act of 1978, would require federal agencies to consult with tribes whenever a federal undertaking was expected to interfere with Native American religion, and would empower Native Americans to block activities found to interfere.

TDS
Todd Stern

*Remember / would like to
it's a big deal to a lot
of them. Try to
push it along -
B*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SEP 27 11:04

September 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM DONSIA STRONG, DPC
MICHAEL SCHMIDT, DPC

SUBJECT The Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act

There are two principal bills before Congress which address protections for religious freedom, the Native American Free Exercise of Religion Act (NAFERA) and the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). These bills were introduced in response to two Supreme Court cases: Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Assoc.; and Employment Division v. Smith.

BACKGROUND: SUPREME COURT CASES

In 1988, the Supreme Court held in Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Assoc., 485 U.S. 439 that the government's action in constructing a road across a sacred Indian religious site did not burden native religious practice because "it did not coerce Native Americans into violating their religious beliefs or penalize religious activity by denying any person an equal share of the rights, benefits or privileges enjoyed by other persons." Commentators interpret Lyng as redefining "burden" on religious freedom to include only coercion or penalties in practicing ones' religion while excluding the destruction of religious beliefs. NAFERA addresses the holding in this case.

In Employment Division v. Smith, 494 U.S. 872 (1990), the Court held that an Oregon state law of general effect could abridge the free practice of religious rituals such as use of peyote by members of the Native American Church. RFRA restores the law to pre-Smith status.

Earlier this year, you sent a letter to Senator Kennedy in support of RFRA and urged its swift passage.

AMERICAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT OF 1978

NAFERA amends the American Religious Freedom Act of 1978. The 1978 Act requires Federal agencies to respect the customs, ceremonies and traditions of Native American religions. The Act directed Federal agencies to examine their policies and procedures and work with Native American tribes to assure minimal interference with sacred sites. Agency reviews led to a report

which made five legislative proposals and 11 recommendations to Congress for proposed uniform administrative procedures to correct and remove identified barriers to Indian religious freedom. Only one of the recommendations, which related to a prohibition on the theft and interstate transport of sacred objects, has been acted upon. This lack of action and the two adverse Supreme Court decisions have led to the introduction of the bill.

NAFERA

The major purpose of NAFERA is to place enforceable restrictions on activities of Federal agencies with respect to "federal or federally assisted undertakings" that "may affect" Native American religious practices or sites, or require a agency to consider alternative actions. Federal agencies would be required to provide notice and consult with tribes as part of the planning process whenever a federal undertaking were expected to interfere with Native American religion. Native Americans would be allowed to stop major as well as minor Federal actions if the activity were found to interfere with Native American religious practices or sites.

OUTSTANDING ISSUES

The agencies have a number of outstanding questions about the bill, such as:

- Is the bill constitutional? -- The bill allows Indian tribes to stop government action if they believe the action harms their religion, perhaps in violation of the establishment clause.
- What tribes should be covered by the bill? -- The bill provides no limitation as to which tribes are protected -- state recognized tribes, special California tribes or tribes seeking recognition.
- Should there be an automatic work stoppage on government projects when notified by a tribe of possible desecration?
- Under what circumstances may federal land managers limit access to religious sites on Federal land? National security?
- What level of protection should be afforded eagle parts and feathers which are valued for religious observances?

These are but a few of the outstanding issues surrounding the bill. White House staff and federal agencies have been and are continuing an interagency dialogue and review of the bill. In addition, the agencies held two days of meetings with the

American Indian Religious Freedom Coalition in August. The Administration also participated in several early meetings with Senator Inouye's Senate Committee staff. Senator Inouye is the primary co-sponsor of NAFERA.

The Administration has expressed support for the goals of the bill to the Coalition.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

follow up w/ meeting with
~~MLK~~ MLK Comm yesterday

check on this bill
re: Indian Religious Rights
are we for it?

B.C.
Religious Freedom for
Native American Art
They say Babbitt's for it, underlings
at Justice "underlings" ~~justice~~
Advise

B. Nussbaum

Pls advise

B.

Follow up with meeting with MLK Comm yesterday

Check on this bill re: Indian Religious Rights
are we for it?

BC.

Religious Freedom for Native American Art. They say
Babbitt's for it, underlings at Justice
Advise

B. Nussbaum

Pls. Advise B.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/07/93

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 THE EMBARGO.





THE CHAIRMAN

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

7 P7:00

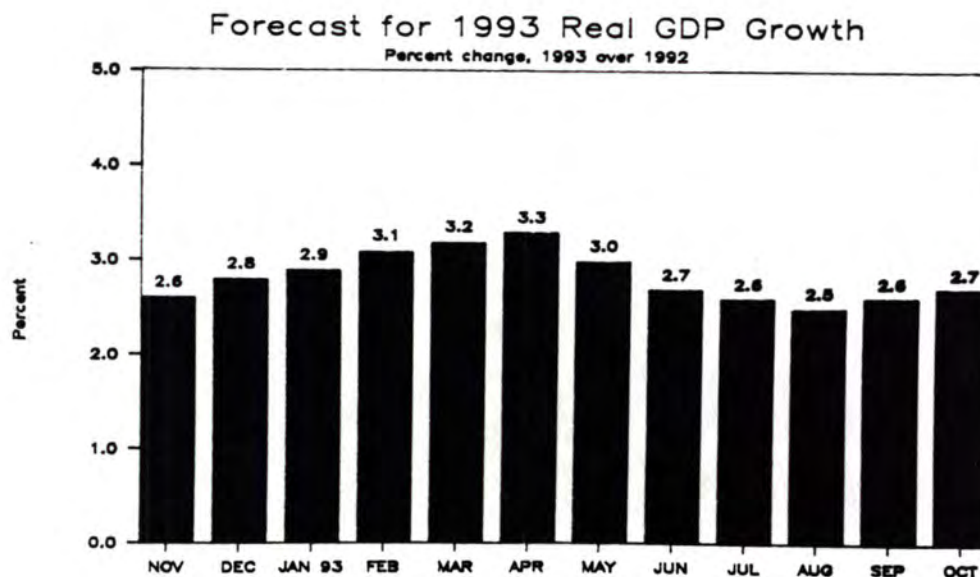
October 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA D. TYSON *Laura D. Tyson*
SUBJECT: Blue Chip Economic Indicators
Embargoed Until Sunday, October 10, 1993

The October Blue Chip consensus forecast for real GDP growth was revised up slightly for 1993, but was unchanged for 1994.

- o The Blue Chip consensus forecast now expects 2.7 percent average real GDP growth for 1993, compared to the 2.6 percent growth expected last month. It was the second consecutive upward revision.
- o On a fourth-quarter-to-fourth-quarter basis, the Blue Chip group expects 2.1 percent GDP growth during 1993. That is slightly higher than the Administration's official 2.0 percent Mid-Session Review forecast.
- o Expected 1994 Blue Chip average GDP growth was unchanged at 2.7 percent, marginally below the Administration's 3.0 percent forecast.



Buy - note on today's talk

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

W/ Shali

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-7-93

Shali

Wenguan
strong, my
Deng Xiaoping Aided
got in trouble - fukle. in
good my on strength of
opposition, where he was
get away from single
strategy -

have thing to coopt
leader in. Aided to do good
thing not bad things.

le Jory
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE 10/7/93 db
WASHINGTON

10/6

① Summary - Day of Sun w/Dayton
Sunday 2-1000 to draw safe return
- send word to Aidet
- can fin
- must counter
w/ media unit.

