

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Lindsey to POTUS re: Federal Maritime Commission (3 pages)	10/12/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 2242

FOLDER TITLE:

October 1-9, 1993 [2]

2018-0662-S

rs3071

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

To Carolyn

Thank you for an
year of friendship
and help

Happy Birthday

Bob Clinton

10-14-93

Art in the White House

A Nation's Pride

White House Historical Association
in cooperation with
The National Geographic Society
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*The President
spoke to Cong.
Jefferson in
the meeting*

October 13, 1993
RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Cong. William Jefferson

DATE: ASAP

RECOMMENDED BY: Rahm Emanuel
Howard Paster
Christine Varney

PURPOSE: Congratulate on the award of \$275 million DOD contract at the Avondale Shipyard.

BACKGROUND: On October 12th the Navy announced that the LSD amphibious ship will be constructed at the Avondale Shipyard in New Orleans, Louisiana. The contract was awarded on the basis of a competitive bid. The total value of the contract is estimated at \$275.5 million; the work will account for over 2,000 jobs at Avondale over the next four years.

TOPIC OF DISCUSSION:

1. Congratulations on award of the contract.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: October 13, 1993

5m - group 8
Health to Work

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-1-93

WEEKLY ECONOMIC BRIEFING OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers
with the assistance of the Office of the Vice President

September 24, 1993

10/14/93

Tyson ✓

Rubin ✓

FW

CHART OF THE WEEK

Increase in Real Compensation per Worker

Health benefits accounted for almost 40 percent of the increase in total compensation from 1970 to 1992.



Plot - auto
for the
health care

Between 1970 and 1992, employer-paid health benefits grew at a 4.9 percent annual rate, while real wages and salaries grew at an annual rate of only 0.3 percent. Over this period, health benefits increased \$1,448 (1987 dollars) while wages and salaries increased \$1,274. Other benefits—mainly employer contributions to Social Security and Medicare—increased \$998.



10-1-93

BUSINESS, CONSUMER, AND REGIONAL ROUNDUP

Rise in Health Care Costs Moderates. A private survey of the health benefit costs of 2,448 employers reports increases of 10 percent in 1992—to an average of \$3,398 per employee. Cost increases for traditional indemnity plans averaged 14 percent, while HMO plans increased 9 percent. The overall increase was the smallest in 5 years.

For the first time, more than half of the covered workers were in managed care plans.

Manufacturers More Optimistic. The *Dun & Bradstreet* industrial sentiment index increased in August for the first time since March. The index is based on a monthly survey of 1,000 U.S. manufacturers and pertains to their attitudes for the next 3 months.

Lower Interest Rates Improve Consumer Buying Conditions. Consumer sentiment remained unchanged for the last 3 months at a level significantly below last January's peak. But buying conditions for durables remain at January's favorable level because of lower interest rates. When asked to explain their views about purchasing homes, autos, and large household durables, unusually large proportions of respondents cited lower interest rates. (NOT FOR RELEASE.)

The National Association of Realtors index of housing affordability—an index based on average housing price and mortgage rates—is at its highest level since the fourth quarter of 1973.

Competitiveness of U.S. Auto Industry Improves. In response to cost pressures from the strong yen, Honda announced it will accelerate the phaseout of exports from Japan of Accords and Civics. It will increase U.S. production instead. Also, Nissan and Mitsubishi announced large price increases on their imported models. Nissan currently produces 62 percent of its U.S. sales in Tennessee, up from 45 percent in 1991.

Ford has begun to produce right-hand-drive versions of its Probe coupe for the Japanese and British markets at its Flat Rock, Michigan, plant. Chrysler is expanding its small production of the right-hand-drive Jeep Cherokee.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/14

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 13, 1993

3 OCT 13 P7:16

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON WA9

SUBJECT: GOALS 2000

Your Goals 2000 education reform bill has just been approved by the full House of Representatives with a strong bipartisan vote of 307 to 118. Fifty-seven Republicans broke ranks with their leadership to support the administration's position. Influential Republican moderates such as Bill Goodling, Steve Gunderson, and Connie Morella went out of their way to praise you and Secretary Riley for your efforts to craft a bill that they could in good conscience support. The skillful and tireless work of the Secretary's team--Mike Cohen, Tom Wolanin, Kay Casstevens, and others--was crucial in producing this result.

As you know, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee has already approved Goals 2000 with all Democrats and a majority of Republicans in support. I am confident that the bill will be approved by the full Senate, and we are working with Sen. Kennedy and Sen. Mitchell to bring it to the floor as soon as possible after the crime bill.

Make sure
we win a threat
to our security

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 12, 1993

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Shirley Chisolm

DATE: October 12, at your convenience
October 13, after 12:00 P.M.

RECOMMENDED BY: Bruce R. Lindsey

PURPOSE: Mrs. Chisolm has asked that her name be withdrawn for the position of Ambassador to Jamaica.

BACKGROUND: Mrs. Chisolm has been suffering a progressive eye disorder in recent months which has significantly affected her vision. Her concern over this problem and its potential effect on her ability to carry out the normal duties of the U.S. Ambassador to Jamaica has led her to conclude that her interests and those of the U.S. would be best served by the withdrawal of her candidacy.

TELEPHONE NUMBER: (904)445-0333

BC
*- Mrs. Chisolm will talk with her
when she comes to the
White House - some of our people*

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE LINDSEY, DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

DATE: 12 October 1993

RE: JOE SCROGGINS, Jr.
COMMISSIONER
FEDERAL MARITIME COMMISSION
PAS Position

*Call memo to
Lindsey's not a memo
from my leg.*

I. BACKGROUND

The Federal Maritime Commission (FMC) is an independent federal agency which regulates waterborne foreign and domestic offshore commerce, and assures fair, equitable and open international seaborne trade between the U.S. and other nations. The FMC also protects against unauthorized or illegal activity in waterborne commerce within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The FMC has five full-time Commissioners, with one designated as Chair. Each position is staggered and has a five year term; no more than three commissioners may be of the same party. The Chair of the FMC is responsible for budget, personnel and business issues, and may act on those matters without the consent of the Commission. The designation of a Chair is at the discretion of the President, and does not require Senate confirmation.

The current composition of the FMC Board follows:

D	William Hathaway Chair (since 4/1/93)	ME	exp: 6/30/93 Bush appointee 2/90, Clinton nominee to be re-appointed as Commissioner and Chair
D	Frank Ivancie	OR	exp: 6/30/92 Holdover Reagan appointee
R	Ming Chen Hsu	NJ	exp: 6/30/96
-	VACANT		exp: 6/30/95
-	VACANT		exp: 6/30/94

Currently there are three Commission vacancies. You have already approved Robert Janiszewski, Democrat of New Jersey, for one slot. Therefore, of the two additional openings, one may be a Democrat and the remaining appointee must be from another political party.

II. DISCUSSION

Joe Scroggins, Jr., an African American, is the Senior Deputy Director of the Tampa Port Authority where he develops long-range plans for the port, coordinating cargo and ship movement through the Operations Department and managing the budget through the Finance Department. From 1981 to 1990, he worked for the Port Authority of Houston, first as Director of Planning, then as Director of Facilities organizing five departments with an annual operating budget of over \$7 million. He has also worked as an economist (Conoco, 1973-1980) and analyst (John J. McMullen Associates, Inc., 1980-1981) in the transportation industry. Mr. Scroggins began his career as a sailor for several shipping lines, advancing to become Assistant Dean of the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy from 1969 to 1971.

Mr. Scroggins received a B.S. in Marine Transportation from the United States Merchant Marine Academy in 1963 and an M.B.A. from Harvard in 1973. He is currently a Lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserves. Mr. Scroggins participated in local fundraising in the Tampa area for the 1992 Clinton/Gore effort and comes highly recommended by Mayor Sandy Freeman. John Meade, a Republican from Maryland who worked on the campaign was also considered for this position.

III. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that you appoint Joe Scroggins, Jr., Independent of Florida, to be Commissioner on the Federal Maritime Commission.

JOE SCROGGINS, JR., INDEPENDENT, FLORIDA

Approve ☒ Disapprove ☐ Discuss Further ☐

**RESUME OF:
JOE SCROGGINS, JR.**

RESUMIX

16002 Grantham Place
Tampa, Florida 33647
(813) 971-7402

Married
5' 11"
185 Pounds
Excellent Health

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

TAMPA PORT AUTHORITY - TAMPA, FLORIDA

The Port of Tampa is ranked among the top ten ports in the United States in terms of tonnage. Primarily a bulk cargo port; the port in recent years has seen continuous growth in break bulk cargo and containers.

1990 -

SR. DEPUTY PORT DIRECTOR

In addition to assisting the Port Director in the day-to-day management of the port, I act as Port Director in his absence. Specific responsibilities include developing the long range plans for the port coordinating cargo and ship movement through the Operations Department and managing the budget through the Finance Department.

PORT OF HOUSTON AUTHORITY - HOUSTON, TEXAS

With revenues in excess of 40 million dollars annually, the Port of Houston Authority owns and operates for hire; various public wharves, docking facilities, land, equipment, warehouses, railroad rights-of-ways and trackage, a grain elevator, and a bulk materials handling plant.

1985 - 1990

DIRECTOR OF FACILITIES

With an annual operating budget of over 7 million dollars, the Facilities Division, plans, organizes and controls the activities of the Engineering, Maintenance, Real Estate, Foreign Trade Zone and Marine Departments; directed toward all construction and maintenance projects, property development and safety.

**RESUME OF:
JOE SCROGGINS, JR.
PAGE 2**

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE CONT'D:

As Director of Facilities, the department managers and their staffs over 250 employees assist me in my responsibilities in the supervision of all construction projects, analyzing and implementation of service improvements and cost reduction programs which increase serviceability and preserve the physical plant and equipment. Maintain and control inventory and maintenance systems to assist terminals in having high levels of customer service; maintains and disseminates property information and insures periodic inspections of rental/leases property are conducted, coordinates the activities of the Houston Foreign Trade Zone with U. S. Customs and directs special training programs as required.

1981 - 1985

DIRECTOR OF PLANNING

As Director of Planning, I reported to the Executive Director, provided recommendations for short and long range planning. In this position, I worked closely with staff personnel to develop solutions and time-tables for implementation of changes based on my analysis and studies of alternatives to current programs and procedures. Acting as an in-house consultant, my responsibilities included: analysis of market conditions that may effect Port operations, capital outlays to meet future growth, maintaining and improving the Port's competitiveness in the areas of cost and service. I also worked closely with agents, stevedores and other users of the Port's facilities.

1980 - 1981

JOHN J. MCMULLEN ASSOCIATES, INC. - HOUSTON, TEXAS

SENIOR TRANSPORTATION ANALYST - HOUSTON MANAGER

As Senior Transportation Analyst assigned to the Houston office, I directed and participated in marine transportation studies for clients located in the Gulf Coast area, worked closely with area port directors, terminal operators, energy company executives and operators of inland and ocean-going vessels to provide solutions to problems which are both technically feasible and economically sound.

**RESUME OF:
JOE SCROGGINS, JR.
PAGE 3**

1973 - 1980 CONOCO, INC. - HOUSTON, TEXAS

ECONOMIST, VESSEL TRADING/TRAFFIC DIVISION

As Economist in the Vessel Trading/Traffic Division, I was responsible for determining the efficient employment of 13 CONOCO owned and time-chartered vessels trading on a worldwide basis.

Specific duties included: Evaluation of charter proposals, determination of efficient trading patterns for cargo carriers and combination vessels; development of feasibility studies for new shipping investments; and development of proposals for transportation services provided by CONOCO to third parties. In addition, I developed, on a continuous basis, reports on worldwide crude oil production, trading vessel requirements and freight rates.

**1969 - 1971 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, MARITIME
ADMINISTRATION - KINGS POINT, NEW YORK**

**ASSISTANT DEAN, U. S. MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY AND
MARITIME RECRUITING SPECIALIST**

Personally developed the operation of a nationwide minority group recruiting program for the purpose of encouraging well qualified minority students to apply for admission to the United States Merchant Marine Academy. Worked closely with high schools, colleges, community groups, and state and federal congressional representatives. Developed public information material including the official academy catalogue. Provided personal, academic, and career counseling to all midshipmen at the academy.

1965 - 1969 UNITED STATES LINES, INC. - NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Sailed as Third and Second Mate on various freighters in the European and Far East trades.

1963 - 1965 MILITARY SEA TRANSPORTATION SERVICES

Sailed as Third Mate aboard various vessels ranging from heavy lift freighters, troop ships, and oceanographic vessels.

**RESUME OF:
JOE SCROGGINS, JR.
PAGE 4**

EDUCATION:

**1971 - 1973 HARVARD UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS
ADMINISTRATION**

Received the degree of Master in Business Administration in June of 1973. General business curriculum the first year; second year electives emphasized International Business and General Management courses including; International Marketing, Management in International Business, International Industrial Development, Transportation Management, Economics of Oil in the Middle East and International Finance.

1958 - 1963 UNITED STATES MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY

Received the degree of Bachelor of Science with major emphasis in Marine Transportation. Received a commission as Ensign, United States Naval Reserve and license as Third Mate, United States Merchant Marine. Presently holding a Chief Mate's License, United States Merchant Marine.

MILITARY: 4A CLASSIFICATION - LT. UNITED STATES NAVAL RESERVE

AWARDS:

October 1971 Received the United States Department of Commerce Silver Medal Award for Meritorious Federal Service from the Secretary of Commerce.

March 1969 Received the United States Department of Commerce Special Achievement Award from the Secretary of Commerce.

**RESUME OF:
JOE SCROGGINS, JR.
PAGE 5**

PERSONAL BACKGROUND:

Raised in the Midwest. Attended public school in Kansas City, Missouri. Interest includes: tennis, jogging and small boat sailing.

1976 - 1982 Appointed by the Secretary of Commerce to the Advisory Board of the United States Merchant Marine Academy.

1975 - 1978 Appointed by the Mayor, Stamford, Connecticut, to the Stamford Planning Board.

MEMBERSHIPS: United States Merchant Marine Academy Alumni
 Association, Tampa Chapter
 Tampa Chamber of Commerce
 Tampa Propeller Club
 Member - Board of Fellows - University of Tampa
 Member - Harvard Business School
 Club of Tampa

REFERENCES: Personal references available upon request.



THE DIRECTOR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/13

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

cc: Vice President
Mack McLarty
Bob Rubin
Laura Tyson
George Stephanopoulos
D. George

7:12 22:33

October 12, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Leon E. Panetta

SUBJECT: OMB Activities

This memorandum provides an update on Administration budget-related initiatives.

Unemployment Benefits

The extended unemployment benefits bill did not come to the House floor last week. Discussions are continuing over strategies to address concerns over the delay in SSI benefits for aliens used to partially offset costs of the bill. The Speaker, over Chairman Rostenkowski's objections, will request a rule stripping out the immigrant provision which will result in an extension of unemployment benefits for only 3 months. That will mean that the issue will have to be revisited in November to avoid a holiday termination of benefits.

Fiscal Year 1995 Budget

Most preliminary agency budget submissions for FY 1995 have been received by OMB. The following agencies have submitted budgets which meet the planning ceilings: Agriculture, Education, Interior, EPA, NASA, Corps of Engineers, the Small Business Administration and the Office of Personnel Management. Labor, Treasury, the National Science Foundation and National Service have submitted plans that are only slightly over the planning ceilings; and we have either not received budget submissions or the submissions are far over the planning ceilings from Commerce, Defense, Energy, HHS, HUD, State, Justice, Transportation, Veterans Affairs and the General Services Administration.