② Summary - LTR of 9/30.
- yesterday's meeting
a decision -
- No report in part
could use word,
- can fin -
- recognize signs
of Helder Kaba as a
- avoid a date -
- certain "Mandate" -
- he wants to help
to leave or avoid the killing

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
Presidential Phone Calls
Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 10⁴⁵ on 10.5-93 TIME: _____
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Jefferson

SUBJECT: _____

- ① Thank for support - 1 for it
- ② Put photo behind us, in
Union obstacles to show, all it can
- ③ Banned visit began of last
few days - for, now on they OK.
- ④ Solely casualties

Very statistic
FOLLOW UP: ③ Forget people who were
in spec for ex. Beltine —
Region open their back grant
General Monroe. Open for. Mail

Aboard Air Force One



WITH: Jeffrey (2)

SUBJECT: _____

(16) Had support of people.
(17) Now we move forward strongly - Dec. 17/12 Many have rally for Plerito -
General Bd of Pleco - 3 election
Sign -

FOLLOW UP: Reg. An new lg to support
user - old machine of it

⑨ In Vertebro - some
prop in cinnabellig - ched up
under stab

(c) up to now what happens
to K_{sp} - & C_H - eff. concentration

~~They can protect & protect the user~~

Presidential Phone Calls
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
Aboard Air Force One 10/19/93 db



DATE: _____ TIME: _____
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Jeffery (3)

SUBJECT: 111 Member - unknown

found on all records - See Jon -

FOLLOW UP: _____

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Podesta
FROM: Mike Cavanagh
DATE: October 7, 1993

-- As we discussed at the Leahy fund-raiser, John, I really want to avoid bothering you on all but the most important issues. I hope you're doing well and getting some sleep on occasion.

-- I did want to write this short note to request your support for an outstanding candidate for the NII Advisory Council, Mike Zisman of Soft-Switch. Although I recognize that you are not directly making these decisions, and that dozens of outstanding candidates will be put forward, Mike warrants serious consideration and would be a tremendous asset to any policy initiative.

-- Quite simply, as I think you are aware, Mike Zisman is the most highly respected leader in the commercial electronic mail industry. He has a degree of knowledge and understanding about the technology and the business of electronic mail that is unmatched. His company, Soft-Switch, is an international success, and his academic research of over a decade ago still is providing the inspiration for some of the most exciting concepts of groupware and intelligent message filtering that are only today reaching the marketplace.

-- With Zisman on the Council, fellow members will have the benefit of the very best insights into the future of the electronic mail industry, something that should be very important indeed.

-- If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call. A Zisman bio is attached to this memo.

(Contact info: Michael F. Cavanagh, President, Cavanagh Associates, Inc., Suite 338, 1555 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, VA 22209. Tel: 1-703-875-8666; Fax: 1-703-875-3780; MCI Mail: MCAVANAGH or 584-6337; CompuServe: 73422,43.)

BIOGRAPHY:
DR. MICHAEL D. ZISMAN

Dr. Michael D. Zisman
Chief Executive Officer
Soft-Switch, Inc.
640 Lee Road
Wayne, PA 19087
Telephone: (215) 640-7448
Facsimile: (215) 640-7548
Internet Address: mdz@ssw.com

*Tom Kaul
we should put
him on a
subcommittee
John*

10-7-93

X.400 Address: c=us, a=mci, p=softswitch, s=zisman

Since 1975, Dr. Michael D. Zisman has been involved with the ARPAnet and the Internet, both as an academic and as the founder and CEO of Soft-Switch, Inc. Zisman is recognized as a leading international authority on electronic mail. He is a well known and highly regarded public speaker on the subjects of electronic mail, knowledge sharing systems, and network infrastructure. He has published numerous papers over the past twenty years, and is a Board member and Treasurer of the Electronic Mail Association.

Soft-Switch, Inc. is recognized as the industry leader in the rapidly growing market for electronic mail backbone switches. Soft-Switch's products interconnect an enterprise's diverse, multi-vendor electronic mail systems and provide for the interconnection of these private networks to the Internet and to public carriers via the international X.400 standard.

Zisman holds a B.S. degree in Chemical Engineering from Lehigh University (1970), an M.S. in Systems Engineering from the University of Pennsylvania (1973), and a Ph.D. in Decision Sciences from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania (1977). He served on the faculty of the Wharton School from 1975 to 1977, and during this period was responsible for connecting the Wharton School's computer network to the ARPAnet. While a graduate student, he was supported by research contracts from the Office of Naval Research and ARPA, and was an early user of the ARPAnet.

After graduating from The Wharton School, Dr. Zisman joined the faculty of the Sloan School at M.I.T., and served there until 1979. While serving on the Sloan School faculty, Zisman was also an associate member of the Laboratory for Computer Science and a well-known consultant to numerous U.S. corporations.

In 1979, Dr. Zisman founded Soft-Switch, Inc. Since 1984, the focus of Soft-Switch has been on supplying products to interconnect electronic mail systems and to interconnect private networks with the public networks. Soft-Switch products provided interconnectivity to the Internet in 1988 and interconnectivity to public carriers via X.400 in 1989.

The Soft-Switch X.400 Gateway is by far the leading product used by large U.S. corporations to interconnect their private electronic mail networks to public carriers such as AT&T, MCI, etc., and to connect their private networks to the networks of their customers and suppliers.

Besides supplying its products to large end-user enterprises, Soft-Switch also provides its products and technology to most of the U.S. Value-Added networks and European PTTs for use in their network offerings.

Under Dr. Zisman's leadership, Soft-Switch has become the leading supplier in its market and counts among its customers most of the Fortune 50 and a significant number of the Fortune 200. Soft-Switch was named Company of the Year by the Electronic Mail Association in 1991, and the company's products have won numerous awards. Soft-Switch employs 260 professionals in the U.S., U.K., France and Germany.

*B. Huston
Admin B.*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10.6.93



JIMMY CARTER

September 29, 1993

To Attorney General Janet Reno

I'm still pursuing a presidential pardon for the 1987 conviction of Martin J. Hughes. I feel that Mr. Hughes was a victim of partisan pressures and hope that his case could be re-examined in a purely judicial environment. The enclosed letter from Senator John Glenn explains Marty's case and is testimony to his fine character.

I would appreciate your acknowledging my request and informing me of the outcome of your review of this case.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Janet Reno
Attorney General
Department of Justice
Constitution Avenue & 10th Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20530

enclosure

cc: Marty Hughes

- GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, CHAIRMAN
- ARMED SERVICES
- SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
- SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3501

September 16, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

I want to urge your favorable consideration of the pardon request of Martin J. Hughes. Marty was convicted in 1987 of technical violations of federal record keeping requirements involving campaign contributions to various political candidates. The alleged violations stem from Marty's political activities as a union leader in Ohio.

At the time of Marty's trial, I testified on his behalf because I believe that he is not guilty of wrong doing. But instead of rehashing the entire case and its tragic conclusion, I want to describe what an extraordinary individual Marty Hughes is and what he means to countless Ohioans -- like me -- who care about him.

Marty's solid reputation has led to a bipartisan call for his pardon despite his strong ties to the Democratic party. I have enclosed statements supporting Marty's request from:

- the current Republican Governor of Ohio, George Voinovich;
- the former Democratic Governor of Ohio, Dick Celeste;
- U.S. District Court Judge George White of Cleveland, Ohio;
- U.S. District Court Judge Frank Battisti of Cleveland, Ohio;
- U.S. District Court Judge Henry Woods of Little Rock, Ark.;
- Catholic Bishop of Cleveland, Anthony Pilla; and
- my character affidavit on behalf of Marty.

Marty is a family man devoted to his wife and children. His family has shared in the pain caused by his convictions. And so have the many Ohioans who have been touched by Marty's kindness. Marty has shown real dedication to public service and to helping the less fortunate in our society.

While most his age would be seeking the comfort and leisure of retirement, Marty is currently running a non-profit eye care organization aimed at providing low-cost eye care to union members and their families. Thanks to his efforts during these days of sky-rocketing health care costs, the families Marty is serving are receiving eye care at a cost of 40 percent less than what is being charged by other providers.

Marty may be best known for his work as the International Vice President of the Communications Workers of America and as Vice President of the Ohio AFL-CIO. Marty was -- and continues to be -- a vigorous leader in the labor movement in Ohio and Ohio workers have benefitted greatly from his commitment.

Marty continues to be engaged in the community action efforts of the United Labor Agency. As Vice President of this organization, Marty played a leading role in initiating a wide range of social programs. Under Marty's leadership, the ULA has been engaged in rehabilitating alcoholics; counseling the unemployed; providing job training for youths and displaced adults; providing housing for senior citizens; preventing plant closings and providing medical services to the poor.

In his efforts to help the less fortunate, Marty has shown a real commitment to minorities in our society. He served on the Minority Economic Development Committee of the Federal Reserve Bank's Round Table. And Marty has been active in fund raising for the United Negro College fund and for private and parochial schools in the inner cities which provide special education for children of culturally deprived families.

I also want to make special mention of Marty's military service. Marty is a decorated World War II veteran. He fought in North Africa, Sicily, Southern France, Germany and Czechoslovakia, receiving seven Battle Stars for his combat duty.

It is difficult to convey in a letter all that I would like to say about Marty Hughes. He has given so much for his country, and is definitely not the kind of individual who would knowingly violate the law. I feel that Marty is most deserving of a Presidential pardon and urge your favorable consideration of his request. Marty's continued suffering under the burden of his convictions does not serve anyone well.

Your reflection upon this matter is greatly appreciated.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Best regards — John Glenn

John Glenn
United States Senator

cc: Margaret C. Love, Pardon Attorney



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

October 7, 1993

VIA FAX

Secretary of State Warren Christopher
US Department of State, Room 7226
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Chris:

I am almost definitely going to both Jordan and Syria at the end of next week. I have an interview with King Hussein on the 15th, and Ambassador Al Moualem of Syria has virtually assured me of an interview with President Assad immediately thereafter. The interviews are for *Global Viewpoint*, a joint venture of *New Perspectives Quarterly* with the *Los Angeles Times* Syndicate. We provide one column a week to 130 leading newspapers around the world, some of which are listed on the enclosed letterhead.

x [I would appreciate your asking Dennis Ross--whom I do not know--to give me a call to set up a meeting in Washington for early next week for the purpose of guidance, especially in the case of Syria. Naturally I would welcome anything that you yourself might wish to say to me as well, but even as I say that I am well aware of your other pressures.

With warmest wishes,

SKS/kc
chris23

cc: President Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-7-93

Don
~~Don~~
Pls follow up
B.



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 7 October 1993

TO: Nancy Hernreich

FIRM: _____

FROM: Stanley K. Sheinbaum

COMMENTS: For the President

NO. OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

DESTINATION FAX NO. _____

*If you experience any problems with this transmittal
please call us at 310-472-9541*

FAX: (310) 476-9853

345 North Rockingham Avenue Los Angeles California 90049 Telephone (310) 472-9541 FAX (310) 476-9853



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/07/93

DAVID GERGEN
MARK GEARAN
DEE DEE MYERS
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

NOTE FOR:

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

Information ☒

Action ☐



Thank you.

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

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1993 5 5 P7:46

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JENNY MCCARTHY, DIRECTOR, AGENCY LIAISON

THROUGH: MARSHA SCOTT, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE AND MESSAGES

SUBJECT: CASEWORK OF SPECIAL INTEREST -- VETERANS

1. Sonia Curtis of Gorham, Maine: It took a bit of detective work to get in touch with 12-year-old Sonia Curtis of Gorham, Maine, to reassure her that we would make every effort to try to replace her father's stolen Purple Heart. Awarded during the Vietnam conflict, the medal was lost, along with a number of other items, when the family's New England home was burglarized. It was the theft of her father's Vietnam-era medal that most upset Sonia. In her letter to you, she writes:

I would like to know how he could earn another Purple Hart[sic]. He is very brave and is willing to fight for what is best. He almost died the last time he fought for this country. He is older now and I don't want him to fight anymore. Can you please help him... I know only presidents can give away Purple Harts[sic].

Helen Stefanopoulos of this office learned from the Department of Veterans' Affairs that Sonia's father is a disabled veteran who served honorably and was retired from the U.S. Navy with multiple shrapnel wounds and hearing loss. He receives service-connected compensation benefits at the 90 percent rate. Through the White House's Military Office, Helen verified Mr. Curtis' military record and obtained a replacement medal for him.

With some effort, Helen was able to telephone Sonia to let her know that all efforts were being made to fulfill her request. (Although Sonia provided a return address in Gorham, Maine, it is in a remote area and the family's phone is unlisted. After calling several area schools, Helen was able to locate Sonia and call her and her mother at home.) Sonia was very excited by the call, and her mother asked us to tell you that she was "very honored and grateful to you" and that the call had "inspired" her daughter.

I have included Sonia's letter to you and a suggested response to send her along with the Purple Heart.

2. Arthur Peterson of Gardner, Massachusetts: Ten medals that a World War II veteran earned, but never received, were recently delivered to him in August through your intervention and that of Senator John F. Kerry.

"This letter took 48 years to write," veteran Arthur J. Peterson of Gardner, Massachusetts, began his letter to you. He had made three written requests for his decorations to the Army but to no avail. At the time he wrote you, he made a similar request of Senator Kerry.

The Department of Defense verified that Mr. Peterson had earned the medals, which ranged from the Silver Star to the Expert Badge with Rifle Bar. A staff person in Senator John Kerry's Massachusetts office subsequently delivered the medals to him.

I have included a suggested response from you, a copy of which is intended for Senator Kerry. Mr. Peterson's letter to you is also attached.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 1, 1993

Sonia Curtis
RR5, Box 305
Gorham, Maine 04038-9113

Dear Sonia:

Thank you for your letter. I deeply appreciate your bringing the loss of your father's Purple Heart to my attention.

Although there is nothing I can do to return the original Purple Heart your father so valiantly earned, I am honored to provide this replacement in recognition of his heroic action. Please extend to your father my deepest admiration for his courage and sacrifices.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



Special
Attention

Aug 22, 1993

Dear President Bill Clinton,

my name is ~~Sonia~~ Curtis
I'm only 12yr old and would
like to Explain something
to you. I'm very mad
because when my family
and I went on vacation
Just for one week ~~it~~ came
home from a good vacation
and my sisters ~~stereo~~
were gone. my + mom's
TV and Stereo ~~was~~ gone.
also her Jewellery box was gone
with her 1800 coins and Jewels.
My mom bought my sister
Olivia J Curtis a ~~new~~ Spakin-
new Radio with a ~~cd~~ Player
is gone to my sister only go
to use her Stereo for a or 3 dk
This is the most thing ~~that~~
makes me mad my dad
Barry W Curtis was in the
Vietnam war and he earned -

a Purple Hart but when
this ~~person~~ entered ~~the~~ house
he took his Purple Hart.
my dad is very sad
about that. I would like
to know how ~~he~~ could
earn another Purple Hart.