NAFTA Offsets

I have started briefing bipartisan groups of congressional members and staff on possible offsets for NAFTA, primarily reductions in CCC outlays as a consequence of expanded markets for corn and soybeans (\$500 million), and increases in Customs fees along with eliminating current exemptions for Customs passenger processing fees for Mexico and Caribbean flights and cruise ships (\$2.1 billion). Generally, the reaction to these proposals

↳ This is a problem since
Caribbean. Not part of NAFTA

has been positive. I will continue to discuss these items with Members of Congress to establish whether they will be supported as part of the NAFTA package.

Health Care Reform

OMB staff continues to work with Ira Magaziner, Treasury, Labor, HHS, and the CEA to produce final estimates of the health care reform package. We are still looking at this week for completion of the cost estimates.

Federal Personnel Reductions

On Friday I sent to departments and major agencies a letter requesting a preliminary FTE plan by November 1 showing on a year by year basis how the personnel reductions proposed in the National Performance Review will be accomplished. As you know, the goal is to reduce Federal personnel levels by 252,000, or 12%, by the close of fiscal year 1999.

Appropriations Action

The House last week passed the Labor-HHS conference report and defeated the rule on the VA-HUD conference report, reportedly because NASA's Advanced Solid Rocket Motor program was continued by the conferees. Further action in the Senate on appropriations measures is being held up because of the Somalia issue.

Labor/HHS/Education

- o Conferees reached agreement on October 5th and the House passed the conference report last Thursday.
- o The Hyde abortion language was approved by the House and Senate and therefore was not a conference issue.
- o The transfer authority for the Secretary of Labor to use for dislocated workers requested by the Administration was not approved by the conferees.
- o Head Start will increase by \$600 million over FY 1993 levels, \$800 million below the Administration request.
- o \$105 million was provided for the Goals 2000 program, \$315 million below the Administration request, and \$50 million was provided for the School to Work program, \$85 million below the Administration request.

- o \$579 million was provided for the Ryan-White program, \$79 million below the Administration request but \$231 million over FY 1993.
- o \$456 million was provided for Immunization grants, \$102 million below the Administration request but \$168 million over the FY 1993 level.
- o \$300 million over the Administration request was provided for NIH.
- o No FTE floors were approved by the conferees.

Transportation

- o The Senate approved the bill by a vote of 90 - 9 on October 6th.
- o The emergency funds for California's Cypress highway were not included in the bill. There is an expectation that they will be included in a later legislative vehicle.
- o The Federal-aid highway obligation limitation is set at \$18 billion, \$0.4 billion below the Administration request, but \$2.7 billion over FY 1993 and \$0.5 billion over the House level.

VA/HUD/Independent Agencies

- o Conferees completed action on the VA/HUD bill on October 1st.
- o \$370 million was provided for National Service, \$24 million below the request.
- o \$4.4 billion was provided for Community Development Block Grants, \$176 million over the Administration request.
- o Community Development Banks were not funded.
- o The Space Station is funded at \$2.1 billion, as requested by the Administration.
- o \$1.99 billion was approved for the National Science Foundation, \$220 million below the Administration's request.

The status of other appropriations measures is as follows: the Legislative Branch and Foreign Operations bills have been signed into law; the Military Construction conference report is ready for floor action; the Agriculture and Treasury/Postal conference reports are

ready for Senate consideration; the Commerce/State/Justice, Energy and Water, and Interior bills are in conference; and the Defense bill has yet to be considered by the Senate.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3 7 12 P8:01

October 12, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARCIA HALE
JOE VELASQUEZ

SUBJECT: PUERTO RICO PLEBISCITE

-
- * On November 14, 1993, Puerto Rico is holding a non-binding plebiscite to determine if the people of Puerto Rico want statehood, commonwealth or independence.
 - * Latest polls indicate that the vote is a dead heat between statehood and commonwealth.
 - * If statehood wins, Governor Rossello and his party will petition Congress for statehood. They will ask Congress to sponsor a binding referendum. We will need to decide if we will support this referendum or will defer to Congress.
 - * Intergovernmental Affairs is responsible for working on the Puerto Rico issue.

*We have
a camp. Minister
to support
97% support
decision*

Marcia

October 12

~~Mr. President~~

~~Note book is inscribed to~~

~~Mr. Clinton. Do you still want~~

~~it sent?~~

Charles Sumner U.S. Sen
Thru

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 12, 1993

Richard D. Land
Executive Director
The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
901 Commerce, Suite 550
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Richard:

Thank you for your letter and for the update on the environmental work of the Christian Life Commission.

I am pleased to learn of all your activities, and I appreciate your sharing with me the book and the other gifts from the seminar on environmental concerns.

We do have an obligation to keep our environment safe for future generations, and I applaud the work you and others have done in that effort.

Sincerely,

Barack Obama



THE
CHRISTIAN LIFE
COMMISSION

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

*They
just missed - article?*

Richard D. Land, D.Phil.
Executive Director

September 23, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

In discussions with my good friends, Ed Young and Morris Chapman, about their visit with you and Vice President Gore it came to my attention that environment was among the subjects discussed. They related to me that Vice President Gore expressed concern about Southern Baptists' lack of involvement with environmental issues. Please let me assure you that since I came to the Christian Life Commission in 1988, we have made environmental issues a major focus. Our 1990 annual seminar in Ft. Worth was solely devoted to the environmental issue and Christian responses to the problems in that arena. The papers delivered at that seminar were later published in a book called, The Earth is the Lord's which has become a Broadman Press best-seller. Also, I was one of the signatories to the joint appeal by Religion and Science for the Environment which then Senator Gore convened and helped chair (cf. enclosed newspaper articles). In addition, we have dealt with the issue through articles and bulletin inserts for use in our churches (copies of which are enclosed). Please allow me to present you with a gift of a copy of The Earth is the Lord's book and a commemorative mug with the seminar logo as well as a tee shirt.

I have taken the liberty of enclosing a brochure which explains the full range of the Christian Life Commission's portfolio and how we attempt to help Southern Baptists deal knowledgeably with such issues. I have also enclosed a copy of our current World Hunger Guide as a way of informing you about some of Southern Baptists' efforts on the hunger issue. I know that you will be pleased to know that Southern Baptists have increased their giving to hunger relief by over a million dollars in the past year, which is a 12.9 percent increase.

I very much appreciated many of your comments at the recent breakfast meeting at the White House. I, too, found Stephen Carter's, The Culture of Disbelief to be an inciteful and sobering analysis of the ways in which our culture trivializes religious conviction. On many occasions over the past decade I have said that the first amendment "guarantees not freedom from religion, but freedom for religion" in this nation.

Please don't hesitate to contact us if and when we may be of assistance to you concerning Southern Baptists' concerns or activities on the wide range of social and public policy issues which we have been assigned to help Southern Baptists address. Please know that we continue to pray for you as you seek to fulfill your awesome responsibilities.

Sincerely yours,

Richard D. Land

RDL:mm

CC: Vice President Gore

P.S. Our mutual friend, Pastor Rex Horne, has agreed to deliver to you the rather substantial packet of materials (including mugs, tee-shirts, books, pamphlets and brochures) to you personally to help make sure it makes its way in timely fashion through the enormous volume of mail that arrives in your offices every week.

The Washington Post Writers Group

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/13}

1150 15TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20071-9200
TEL: (202) 334-6375 (800) 879-9794

YODE07*tn--1

r k

By / GS Fy - B

^bc-yoder-column advIMMEDIATE<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, Normally Advance for Monday, October 11, 1993)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--After the latest clash in Mogadishu, the obvious question about the U.S. mercy mission to Somalia is, as The Washington Post phrases it, "how the United States got from a bold, legitimate and successful feeding mission ... to the current confused and frustrating" situation.

But what is the answer? Is it, as that paper suggests, that "the thread of the exercise" was lost by tactical missteps? Or was the "current confused and frustrating" quest for law and order implicit from the outset in the feeding mission?

Somalia would hardly have become the scene of hideous mass starvation a year ago unless its political system had been pretty thoroughly wrecked by a decade or more of civil war. And while memories of such things tend to be pretty short hereabouts, the Bush administration, when it sent U.S. forces off to feed the starving, had good reason to understand the pitfalls ahead. Somalia had been for some time an American client state of a minor sort. The supposed strategic importance of the Horn of Africa--itself premised on the introduction of Soviet deep-water naval forces in the Indian Ocean--prompted the United States to lavish arms and ammunition on a Somali dictator we then identified as an "ally." His overthrow by General Aideed and others was an important chapter in fostering the current anarchy.

In hindsight, it seems naive to have thought we could feed those starving in the outlying Somali countryside without a modest reconstruction of the institutions and rules of civilized life. It seems even more naive to have thought we could do the latter without confronting those clan or faction leaders like General Aideed who had a stake in the anarchy. The first problem entailed the second, and we might have seen that at the time

(more)

President Bush sent the first Americans in. The tendency now is to blame the oversight on the political ineptitude of the United Nations. But U.N. auspices have never been much more than a convenient cover for major-power operations.

The United States is beginning to give the disturbing appearance, amid the crosscurrents of the post-Cold War world, of dabbling in situations we do not bother to understand fully ahead of time. Is it so hard to see that the political culture, conditions and traditions of a place into which we venture--always for high-minded reasons, of course--are material to the outcome? In some ways we are handicapped, even blinded, by our most famous successes. The measures the United States undertook to restore, then defend, Western Europe after World War II worked famously. There were, even in the ruins of 1945, compatible structures, persons and values who could make use of our aid.

In Somalia, the political structure, such as it is, appears to be tribal and factional at best. Loyalties run not to abstractions like "democracy" or "law and order" but to personal affiliations and to the will of figures like Aideed. It is probably fallacious, by the way, to think of Aideed as causing the hostility U.S. forces have encountered in Somalia. He is more likely to be a symbol and product of that hostility, which could well intensify if we manage to compass his arrest or killing.

We know that even in our own self-satisfied case, the institutions of order and stability and safety take years, decades, even centuries, to develop and that they can be very fragile. The awful condition of American inner cities, no safer really than Mogadishu, prove it. When we are clueless about how to rebuild law and order in Southeast Washington, D.C., what makes us think it would be a cinch in south Mogadishu?

Few if any of these irritating questions are very helpful when the president must make a go or stay decision. But next time the TV screens fill with pitiful images of the starving, let us recall that these strange places are like chessboards. However elementary the situation looks, intricate lines of force link all the pieces. No player should venture into

(more)

these deceptively simple games without seeing those connections and thinking several moves ahead.

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Lee C. Howley
General Partner

October 5, 1993

George Stephanapolous
Senior Advisor to the President
for Policy & Strategy
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear George:

It was good to see you in Cleveland last week and I was especially pleased that you had an opportunity to visit the Plain Dealer. Alex Machaskee is a close friend and under his leadership the paper endorsed Bill Clinton. This was their first Democratic presidential endorsement in three decades.

I am aware from my conversations with Alex that the Plain Dealer is drifting away from the Clinton camp. I believe it would be timely and most helpful if Alex could be provided the opportunity to meet briefly with the President in Washington. I know you discussed a meeting the next time the President is in town, but I am concerned this may be too far away. This would mean a great deal to Alex and, in turn, such a visit may stop any erosion that the Administration may be experiencing with Ohio's largest newspaper and the dominant media influence in the state. Alex was very impressed with you and very much enjoyed your visit last Monday in Cleveland.

If you think a visit is possible and would be productive, I would be happy to assist in anyway with coordinating schedules. Good luck with all your endeavors.

Best Wishes,



Lee C. Howley

P.S. I thought you might be interested in what the future opposition is up to. I just received the enclosed letter from Jack Kemp today.

NORTH CAROLINA

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

for use with sonson
to follow up on this
B. 3A

ECU fears health plan will mean cuts



An administrator at the Greenville university says President Clinton's proposal could reduce money for the medical school.

BY JERRY ALLEGOOD
STAFF WRITER

GREENVILLE — National health care reform proposals could cut funds for East Carolina University's medical school and limit its ability to train physicians for working in rural areas, an ECU administrator said Monday.

Dr. James A. Hallock, ECU vice chancellor for health sciences, said at a health care forum that reformers were overlooking the impact of changes on medical education. Proposals to reduce government Medicare payments to hospitals could sharply reduce the school's funds, he said.

"I think this is a real threat," Hallock said.

More than half of the medical school's money comes from services provided by the medical school staff. Hallock said a managed competition plan could allow another organization to serve patients that the school needs for revenue.

Hallock expressed his concerns about health care reform at a forum at the ECU campus in Greenville sponsored by U.S. Rep. Eva Clayton, a Democrat from Littleton. About 300 people attended to discuss health care plans supported by the Clinton Administration and an alternative proposal in Congress.

"It is past time for health care reform," Clayton said, noting that health care consumes 13 percent

of the gross national product even though millions of Americans lack adequate coverage. She said she had not decided which version of health care reform to support, but she criticized President Clinton's proposal to raise new taxes only on cigarettes.

Speakers agreed that changes in the country's health system are needed but they disagreed with key elements of the Clinton plan.

Charlie Williams, regional government affairs manager for the Burroughs Wellcome Co., said administration proposals would deter drug research and development.

He said allowing administration officials to deny Medicare coverage for drugs considered to be "excessively or inappropriately priced" would give the government unprecedented power.

"What company would be willing to invest the necessary time — about 12 years — and the necessary money — an average of \$360 million — to discover and develop a new drug with the prospect that government regulators might blacklist the drug because they feel the price is excessive irrespective of its potential lifesaving potential?" he asked.

Williams also objected to creation of a national health board that would have the authority to obtain a company's confidential records to evaluate drug prices.

"This would constitute the first major step to reducing the industry to a public utility," he said. "There is no precedent or justification for the government to inject itself into a company's innermost workings," he said.

Phil Baker, manager of a Proctor and Gamble Co. plant in Greenville, told the audience that reforms should include market-based competition elements to hold prices down. He said government plans should also encourage preventive medicine to reduce health care costs.



Rep. Martin Lancaster, D-Goldsboro, makes a video appearance at a health care forum in Greenville. About 300 attended the session sponsored by U.S. Rep. Eva Clayton, a Democrat from Littleton.

STAFF PHOTO BY GARY ALLEN

ma



UMDNJ, New Jersey's University of the Health Sciences

*Hearts
want to go
to UMDNJ*

Gary W. Lamson

Vice President & Chief Executive Officer

University Mental Health Services
671 Hoes Lane, P.O. Box 1392
Piscataway, NJ 08855-1392

908-235-5900

*1st floor
in basement
in 1st floor
keep*

FAX: (908) 235-4594

Chiron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1993

NOTE FOR TONY LAKE
SANDY BERGER
NANCY SODERBERG

I think that Alan and Neal's cover memo completely ~~mis~~states my position on this issue and I'll let Bernie speak for himself, but I think it misstates his too.

I'm trying to find a practical way of essentially preserving the system we currently have in place. I've had numerous conversations with Neal about this. I've talked to Alan but I can't seem to get through to him.

I think we should discuss this matter directly.


John Podesta



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 7, 1993

12:12 P3:14

To John P
Re our
discussion
*ms*ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: ALAN KRECZKO^{AK}/NEAL^{NR} WOLIN

SUBJECT: Status of the NSC

Attached is a draft memorandum to the President explaining that we would assert in the next round of the Armstrong litigation that the NSC is not a federal agency for purposes of FOIA, but instead only creates Presidential records. The memo briefly lays out the reasons we would adopt that position.