He is very brave and
is willing to fight for what
is best. He almost died
the last time he fought
for this country. He is older
now and I don't want him
to fight anymore. Can you
please help him get another
purple Hart without fighting?
I know only presidents can
give away purple Harts.
If you can't help me I'll be under
stand.

Sincerely,

Donna Curtis

RR 52 Box 305

#(207) 727-5085

Donna Curtis me 04038-
all

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 1, 1993

Mr. Arthur J. Peterson
Apartment 508
125 Connors Street
Gardner, Massachusetts 01440

Dear Arthur:

I am pleased that you have now received the awards you so valiantly earned during your service in World War II. The passage of time has not diminished the impressiveness of your courageous acts.

It is fitting that these awards were transmitted to you by Senator John Kerry, another veteran who served with great courage and distinction.

As Commander in Chief, I extend my deepest gratitude for your heroic service to this nation.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Arthur J. Peterson
125 Connors St. Apt. 508
Gardner, Mass 01440
June 12, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

This letter took 48 years to write, and sir, it is only a request I was awarded medals from World War Two, which I never received. Upon discharge the US Army, promised me that I would receive them. This was on June 25, 1945.

I have made 3 attempts in writing to the Army, but to no avail. I never did receive a reply to my letters. As Commander in Chief Mr. President I'm sure that a word from you would excite the people involved to action. You sir, are my last hope, and I hope you can help me on this matter.

Sincerely I remain

Arthur J. Peterson
125 Connors St. Apt. 508
Gardner, Ma. 01440

cm WHTS
DOD

A. J. Peterson

842257

JUNE 12, 1993

125 CONNORS ST. APT. 508

GARDNER MA. 01440

REQUEST FOR ARMY MEDALS

ARMY COMMANDER

U.S. ARMY RESERVE PERSONNEL CENTER

ATTN. D.A.R.P. - PAS - EAW

PAGE BLVD.

ST. LOUIS, MO. 63132 - 5100

SIR,

I MAKE THIS REQUEST FOR THE MEDALS THAT I WAS AWARDED WHILE SERVING IN THE U.S. ARMY FROM 1941 TO 1945. UPON DISCHARGED FROM THE SERVICE ON JUNE 25, 1945 I WAS TOLD THAT I WOULD RECEIVE THEM IN THE MAIL. 48 YEARS HAVE PASSED AND STILL NO MEDALS.

I AM WRITING TO THE PRESIDENT, AND ALSO MY CONGRESSMAN IN WASHINGTON. I DON'T HAVE MUCH TIME LEFT. SO HELP ME IN THIS MATTER. THANK YOU.

SINCERELY I REMAIN

ARTHUR J. PETERSON ^{ASN} 11009497

125 CONNORS ST. APT. 508

GARDNER, MA. 01440.

Army of the United States

Honorable District

This is to certify that

ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES 100-497 PRIVATE

is hereby honorably discharged from the service of the United States Army

This certificate is awarded for Meritorious and Faithful Service

Date

25 June 1945

C. W. Oatley

C. W. OATLEY
- Major AGD

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-6-93



POST 5 P3:39

Elliott S. Hall
Vice President-Washington Staff
Government Relations

Ford Motor Company
1350 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

October 4, 1993

Roy Neel

Marsha Scott

①
②
OK - sent
a letter and him
Attachment

The attached press release is self-explanatory.
would like to know.

Thought you

Very truly yours,

Elliott S. Hall

Oct. 4/93

Mr. President:

Red CALLED me today and we had
a good visit. Very complimentary of you.

At some point in the future, Red
would like to introduce Mr. Troutman to
you and the V-President.

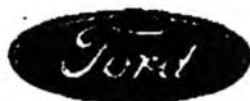
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OCT 4 '93 10:49 FROM

TO WASH-E.S.HALL

PAGE.002



NEWS

Corporate News**Public Affairs**

Ford Motor Company
The American Road
Room 804
Dearborn, Michigan 48121
Telephone: (313) 322-9600
Fax: (313) 846-0570

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Judith Muhlberg
(313) 322-9600

**FORD'S POLING ANNOUNCES RETIREMENT,
TROTMAN ELECTED SUCCESSOR**

DEARBORN, Mich., Oct. 4 -- Surrounded by some 2,000 employees, dealers, union officials and suppliers celebrating the production of the first 1994 Ford Mustang, Ford chairman Harold A. "Red" Poling announced that he would retire at the end of this year, and Alexander J. Trotman has been elected chairman, president and chief executive officer effective Nov. 1.

Trotman, 60, has been with Ford for 38 years and is president and chief operating officer of the Ford Automotive Group.

Allan D. Gilmour, vice chairman, and Louis R. Ross, vice chairman and chief technical officer, continue in their present positions, as do the other members of Ford's senior management.

Trotman takes over at a time when Ford is recovering from depressed sales in North America and Europe because of adverse economic conditions. Ford's market share in the U.S. has been growing steadily and now totals 25.3 percent, compared to 20.8 percent in 1983.

During the first six months of 1993, the company earned \$1.35 billion, including nearly \$800 million from its highly profitable Financial Services Group.

OCT 4 '93 10:50 FROM

TO WASH-E.S.HALL

PAGE.003

-2-

Ford had five of the 10 best-selling vehicles in the U.S. during the 1993 model year and plans to introduce 14 new vehicles in North America alone during the next two years. The new Ford Mustang will go on sale Dec. 9, and the Ford Aspire sub-compact car and Ford Windstar minivan will go on sale in early 1994.

In Europe, early customer reaction to the all-new Ford Mondeo, a mid-sized car introduced last spring, has exceeded expectations with 271,000 sold through the end of August. Mondeo has become the third best-selling car in Britain behind the Ford Escort and Ford Fiesta.

Two North American versions of the Mondeo -- the Mercury Mystique and Ford Contour -- go on sale in mid-1994. Ford plans to produce worldwide more than 700,000 units of these three cars.

"Alex Trotman is a seasoned business leader with broad experience all over the world," Poling said. "He is passionately dedicated to satisfying the customer, focusing on products, services and quality and fostering teamwork throughout the organization. And he believes in change through evolution and continuous improvement.

"Alex has the unanimous endorsement of the board of directors," he added, "and my personal support and best wishes."

Poling said that he began his 42-year career at Ford at the Rouge steel mill, just a few steps away from the Dearborn Assembly Plant.

"So, I thought it appropriate to return to this historic place -- surrounded by warm memories and so many members of the family of Ford -- to announce that I will retire."

He described the new Mustang as symbolic of the change going on throughout Ford Motor Company.

"The men and women of Ford are dedicated to new and more effective ways of working together in teams whose members have various skills, knowledge and ideas to contribute, but the same commitment to continuous improvement and a job well done."

Poling noted, "The work of building a great company is never finished. Where there is depth and breadth of management, as in Ford's case, each new generation of leadership builds on the foundation laid by the generations before. And the company moves forward without missing a single step."

#

10/4/93



NEWS

Corporate News**Public Affairs**

Ford Motor Company
The American Road
Room 904
Dearborn, Michigan 48121
Telephone: (313) 322-9800
Fax: (313) 845-0570

RELEASE ANY TIME**BIOGRAPHY: Alex Trotman**

Alex Trotman will become chairman, president and chief operating officer of Ford Motor Company on Nov. 1. He is also a member of the company's Board of Directors and the Office of the Chief Executive.

Trotman has been president and chief operating officer - Ford Automotive Group, a position he has held since Jan. 1, 1993.