We have cleared the memo with Bernie Nussbaum, who concurs that the NSC should take the position that, forced to choose one or the other by the Court of Appeals, the NSC creates only presidential records.

John Podesta, however, does not agree. He believes that the NSC (which does not include you and Sandy) should concede that it creates solely federal records. He believes that asserting we are Presidential will cost the President politically, both in terms of negative press and potentially on the Hill. He thinks such a decision would fly in the face of all the President's open government initiatives and undo the goodwill created by them.

We believe that while our recommended course of action may have negative political effects in the short-term, there are steps (outlined in the memorandum to the President) that can be taken to ameliorate such effects. Moreover, taking the opposite position -- that the NSC is a FOIA agency and that all of its records are federal records -- will create administrative and political burdens for all NSC's, including ours, into the foreseeable future. Finally, it will not be possible to neatly distinguish between you and Sandy and the rest of the NSC. Currently, NSC staff receive copies of memos prepared for you to send to the President, after you sign off on them. Those memos, which are clearly Presidential because they run from you to the President, would become "federal" as soon as received by NSC staff. The same would be true of any other documents you provide to us, (or notes we make of conversations with you). Therefore, we would need to change dramatically the flow of information between you and the NSC staff in order to protect the Presidential nature of your work if we concede that the rest of the NSC is federal.

John has alternatively suggested that we restructure the NSC, attaching those who do presidential work directly to you, and leaving the "federal" portion assigned to Will Itoh. This is completely impractical.

You (or Sandy), Podesta and Nussbaum need to have a brief discussion on these matters in order to be able to inform the President of an agreed position. The issue needs to be resolved as soon as possible, preferably by early next week.

RECOMMENDATION

That you discuss the issue of the status of NSC records with John Podesta and Bernie Nussbaum as soon as possible with a view to sending the memorandum at Tab I to the President informing him that we will assert in the Armstrong case that the NSC only creates presidential records.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BERNARD NUSSBAUM
ANTHONY LAKE
JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT: NSC Status

Armstrong v. Executive Office of the President is a long-standing suit brought by National Security Archives and others to gain access under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to E-mail and other records generated by the NSC during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

The litigation has expanded over time to include the entire EOP, current E-mail, and the guidance provided employees concerning the use of E-mail to create and preserve federal or presidential records.

The most recent stage of the litigation has added a new issue -- the status of the NSC. For decades, the NSC has taken the position that most of its records are presidential because they are created to provide advice to you, through the National Security Adviser. The NSC has, however, also taken the position that certain categories of its documents are federal records (e.g., administrative files, intelligence oversight records, and documents relating to its inter-agency coordination function) which are subject to FOIA. A recent ruling by the Court of Appeals suggests that the NSC will no longer be able to claim that it creates both federal and presidential records. Citing a string of recent opinions, the court has suggested that the NSC cannot protect any of its records as presidential unless it claims that all of its records are presidential. Otherwise, the court suggested that all of the NSC records be considered federal records.

The status of the NSC's documents affects important presidential prerogatives. Presidential records remain subject to your control for up to 12 years and are not subject to FOIA until that time; federal records can be immediately disclosed by a succeeding Administration. Such disclosures can be used to reveal the deliberations of the preceding Administration in order to serve partisan interests.

Viewing the NSC as presidential is consistent with the status of the CEA, which has been sustained by the courts as presidential,

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

and with the view we take of the NEC and the DPC. It would be anomalous, given the special responsibilities the Constitution accords to the President for national security matters, for the NSC to be considered less presidential than its counterpart domestic entities.

The Carter Administration Justice Department opined that the NSC was a federal agency for purposes of FOIA. Recently the Justice Department has reviewed carefully that opinion in light of statutory changes and subsequent case law and believes it no longer correct.

Accordingly, we intend to argue at the next stage of the litigation that the NSC only creates presidential records. While we believe this position is correct, it will attract media criticism. Plaintiffs (who include Scott Armstrong, formerly of the Washington Post) will attempt to portray this as an effort to shroud the NSC in "even more secrecy than sought by the Nixon NSC." We would intend to offset this criticism by:

- noting that all NSCs have asserted that they create primarily presidential material and that we are taking the position that the NSC is solely presidential only because the court has indicated we must either be presidential or federal;
- indicating that we will, as a matter of policy, continue to review public requests for those categories of NSC records traditionally treated as federal; and
- pointing to the other administration efforts underway to reduce government secrecy.

101-1438

Call Patti - 202-401-1181

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/13}

Amendments submitted to the Rules Committee on H.R. 1804
Goals 2000: Educate America Act

Filing Deadline Monday, October 12, 1993 - 12:00 Noon

- 1) **Armey** Amendment in the nature of a substitute: eliminates the commissions, standards and testing systems in original bill; provides \$400 million in FY94 through FY98 for reform in four areas, 1) model schools, 2) merit schools, 3) parental choice programs, and 4) decentralized management; leaves the definition of "choice" to local communities (which may include or exclude non-public schools); and adds provisions to strengthen parental control of education.
- 2) **McCurdy** Adds language to Title I to include an additional National Education Goal for increased parental participation in education.
- 3) **Trafficant** Adds "Buy American" provisions to the bill. (*Sense of the Cong.*)
- 4) **Goodling/Condit** States that nothing in the bill can be interpreted to give the Federal government control over state and local activities regarding curriculum, instruction, and allocation of state and local resources.
- 5) **Payne (NJ)** Adds access to physical education and health education to the objectives for goal #3 (Student Achievement and Citizenship).
- 6) **Machtley** Adds an additional goal emphasizing the importance and encouraging the improvement of fitness and wellness education.
- #5 deals w/ that -
- 7) **Dornan** Prohibits Federally-funded school-based clinics from distributing any birth control drugs items and prohibits any abortion counseling and referrals. (*Non-germane argument*)
- 8) **Dornan** Prohibits Federally-funded schools from promoting, condoning, or encouraging either directly or indirectly, homosexuality, bisexuality, or transexuality. *Non-germane*
- 9) **Sanders** Requires states to address the issue of comprehensive health education in the development of their state improvement plans.
- 10) **Kildee** Clarifies that in cases where there are existing standards that apply to an occupation or industry, any new standards proposed under this authority must meet or exceed the existing standards. *Non-germane*
- 11) **Hutchinson** Requires written parental consent for the involvement of students in psychological testing or school-based clinics, and protects the privacy rights of students regarding their academic and personal school records.
Part exists in law now - other Non-germane

John
12) Porter

Prohibits Title III funds from being used for school districts that serve more than 250,000 students. *State grants Program - not for big cities -*

13) Watt

Allows funds under Title VI to be used to plan, implement, and fund activities that coordinate the education of their children with other Federal programs that serve such children or their families.

14) Wheat

Expands the eligibility of Title VI grants to include Parents as Teachers (parents of children from birth to age 3) programs around the country.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/13

Class
D. Riley Miller
we can have 2000
plus school to work &
school safety upon
needs - B

October 12, 1993

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Dick Queen *Dick Queen*
2607 Dellwood Rd. West
Waynesville, NC 28786
Phone: (704) 926-1250

SUBJECT: Business-Government Partnership in Developing in
Haywood County, North Carolina a World Class
Global Conference Center

Haywood County needs your help. The sixteen western North Carolina counties covered by recently enacted economic legislation and the State of North Carolina need your assistance.

Presently, we have no one in Washington to represent us. Our two Republican Senators and the local Republican Congressman have opposed you every step of the way.