Trotman formerly served as executive vice president - North American Automotive Operations (NAAO) and as president and as chairman of Ford of Europe Inc.

He joined the company as a Ford of Britain student trainee in the purchasing department in 1955, following service as a flying officer-navigator in the Royal Air Force. He was assigned to the Light Car Product Planning department in 1959, and subsequently held managerial positions in Car and Truck Product Planning before being named director of Ford of Europe's Car Product Planning Office in 1967.

Trotman moved to the United States in 1969 on special assignment to Ford's Advanced Car Product Planning Operations in Dearborn, Mich. A year later, he was named manager of Lincoln-Mercury Division's Product Planning department. He then was appointed director of the Marketing Staff Sales Planning Office. He became executive director of product planning for Product Planning and Research in 1972.

Trotman was appointed chief car planning manager for the Car Product Development Group in 1975, executive director of operations planning in 1977 and assistant general manager of Truck and Recreational Product Operations in 1978. He was elected a Ford vice president and named vice president of Truck Operations for Ford of Europe in November 1979.

-2-

He became president of Ford Asia-Pacific Inc. in July 1983 and was appointed president of Ford of Europe in October 1984. He was named chairman of Ford of Europe in March 1988, and returned to the United States as executive vice president - Operations for NAAO in February 1989. In May 1989, he became executive vice president - North American Automotive Operations.

Trotman was born July 22, 1933, in Middlesex, England. He was educated at Boroughmuir School in Edinburgh, Scotland, and holds a master's degree in business administration from Michigan State University.

###

10/4/93

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10.6.93

and Results

ve high standards
to provide
eve these
cation context --
ement toward this

Goals, Standards, Comprehensive Local Reform, Parents and Results

Our objective is to help all students across America achieve high standards and reinvigorate schools, colleges, communities and states to provide quality learning opportunities to help their students achieve these standards. It is a powerful "Clinton theme" put in an education context -- coupling responsibility with opportunity. To initiate movement toward this objective, several legislative actions are critical:

GOALS 2000: EDUCATE AMERICA ACT

- ◆ Provides framework of challenging academic and occupational skill standards and makes National Education Goals part of national formal policy.
- ◆ Within framework of goals and challenging standards, states and local communities will design their own comprehensive strategies with the help of grant monies -- systemic reform strategies to help many more students meet higher standards.
- ◆ The U.S. Department of Education will act as a convener, facilitator, disseminator of promising practice, and will monitor progress, not minutia.

SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES ACT (with Department of Labor)

- ◆ Incorporates work-based learning and workplace mentoring.
- ◆ Includes school-based learning and a program of study that meets challenging academic standards developed under GOALS 2000.
- ◆ Provides connecting activities that are essential to matching students with employers and bridging the worlds of school and work.

IMPROVING AMERICA'S SCHOOLS ACT (a \$10 billion Reauthorization)

- ◆ High standards for all children, including children in poverty.
- ◆ A focus on teaching and learning instead of paperwork.
- ◆ Flexibility to stimulate local school-based and district initiative, coupled with responsibility for student performance.
- ◆ Linkage between schools and parents and the community.
- ◆ Resources targeted to where needs are greatest and in amounts sufficient to make a difference.

MORE ACCESS FOR QUALIFIED STUDENTS TO POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

- ◆ National Service
- ◆ Payoff of Pell grant shortfall
- ◆ Streamlining / simplifying of the student loan program (direct lending)

OTHER IMPORTANT COMPLEMENTARY INITIATIVES

- ◆ Health care reform and work with HHS
- ◆ Early childhood development and education (Headstart, WIC, immunization)
- ◆ Safe Schools Act and work with Justice
- ◆ Extended learning time in housing projects and work with HUD
- ◆ Education as a piece of empowerment zones and the enterprise community initiative

09/30/93

STATEMENT BY U.S. SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
RICHARD W. RILEY

CALIFORNIA'S PROPOSITION 174

Public education is an essential foundation of American society. Historically our nation's public schools have provided each generation of Americans with the basic skills needed to become contributing members of our democracy.

Now, in this new economic era of global competition, public schools must play this role more than ever before by raising academic standards and striving for excellence.

It is against this backdrop that I find Proposition 174 so disturbing and troubling. I oppose Proposition 174.

Proposition 174 will take from the 5 million students now in the California public education system \$1.3 billion in public funding to cover the students now in private schools.

At a time when the California state government and many local jurisdictions are struggling with significant budget limitations, a shift in resources of this magnitude surely will lead to severe and unexpected results.

Proposition 174 does not promote quality teaching and learning. Instead, Proposition 174 will encourage further division between and among the many residents of California. This country cannot afford to waste more time on divisive issues which private school vouchers would encourage inadvertently. The children of America deserve and need more.

No one denies that our public schools can and should be made better by offering students a wide variety of challenging choices. The Clinton administration fully supports and actively encourages school reform -- including public school choice, magnet schools, charter schools within the public school context, parent involvement, strengthened curricula, improved teaching, and high academic standards.

It is my hope that all Americans will involve themselves in this ongoing effort by building on the many positive education reform initiatives now underway.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-6-93

Sunday, Oct 3, 1993

✓
Dear Bill:

Welcome back! A few recent things:

1. **Yesterday's San Francisco Examiner poll.** Yesterday's San Francisco Examiner carried the results of its own statewide poll. You have your highest rating in California since the election. 47% have a favorable personal opinion of you, 29% unfavorable. That is up from 39% favorable, 33% unfavorable in May. A solid majority supports your health care proposal. 54% favor; 26% oppose; 20% undecided. I attach a Xerox.

2. **Unemployment.** We continue to be in serious trouble. Unemployment stays in the 9% range. (It bounces around: 9% this month, 9.8% last month. It will bounce up again.) There are 1.4 million unemployed in California. 300,000 jobs have been lost because of military spending cutbacks. 50,000 high-tech computer jobs have been lost in the past 5 years.

3. **California governor's race.** Democrats consider Kathleen Brown the pretty clear front runner over John Garamendi, but Garamendi will not go down quietly. Brown has over \$5 million at the moment, Garamendi about \$1 million. Brown is widely liked by voters, though most know few details about her. Garamendi has state-wide name recognition and some appeal, but he is strongly disliked by many Democratic insiders. An example: Last week, at a dinner honoring Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Kathleen Brown and Garamendi each gave 10 minute introductions. K. Brown's was graceful and funny. Garamendi's was a personal attack on Kathleen. The San Francisco Chronicle political analyst wrote that the crowd "reacted as if someone had dropped a rodent in the punch bowl." Willie Brown began, "I don't want to mess up like Garamendi did. He gave the wrong speech." The likely outcome is that Garamendi will stay in the race through the primary, bloodying Brown and costing her money, but that Brown will get the nomination.

Meanwhile, Pete Wilson is recovering. A September Los Angeles Times poll gives the following:

	<u>Sept. 93</u>	<u>March 93</u>
Wilson	40%	31%
Brown	48%	53%
Wilson	39%	34%
Garamendi	49%	51%

The Wilson people are publicizing these numbers. The race is likely to be close.

4. **School vouchers.** A school voucher proposition (Prop. 174) is on the ballot for November, but is an almost sure loser because it is so badly drafted. Wilson may come out against it.

5. **Palace coup at the San Francisco Chronicle.** The San Francisco Chronicle is family-owned and has always been Republican. But this summer the one-third owner ousted the conservative cousin who ran the paper. The now-dominant cousin, Nan McAvoy, is a liberal Democrat.