The most upbeat development of Governor Jim Hunt's campaign last year was the formation of the North Carolina Business Roundtable, a group of business leaders from across the state who pledged their support to Hunt. Normally, they would go Republican. I attended this meeting. After the luncheon agenda, we attended different round table discussions. I attended the one on Business-Government partnership, moderator Hon. Beverly Perdue. I suggested to the group that the highest and best use of our climate and scenic resources in Western North Carolina was the development of a world-class, global conference center, utilizing the resources of the eight Community Colleges and the two universities in the area (Western Carolina University and University of North Carolina, Asheville). The group thought the idea had merit and suggested that I develop in writing the plans for implementation.

Vice President Gore last fall at a meeting in Raleigh pledged his support in this effort. He and his staff could coordinate the federal partnership. Bill Friday, internationally known educator, might be available to coordinate the State's efforts. Hugh McCall, Jr., CEO Nations Bank, could coordinate the private sector involvement.

Several of the South Atlantic states would be involved in certain cooperative efforts. Gov. Hunt could coordinate this phase.

Your assistance guarantees the success of this important cooperative project involving a government-business partnership and we appreciate your attention to this matter.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/13

Bob Butler
Pls have someone contact
him - do not say who from
can't say who in the car.
Can't say
B

Secret Service fears outsider as new chief

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Veteran Secret Service officials fear that Director John Magaw's transfer to head the troubled Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms opens the door to the possibility of an outside appointee for the first time in this century.

"There's a 50-50 chance of someone from outside. That would be a first," said one official who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Administration officials would not rule out the possibility either to The Washington Times or to Mr. Magaw, who raised the question with Ronald K. Noble, assistant Treasury

secretary for enforcement, before being shifted to ATF.

"It's very important that people who are prepared to give up their life for the president and first lady be under the command of someone who comes from their ranks," Mr. Magaw said in an interview with The Times.

Mr. Magaw also confirmed that President Clinton and his wife, Hillary, had early suspicions about the Secret Service and that the new White House officials were under the misimpression that he and protective agents were untrustworthy Bush loyalists who resented or disliked the Clintons.

see SERVICE, page A20

SERVICE

From page A1

The interview was granted after The Times asked White House officials about reports that then-Associate Counsel Vincent Foster visited Mr. Magaw in February to ease out the highly respected director and create a vacancy.

White House officials deny that was the intent, and Mr. Magaw said it was not discussed.

"Someone else might have made that statement, some staff person or someone else — those kind of things don't come out of thin air — but not to me," Mr. Magaw said.

Explaining the role of Mr. Foster, who killed himself in July, White House Communications Director Mark Gearan said he and Chief of Staff Thomas "Mack" McLarty knew of the meeting in advance. He said it was partially an effort to obtain reassignment to the White House of field agents who were bodyguards during the campaign.

Mr. Foster instead got a lecture about the eight years of training that precede assignment to presidential protection.

Mr. Foster was accompanied to the meeting by administrator David Watkins, who said through a spokesman that the session was "somewhat of a courtesy call to learn more about how the service worked."

When Mr. Magaw was asked to transfer last week to ATF, he raised the question of whether his successor would be from Secret Service ranks.

"Basically I got the response that they certainly would look at that, but it was not Mr. Noble's place to make the decision. It was the secretary's place to make the choice subject to the president's approval," Mr. Magaw said.

White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers and Treasury Department spokesman Jack Devore both said there has been no decision on whether to recruit outside Secret Service ranks, but Mr. DeVore said the Treasury Department may advertise nationally.

"It will be a professional law enforcement official of the highest quality," Mr. DeVore said, emphasizing that broadening the search outside the Secret Service would not make it political.

"I don't know that we have a timetable and I'm not sure that we've limited it to anybody in particular,"

THE PRESIDENT'S PROTECTORS

Ten men have headed the U.S. Secret Service since 1901, when it was given responsibility for protecting the president. The latest director, John W. Magaw, is now in charge of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

1992- Oct. 1, 1993	John W. Magaw
1981-92	John R. Simpson
1973-81	H. Stuart Knight
1961-73	James J. Rowley
1948-61	U.E. Baughman
1947-48	James J. Maloney
1937-46	Frank J. Wilson
1918-36	William H. Moran
1912-17	William J. Flynn
1898-1912	John E. Wilkie

Comparison of agency manpower and spending.

	1992	1993	1994
Secret Service			
Strength	4,581	4,570	4,501
Budget	\$463.1	\$467.5	\$447.9
ATF			
Strength	4,111	4,261	4,201
Budget	\$336.1	\$370.2	\$360.1

Sources: Secret Service archives, 1994 federal budget

The Washington Times

Miss Myers said.

Abraham Lincoln created the Secret Service to fight Civil War counterfeiting, and the task of protecting presidents was added after the McKinley assassination in 1901. Mr. Magaw, the 10th person to head the agency since then, held the post for 20 months, a shorter tenure than the others had. His predecessors averaged more than 10 years each.

"We understand what's happening here. This was opportunity presenting itself," a skeptical Secret Service official said of Mr. Magaw's shift to the smaller ATF, which like the 4,570-member Secret Service is part of the Treasury Department. The official said the move was particularly puzzling because Mr. Magaw excels at the Secret Service hallmarks of protection and intelligence.

Mr. Magaw said he was concerned about such reactions and would raise the issue again when it is less theoretical, but he warned that the decision is far above his pay grade.

"I'm not in a position to take on the secretary and the president. I'm a public servant," said the 26-year agency veteran, who has two sons in law enforcement, including one who is also an agent.

The fact that two Clinton confidants on the White House staff talked outside the chain of command with officials under the control of Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen also promised to raise questions. Both were involved in the White House's much-criticized FBI contacts in ousting the travel office staff.

Mr. Magaw said Mr. Foster didn't seem to understand for months that the Secret Service was an arm of the Treasury Department and was suspicious of agents he saw each day.

"When you walk around the halls they look like they're very serious and don't like us at all. . . . We're concerned that these agents are Bush people," Mr. Magaw quoted Mr. Foster as saying.

"I said: 'You know there's nothing to that at all. They are here three or four years. None of the ones that are there now will be there when this administration is re-elected.'"

Mr. Magaw said he also told Mr. Foster the agents' stolid expressions result from training that discourages conversation with "any protectees unless they speak to you first."

"They were at the point of who could they trust. Could they trust the Secret Service?" Mr. Magaw said.

"They did not yet realize that the Secret Service was a very dedicated professional career organization. In many states — and I think in Arkansas it is true — the governor has a lot of input in who is on his detail," Mr. Magaw said, emphasizing that he believes the Clintons and most of their staff now have faith in the Secret Service Presidential Protection Division. Mr. Magaw headed the division before taking over the entire agency on Feb. 2, 1992.

Mr. Magaw was summoned to Mr. Foster's office for a follow-up conversation about other questions from Mr. and Mrs. Clinton. As one result, Mr. Magaw said, agents were moved from outside Mrs. Clinton's second-floor office to a downstairs location, from which they could protect her but where they were less obtrusive.

Several personal discussions with Mr. Clinton since then "have never been anything but positive."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/12

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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

check on this bill
w/ Indian Religion Rights
are we for it?

B.C.
Religion Freedom for
Native Americans Act
They say Babbitts for it, unwilling
at this "whole" thing
Babbitts

B. Hunsbain

Pls advise

B.

follow up w/ meeting w/
Comm
yesterday

check on this bill
: Indian Religion
Rights
are we for it?
BC

Religious Freedom for
Native Americans Act
They say Babbitts for it,

Mark
to testify
about it

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/2

THE SUN SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1993 DATED MATERIAL

A2

RATING THE CABINET, FROM A TO D

Espy receives highest marks in survey

By Carl M. Cannon
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In any big organization, not every department head can be a star. Not everyone is skilled, either. Or lucky. Or successful. Some may even get fired.

A presidential administration is no exception. Eight months into Bill Clinton's administration, the members of his Cabinet are enjoying varying degrees of success. Here is a mid-semester report card, given by about two dozen Washington observers:

□ **Mike Espy, Secretary of Agriculture: A+** — In his first week, Mr. Espy dealt with an outbreak of a fatal strain of E. coli in undercooked hamburgers by using the tragedy to push for overdue reforms in USDA meat inspections. During the Mississippi River flood, he is credited by farm groups with being responsive to the farmers' trauma.

Responding to calls to cut the fat in USDA's budget, Mr. Espy has also proposed eliminating 1,215 of the agency's 3,780 field offices. "He's good," says Sonja Hilgren, editor of the independent *Farm Journal*. "And he didn't need Al Gore to reinvent government."

□ **Bruce Babbitt, Interior Secretary: A** — Mr. Babbitt negotiated the fine points of a complex compromise on logging in the Pacific Northwest — without sacrificing the environmental community's beloved Endangered Species Act.

He also is making progress in getting Congress to require Western ranchers to pay reasonable grazing fees on public land. "He's aced the job of pushing the administration's program while also pushing the administration further environmentally," says Joan Moody, a spokeswoman for Defenders of Wildlife.

□ **Janet Reno, Attorney General: A-** — Popular and respected, especially by women and fellow lawyers, she helped dump controversial FBI director William Sessions. Her opposition to the death penalty warms liberal hearts.

But her calls for more creative approaches to fighting crime haven't progressed beyond generalities, she's been slow to fill jobs, and her first big decision was authorizing the FBI debacle in Waco. Republicans contend that Justice is more politicized than ever, pointing to the firing of all 93 GOP U.S.

Attorneys and to Ms. Reno's appearance at a rally for Democratic Gov. James Florio of New Jersey.

□ **Henry Cisneros, Secretary of Housing & Urban Development: B+** — He got some credit for agreeing to head this troubled agency even before he demanded the resignation of the local housing authority board in Vidor, Texas, where the only four blacks in a public housing complex were hounded out. Mr. Cisneros, who has vowed to "reinvent" his agency, has his work cut out for him.

□ **Richard W. Riley, Education Secretary: B+** — Although he hasn't authored any flashy new policies yet, he's impressed the education establishment with his work on Goals 2000, a series of goals for students. He's also refocused his department on public schools, particularly those in poor-

er neighborhoods.

□ **Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services: B** — She made some rookie mistakes, such as recommending a "value added tax" at a time the White House was scuttling the idea, but she brings a caring image to her agency. She also has reminded fellow liberals of the need to reform the welfare system. She's been overshadowed by Hillary Rodham Clinton on health care, but Mrs. Clinton eased the pain by smilingly introducing Ms. Shalala — the day after the secretary went golfing with the president — as the best golfer in the administration.

□ **Hazel R. O'Leary, Secretary of Energy: B** — She didn't fight hard for the Clinton administration's ill-fated energy tax but has brought an open style and a wry sense of humor to her job. A black woman, Ms. O'Leary has an office motto: "It's diversity, stupid." That's a reference not to affirmative action but to the need to diversify America's energy sources. After annoying Texas Democrats by saying she favored, but "not passionately," the superconducting supercollider, Ms. O'Leary made amends by saying later — with a straight face — "I lied. I am now passionate about the project."

□ **Jesse Brown, Secretary of Veterans Affairs: B** — Mr. Brown, a Marine Corps veteran who was wounded in Vietnam, earned his pay on Memorial Day when he stood beside Mr. Clinton, amid the boos and the taunts, at the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial. He also helped formulate provisions of the health care plan that will be a boon to VA hospitals. "He's a warrior," says Rep. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi.

CON

91

□ **Robert B. Reich, Secretary of Labor:** B- — He used up a lot of his capital arguing for Mr. Clinton's proposed \$16 billion "jobs stimulus package." Mr. Reich kept upping his estimate of the jobs this would create, finally settling on the number 500,000, which many considered wildly inflated. He is respected by organized labor leaders, however, and enjoys easy access to the president, a friend of 25 years.

□ **Lloyd Bentsen, Secretary of the Treasury:** C+ — Mr. Bentsen doesn't seem to have great influence at the White House; perhaps his closeness to former Senate colleagues hasn't counted as much as was hoped. On the other hand, Mr. Bentsen gets high marks for his forceful handling of ATF misconduct in the Waco raid.

□ **Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense:** C+ — The mere appearance of the ruffled, slouching Pentagon chief is enough to antagonize some military officers, but Mr. Aspin has followed the brass' recommendations to go slow on cuts. He did not run interference for Mr. Clinton on gays in the military, but the biggest rap is that he hasn't filled key Pentagon posts. This is partly the fault of the "diversity police" at the White House: still, while the Army's 1995 budget is being decided, Mr. Aspin has no secretary of the Army.

□ **Federico Pena, Secretary of Transportation:** C — He flies coach class around the country as he tries to master what's gone wrong with America's airlines, but transportation issues haven't risen to the top of Mr. Clinton's agenda. Mr. Pena showed his commitment by rushing to the scene of the recent Amtrak crash in Alabama.

□ **Warren Christopher, Secretary of State:** C — A veteran of the Carter administration, Mr. Christopher is loyal, knowledgeable and respected by the young Clinton staff, who affectionally call him "Chris." But many diplomats believe he is not forceful enough, especially regarding Bosnia, where administration waffling and inertia have caused several State Department resignations.

□ **Ronald H. Brown, Commerce Secretary:** D — Mr. Brown's track record of accumulating wealth by representing various special interests was always his potential Achilles' heel. Instead of focusing on his top mission for the White House — twisting the arms of Democratic members of Congress to support the North American Free Trade Agreement — Mr. Brown is defending himself against allegations that he sought \$700,000 to help Vietnam secure favorable trading policies with the United States.

Rating



REUTERS

(From left) Bruce Babbitt, Les Aspin, Lloyd Bentsen and Warren Christopher are sworn into President Clinton's Cabinet.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Attorney General Janet Reno gets a good report card: A-.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/12}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Chen

OCT 8 P3:21

October 7, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: MARK MIDDLETON

RE: NAFTA/ARKANSAS

I have received an update on the activities of pro-NAFTA forces in Little Rock and wanted to share the information.

Arkansas-NAFTA has secured an office on Capitol Avenue in Little Rock that has great street-front appeal. They are located in the same building as the Cranford Agency and will be utilizing Cranford for media strategy and planning. The office will primarily be used to solicit support for the passage of NAFTA by engaging in phonebanking and broadcast faxing to the business community.

Presently, thirty-three Arkansas corporations have signed on and many others will be asked for their formal support in the next few days. These businesses will initiate letter writing campaigns to their Congressional representatives and will promote the positive benefits of the treaty to other grassroots groups.

Staunch supporters of the treaty will soon be doing radio talk shows, writing guest editorials and engaging in public debates. There are also plans to hold a "Pro NAFTA Rally" in Little Rock in the next couple of weeks and we will be prepared to send a speaker from the Administration.

In short, our Arkansas effort is getting organized and should have a positive effect on gaining support from Arkansas workers. As a result, our Congressional delegation should sense moderate to strong support for the treaty.

OCT. 8/93

Mr. President -

Agree
Thom Felt we should have our home Base covered re: NAFTA. Mark Middleton is making sure that happens.

W. J.

Arkansas Democrat Gazette

Thursday, September 16, 1993

Firms join in support of NAFTA

BY DOUG THOMPSON
Democrat-Gazette Business Writer

A group of 30 Arkansas corporations and business groups has formed "Arkansas NAFTA" in response to a recent University of Arkansas at Little Rock poll showing 62 percent of Arkansans believe free trade with Mexico would cost U.S. jobs.

"Whatever job flight there is will be in no-skill or low-skill jobs that are going to Mexico with or without NAFTA — unless somebody can repeal the laws of economics," said Ron Howell, a lobbyist for International Paper who is spokesman for the new group.