6. **Sports.**

San Francisco lost to the Dodgers 12

~~Baseball. As of this morning, the San Francisco Giants and the Atlanta Braves are tied. If the Giants and Braves are tied after today, there will be a one-game tie-breaker here at Candlestick Park tomorrow night, Monday.~~

Football. The California Bears won a fabulous comeback against Oregon yesterday at Berkeley. They were behind 30 to 0, and won in the last minute, 42 to 41. Cal is now 5 and 0.

Stanford lost to Notre Dame at home yesterday, 48 to 20.

The 49ers play the Minnesota Vikings at Candlestick today.

Wally

Poll: Solid support for Clinton

President's ratings rise as his health care reform proposals strike a chord with many Californians

By Tupper Hull
 EXAMINER SACRAMENTO BUREAU

SACRAMENTO — Despite the controversy they are creating among special interests, President Clinton's health care reforms have the backing of a solid majority of California voters, according to a poll conducted for The Examiner.

With Clinton scheduled to make a major push for his health plan during a statewide television program Sunday, The Examiner poll also found his job performance rating at its highest level among voters since his election in November of 1992.

Slightly less than half of the voters contacted, when asked their personal opinion of the president, (47 percent) gave Clinton a favorable rating and only 29 percent gave him an unfavorable rating. The remaining 24 percent were neutral. That is a marked improvement from May, when only 39 percent of the Californians polled gave him a favorable rating and 33 percent gave him an unfavorable rating.

When respondents were asked about Clinton's job performance, the numbers were slightly better: 12 percent rated him excellent, 39 percent good, 31 percent fair and 18 percent poor.

A major reason for the jump in the polls is the president's health reform package — a plan clearly in

[★ ★ ★ ★]
Saturday
 OCTOBER 2, 1993
FINAL
 EDITION
 FIFTY CENTS

◆ POLL from A-1

Poll supportive of Clinton

tune with the opinions of most Californians.

Fifty-four percent of the 805 randomly selected California voters contacted this week said they favor Clinton's health reform proposals, 26 percent said they oppose them and 20 percent were undecided. An even greater portion, 65 percent, said they favor government action to completely reform the nation's health care system, even if doing so means higher taxes.

The poll was conducted for The Examiner by Political/Media Research Inc. of Washington, D.C. The margin of error is plus or minus 3.5 percent.

The president last week introduced a broad outline of his plan, which would provide health insurance to every citizen or legal resident of the country whether or not they are employed. Insurance rates and medical treatment costs would be regulated by a federal agency and insurers would be barred from refusing to insure a person because of a pre-existing illness.

The proposal has generated strong opposition among the insurance industry and grave concern among doctors.

People don't know the details

Dr. David Holley, a Monterey physician and president of the powerful California Medical Association, said the public knows little about the details of Clinton's plan. "Until people have a chance to actually look at and consider the details of this, they are only talking about the general principles," he said.

The poll found large majorities of voters in support of government restrictions on the cost of medical care (63 percent in favor, 22 percent opposed) and even stronger support for government restrictions on the amount insurance companies may charge for health insurance (70 percent in favor, 18 percent opposed).

"That's like asking people if they want their taxes lowered. You are always going to get a favorable response," Holley said. "People think their medical bills are too high. Most people would agree with that. I agree with that. People think insurance companies are unfair to them. I think in many cases they are."

But Holley said he does not believe Californians are fully informed of how deeply Clinton intends to involve the federal government in determining the level of medical care available and who will be eligible to receive it.

How much control can be given up?

"It's going to come down to how much loss of control people have. Are you willing to give up a little? Most people probably would say 'yeah.' But are you willing to give up a whole lot? That's the question," he said.

The poll found strong support among Californians for many of the features most disturbing to special interests.

Despite claims by insurance companies the plan will greatly reduce the medical choices individu-

als now have, 53 percent of those polled said they would favor a system that required consumers to use designated hospitals or doctors as a cost-saving measure.

Judith Bell, co-director of the West Coast office of Consumers Union and a member of the executive committee for the pro-consumer Health Access, said she is encouraged by the poll results. Despite the special interest lobbying and advertising, she said the results are similar to those found in a nationwide Consumers Union poll in April.

"The public is digging in its heels on this issue. There is no change in their view that we need to revolutionize this system and they are open to being convinced the Clinton plan is the right way to go," Bell said.

Bell said public opinion will be critical in the debate in Congress over Clinton's proposal. In the past, doctors, hospital companies and insurance companies have had far more influence than have average Americans.

But she said Clinton's plan has raised the awareness about health care problems to levels lawmakers can not afford to ignore.

"Members of Congress know this is something they can lose their seats over. This is one issue that transcends special interest influence. And the special interests know they have to have the public on their side," she said.

"But I would never underestimate the power of the special interests. This will be a lobbying blitz like we've never seen before."

CLINTON'S HEALTH PLAN

A recent poll asked 805 registered California voters how they felt about President Clinton's performance and his proposed health care reform package. The telephone survey was taken Sept. 29 and 30. There is a statistical margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

How do you rate President Clinton's performance?

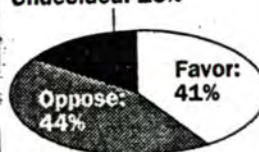
Location	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Undecided
Northern California	9%	34%	37%	20%	0%
Bay Area	11%	45%	33%	11%	0%
Central Valley	10%	36%	36%	18%	0%
Central Coast	16%	45%	23%	16%	0%
Los Angeles Metro	13%	39%	28%	20%	0%
San Diego Metro	12%	32%	33%	23%	0%
State	12%	39%	31%	18%	0%

Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's proposed health care reform package?

Location	Favor	Oppose	Undecided
Northern California	52%	24%	24%
Bay Area	59%	21%	20%
Central Valley	54%	27%	19%
Central Coast	53%	23%	23%
Los Angeles Metro	54%	26%	20%
San Diego Metro	49%	34%	17%
State	54%	26%	20%

Would you favor or oppose forcing all businesses to provide and pay health insurance for all their employees?

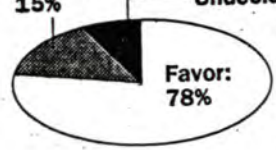
Undecided: 15%



The federal tax on cigarettes is currently 25 cents a pack. Would you favor or oppose increasing the federal tax on cigarettes to 75 cents a pack to help finance President Clinton's health care reform package?

Oppose: 15%

Undecided: 7%





OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
1600 CAMPUS ROAD
LOS ANGELES, CA 90041-3314

✓
✓
cc George
cc David Fisher
PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-0-03

September 29, 1993

To: President Clinton
From: Derek Shearer
Re: Speech to AFL-CIO and NAFTA

Bill,

(1) You might consider including in your speech to the AFL-CIO next week the idea--put forward by Clyde Prestowitz in his Washington Post pro-NAFTA piece last Sunday--that American businesses should make a formal pledge similar to the Sullivan Principles that guided business behavior in South Africa to pay US minimum wage at their Mexican operations; to provide for reassignment and retraining of any workers displaced by plant closings or investment shifts to Mexico; and to maintain a company-wide trade surplus with Mexico.

You might call them the FAIR TRADE principles or EQUITY principles. You could announce in San Francisco that you are calling upon all American companies to adopt and abide by these principles.

(2) Calling for such a pledge by US businesses would give you something new and newsworthy to say to the AFL-CIO on NAFTA, and it might help soften the opposition a bit. It would also be a challenge to American business leaders who support NAFTA, but who don't have the umph to take on Perot and the anti-NAFTA forces in person to stand up and be counted in a positive way.

Obviously, you've got to explain your pro-NAFTA case to the AFL, but if you don't add a sweetener or a twist such as the above, you might get some hoos.

(3) I've had Richie Rothstein pass this idea on to Kuznets too. I gather that he's working on the speech. I also suggested to David that he highlight in the speech the list of your achievements from Richie's piece in the American Prospect (that I already faxed to you), and that you should especially stress the importance of the expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit to working families. You should call upon organized labor to help spread the word to its members, and nonmembers about this benefit.

(4) Let us know if you decide to visit LA.

Regards,

Derek
Derek

Did Hosokawa give you a golf gift or any Japanese mysteries?

✓
UH- HOO? Don't know
in game anyway? B.

*Hand
over
Kuznets
about
this*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-6-93

BACKGROUND ON DFAS

There are currently about 300 Defense Finance and Accounting Centers (DFAS) around the country, they vary in size from a few people to a few thousand people. The Bush-Cheney DoD began a program to consolidate these offices down to 5-15 sites, and we are continuing that process. However, Bush-Cheney set up a contest under which localities would compete against each other, using tax breaks and other economic incentives, to entice DoD to locate one of these large consolidated centers in their area. By January, 1993 a list of 20 finalist cities had been chosen (but not officially announced).

Secretary Aspin stopped this taxpayer vs. taxpayer bidding and established a non-political review system headed-up by Gen. Gary Hahn. Gen. Hahn's staff has been reviewing all 300 cities, and other cities, based on four criteria established by Secretary Aspin:

1. The cost to the government in choosing a given site.
2. The maintenance of customer service.
3. Use of defense assets made redundant by the end of the Cold War (i.e., a closed military facility).
4. A good labor supply.

The cities which currently have the five largest DFAS centers (Denver, Cleveland, Kansas City, Indianapolis, Columbus) will be judged first and then other cities will be judged against them. No decision date has been set - we expect a decision late in the winter, perhaps in February. Five to Fifteen locations will be chosen.

Hahn

— We need to discuss
can't get add to the
S - must take seat of
other further —

— If I had
known we could
have 15 we
could have
stronger old
list

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-6-93

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ~~THE PRESIDENT~~
FROM: NANCY HERNREICH
RE: CALL FROM CONG. DEAN GALLO - R/NJ
DATE: OCTOBER 6, 1993

Cong. Gallo called re. the Somalian incident. One of the Rangers killed was from his District. Cong. Gallo wanted to re-emphasize his feelings and that of his constituents that we should be out of Somalia.

Houston
someone should
prov. acknowledge

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10 6 93

Maeh

I really like
this guy -
would like to
keep him

B.

ROGER GIDDINGS
SUPERINTENDENT
HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK



P. O. BOX 1360
HOT SPRINGS NATIONAL PARK
ARKANSAS 71901

BUS.: (501) 624-3383
RES.: 525-3100

October 1, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Dear Virginia,

I cannot express enough my thanks for the friendship you have always extended to Judy and me, and I will sincerely appreciate it if I might seek a favor.

Hot Springs is our home, and we will retire here, but that is, I hope, at least ten years away. We have been at Hot Springs National Park for twelve years and they could not have been better years. Even though some of the bathhouses have gone out of business in this time, I believe the park is intact and a more driving feature of Hot Springs than it was twelve years ago.

I'll hate to leave Hot Springs, even for a few years because our roots are here - and Brian will be at the U of A for at least five years as he is majoring in chemical engineering. The time is such, however, that the superintendency of Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona is going to be vacant (as I understand) in the next few days, and I would appreciate it very much if I might ask you for a recommendation. I worked at Grand Canyon before coming to Hot Springs and it is not a park with any more management complexities than Hot Springs. I'll add that I had the pleasure of being on an assortment of visits with Secretary of the Interior Bruce (and Hattie) Babbitt. He is a great person and a great conservationist.

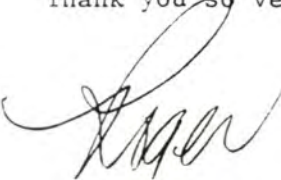
Director of the National Park Service, Roger Kennedy (202) 208-4621 will probably make the selection of the Grand Canyon superintendency, but not without the approval of Secretary Babbitt (202) 208-7351. If you would relate to Bill my interest in this position, I would be very appreciative. I know I could perform the job as he wants; and the secretary and the director wants.

The selection of the superintendent will probably be made soon. It would be a promotion and I would enjoy the challenges of all that it offers.

I know this is a big request; I will always appreciate your efforts if you can help me. I will always appreciate, too, the support that Bill has given me, at Hot Springs. I will never forget it.

Thank you, too, for all your help with this. I will prepare my application and will be glad to give you a copy, if necessary. If you can relate to Bill that you believe my transfer to the Grand Canyon superintendent position would be good for the National Park Service and a new deserved experience for Judy and me, I will be forever grateful. We will return to call Hot Springs "home".

Thank you so very much,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/06/93

NOTE FOR: KATIE MCGINTY

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

Information	☐
Action	☒ XX

When you are finished with the attached
from the President, please forward it
to the office of Records Management
(Room 80/OEOB).
Thanks.

Thank you.

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

cc:

73 [unclear]
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-6-93



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE **103rd** CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 139

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1993

No. 112

House of Representatives

INTRODUCTION OF THE HEADWATERS FOREST ACT

HON. DAN HAMBURG

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1993

Mr. HAMBURG, Mr. Speaker, the Headwaters Forest Act I am introducing today is the first step in this Congress to protect permanently the largest privately owned stand of old growth redwood in the world.

These stands, located in my district in Northern California, are threatened by the owner's need to harvest aggressively to pay off high interest bond

important part of our national heritage rooted in northern coastal California will be lost forever.

The Headwaters Forest Act will authorize acquisition of the remaining old growth redwood groves and the second growth forests which connect them. The act forbids timber harvest in the old growth area and requires management to enhance and sustain the old growth ecosystems. Selective sustainable harvest of the second growth forests will be allowed to the extent consistent with maximizing the needs of the old growth. A management plan will be developed detailing rehabilitation and restoration of previously logged areas, giving prefer-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10.6.93

- Henry Watweel
- 5000 ac (unplacable)

I

AUGUST 4, 1993

Mr. HAMBURG (for himself, Mr. STARK, Mr. STUDDS, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. DEFazio, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. MINETA, Mr. BRYANT, Mr. VENTO, Mr. RAVENEL, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. RICHARDSON, Mr. SMITH of Iowa, Ms. FURSE, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. SABO, Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Mr. POSHARD, Miss COLLINS of Michigan, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. DEL- LUMS, Mr. ANDREWS of Maine, Mr. OLVER, Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. MAR- KEY, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. BEILENSEN, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. BISHOP, Mrs. MINK, Mr. BLACKWELL, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. WASHINGTON, Mr. BROWN of California, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. COLEMAN, Mr. MFUME, Ms. WATERS, Mr. WATT, Mr. TORRES, Mrs. CLAY- RAHALL, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. DEAN)

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THE PRESIDENT HAS
10-6-93

September 30, 1993

*Tommy Lee
Gore with*

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write with a profound sense of urgency in reference to the growing debate over the United Nations' role in Somalia in general, and the U.S. role within UNOSOM II in particular.

The near-jubilance associated with Operation Restore Hope is now a distant memory - U.N. peacekeepers and journalists have been killed by Somalis, Mogadishu has been attacked by helicopter gunships, and the lines between perpetrator and victim in Mogadishu have become tragically blurred. As a result, many have begun to call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from UNOSOM II. The Congress awaits with great interest the report on our Somalia mission which both the House and Senate Defense Authorization bills request.

I commend you for your decision, thus far, not to accommodate those who urge a hasty withdrawal from Somalia. It is my hope also, however, that not only will you not withdraw U.S. troops from Somalia at this time, but that you will resist any emergent recommendations to withdraw U.S. Army logistics troops while leaving combat troops in place.

The logistical support that the United States has provided to UNOSOM II has been invaluable. No other UNOSOM participant has the wherewithal to assume this task, and because of the nature of the crisis in Mogadishu, it will be quite difficult to attract private sector interests to this role. At the same time, even though our military is the best trained and most dedicated anywhere in the world, the unnecessarily militaristic thrust we have been demanding of our soldiers in Mogadishu has been a major cause of the escalation of mistrust, hostility, and violence that has gripped that city.

If our goal in Somalia is genuinely one of peacekeeping, we cannot withdraw our logistical forces. Indeed, if any component of our armed forces in Somalia ought to be downplayed or downsized, it should be the Rangers and other U.S. combat forces that have focussed on offensive, confrontational UNOSOM operations and, quite frankly, been more a part of the problem than the solution.

On a related issue: we are all aware that, because the United States has had to share its superpower status with only one other nation in our history and today remains the world's only superpower, we have traditionally not been inclined to seek the views and accept the advice of other nations - particularly Third World nations and peoples. However, in Somalia - at this time of tension and turmoil - this approach may not be appropriate.

I was therefore very pleased by your call for a greater involvement of the Organization of African Unity and the Horn countries in UNOSOM II - not only as partners, but indeed as advisors. This is key if our new emphasis on a political solution is to have any chance of success. At the same time, however, I am most concerned that we may be about to make the same mistake politically that we have been making militarily for months, i.e. making General Aideed - again - the focus of our Somalia policy. So, while I welcomed the announcement that the "hunt for Aideed" will no longer be the raison d'etre of our military presence in Somalia, I was most disheartened by reports that our new political thrust will focus, instead, on "eliminating General Aideed by enlisting his rivals to undercut his influence."

This seems to be merely a change in tactics, not objectives, and would be antithetical to the spirit and objectives of peacekeeping. We cannot and must not go from being armed combatants in Mogadishu to being political strategists, financiers, or backstoppers for any faction or figure in Somalia. And, as a practical matter, this approach would, without doubt, deepen the anti-U.S. violence that already bedevils UNOSOM II, which in turn would only lead to the death of more peacekeepers and renewed calls for our withdrawal from Somalia.

It is my hope that your new mission statement would have U.S. forces provide a secure environment in which the type of dialogue

and negotiations which yielded the Addis Ababa Agreement of March 1993 could occur. But first we must - without delay - use the good offices of the OAU and the Horn governments to secure a ceasefire between ourselves and hostile forces in Mogadishu. ~~Such a resolution~~ cannot occur outside a negotiated framework that involves all factions, but we must neither demand nor orchestrate the exclusion of General Aideed.

The signatories to the Addis Ababa Agreement committed to a program of voluntary, non-discriminatory disarmament and we must work to complete this within the context of the mutually agreed upon ceasefire recommended earlier. The international community made a commitment to disarmament in war-torn, tumultuous El Salvador with positive results, and we must do no less in Somalia.

Our penchant for anointing third world leaders became an art form during the Cold War. Now that that period is gone, we must learn to be satisfied with simply supporting those structures and mechanisms through which the will of third world peoples is heard. Should we insist in manipulating the outcome of political struggles, rather than simply protecting the efficacy of the process by which the will of the population in question can be heard, we will have seriously compromised the most basic of democratic ideals.

Finally, it is my hope that policy makers will not forget that the relationship between our nation and Somalia is not new. Indeed, the "U.S. approved" leader in Somalia from the late 70's until the end of the Cold War, Siad Barre, was insulated from political opposition by virtue of the fact that he had the complete support of one of the world's two superpowers.

Significantly:

- (i) much of the arms that we are facing in Somalia were provided by prior administrations in our Cold War quest for ideological dominance in the Horn;
- (ii) Siad Barre's, aversion to matters democratic was of no interest to the United States during that period; and
- (iii) the absence of legitimate avenues for political dissent during the same period led to a disastrous frenzy of anti-Barre hostility once the end of the Cold War signalled to Somalis that the United States would be indifferent to Barre's political demise, which in turn led to today's crisis.

In my view, therefore, an argument can be made on moral grounds for a continued and sincere attempt on our part to bring some semblance of normalcy back to Somalia. The New World Order must not mean that some nations, like Somalia, once convenient pawns on the Cold War chess board, are now disposable.

Please note, however, that I am not now advocating, nor would I ever advocate, an indefinite, open-ended U.S. involvement in Somalia - whatever the human and material costs. However, I do not believe that all reasonable, non-military options have been fully pursued in combination with our peacekeeping initiative, and this indeed has been a major contributor to the loss of life on all sides.

Somalia has indeed become a vexing post Cold War challenge. But much of the challenges we face are limited to the city of Mogadishu and are rooted in an insistence - on all sides - on hostility and aggression. The tremendous investment in American time, manpower and other resources, in particular the eleven young American lives that were lost there, must not be for naught. We must, in a spirit of impartiality, pursue diplomatic and political solutions in Somalia with all the dedication that characterizes our military strategy.

I thank you for your attention to this important matter, and look forward to your response.

Sincerely,



Ronald V. Dellums
Chairman

RVD:hrr

The Honorable Warren Christopher
The Honorable Anthony Lake
Ambassador Madelaine Albright
The Honorable Howard Paster

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-6-93

CE BL

Can we do this
now? — MUST DO

B.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dan:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning regional agency appointments. I understand your frustration and agree that we need to move forward on this issue.

We are close to making regional announcements, but have had numerous delays due to agency changes and a vast number of new rules since the last Democratic victory in 1976. Rest assured that this is a priority.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is stylized, with a large, sweeping "B" and "C".

The Honorable Dan Glickman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515-1604

DAN GLICKMAN
4TH DISTRICT, KANSAS

September 27, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President,

I've truly tried not to rush the process, and am grateful for what has been accomplished thus far. However, in the matter of regional administrative agency appointments, we are in an awful predicament. To date, none of the regional administrators who will oversee our region, consisting of Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, and Nebraska, have been appointed.

There will be no way we can "reinvent government" until and unless your appointees are initially in charge of the agencies in the first place. The current situation finds either vacancies, where nothing is being done, or holdovers from twelve years of Republican rule making policy. This is no way to run a HHS, a Labor, a HUD, an Education, an EPA, or any other regional operation attempting to establish your values and philosophy. For example, I have had several calls from people asking questions in environmental compliance matters and there are no administration appointees at the regional EPA office to give clear policy answers.

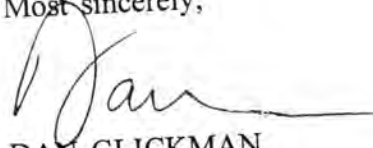
I quite understand that under your reorganization plan, some of these positions may be eliminated in the near future. In the meantime, however, constituents need servicing.



Letter to President Clinton
September 24, 1993
Page 2

I urge you to do whatever is necessary to push the process along. Kansas, our region, and in point of fact, the entire nation, need more than the individuals located in the headquarter buildings located inside the Beltway.

Most sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dan", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

DAN GLICKMAN
Member of Congress