"Our group's position, along with the administration's and most economists', is that there will be a net increase in jobs and the jobs created will be better paying, higher skill jobs," Howell said.

President Clinton, a Democrat, is expected to submit the controversial North American Free Trade Agreement to Congress next week. It faces opposition from many Democrats in the House of Representatives, including the majority whip, David Bonior of Michigan.

The Arkansas group is an affiliate of USA-NAFTA, "a pro-NAFTA group that's forming committees in each of the 50 states," Howell said.

International Paper's plant in Pine Bluff is exporting 25 percent more of its packaging for liquids, such as orange juice containers, than it was three years ago, Howell said. "Our plywood plant in Gurdon is ex-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/12}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3-27 8 P6:38

OCTOBER 8, 1993

Clearly Right

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY
SUBJECT: FAX FROM SENATOR SAM NUNN

Attached is a letter Sam Nunn faxed to me yesterday after my visit with him prior to your Oval Office address. As I understand it, the letter is from the President of Uganda. Both Sam and Lod Cook of Arco, who had been with the Ugandan President recently with President Carter, indicated that he is an impressive and thoughtful individual.

I thought you would find it relevant to our recent discussions.

map

cc(w/attach.): Tony Lake
Sandy Berger

FROM

09.14.1993 16127

P. 1

FROM STATE HOUSE ENTERBB (U)

09.14.1993 10:31

P. 1



STATE HOUSE
ENTERBB
UGANDA

PO/11

10 September 1993

Mr Douglas Cos
2817 Woodland Drive N.W.
WASHINGTON D.C. 20008
USA

File D

To mail:

S. m

Salutations.

I would like to inform you, again, of my views and those of my other colleagues in Africa on the question of Somalia. Recently, we had a Summit Meeting in Addis Ababa of the IGADD Countries (Inter-Governmental Agency on Drought and Desertification) comprising of: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda and Somalia itself. Our unanimous views were as follows:

- (1) We applauded and continue to applaud the role of the UN forces in Somalia in respect of distributing food to the starving population.
- (2) We applaud the efforts by the U.N. to promote dialogue among the Somali factions that ought to lead to the formation of a broad-based Somali Interim Administration that should, then, receive the full-backing of the U.N. to carry out the needful duties including recovering illegally-held guns. Our emphasis is that, the recovery of illegal guns should be undertaken by a Somali Interim Government and not by foreign troops. The foreign Governments should assist logistically, financially and with training that particular Government to achieve the various objectives including disarming elements that will not be needed for the new Security forces. In any case, enabling the Somalis to run their affairs, must be one of the very minimum goals and not running their affairs for them.
- (3) Therefore, in our view, it is most undesirable that the U.N. forces have now taken on the role of disarming Somalis, and siding with some factions against others. This can not bring peace. I understand this was following a Security Council Resolution. It so happens that there is no efficient consultation between the members of the Security Council and the general membership of the U.N. The three members from Africa on the

Security Council do not get opinions of the other members prior to taking position within the Security Council. However, we are going to mobilise and stop this.

militar
202

entire

202
387-6767

.../2

offre

PO/11

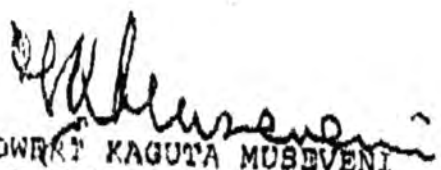
10 September 1993

Mr Douglas Coe

/2

The African members on the Security Council must, henceforth, get prior authority from all the African Countries before they take a stand on any issue within the Security Council. Therefore, the Resolution of the Security Council on Somalia, did not get an input from the rest of us.

Therefore, brother, see how you defuse this dangerous situation.


YOWERI KAGUTA MUSEVENI
P R E S I D E N T

10/12/93

Copy for Records Management --

Tony Lake was given the original magazine to keep. SEWagner

(per John Podesta)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

93 OCT 12 P2:

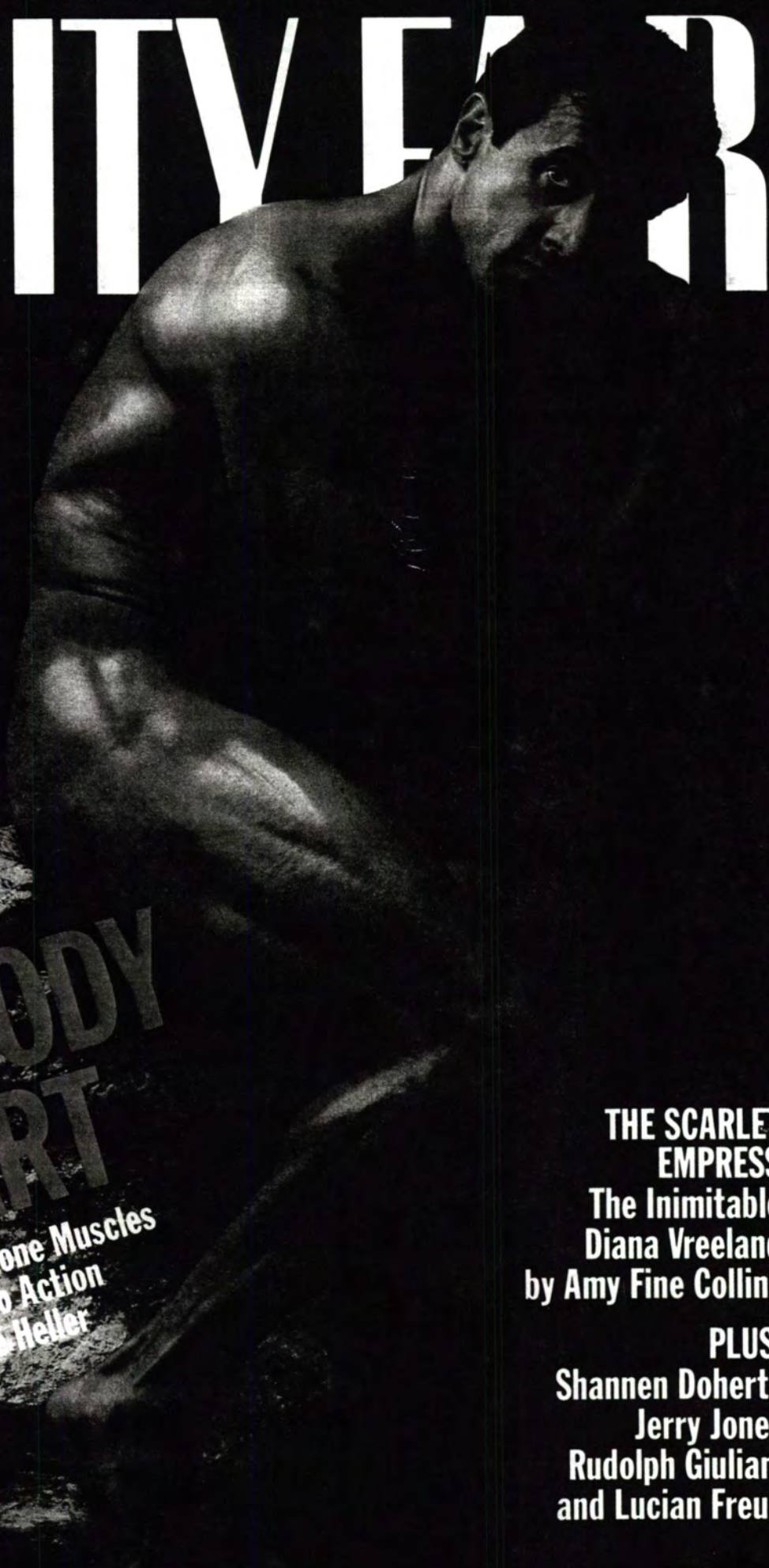
Tony

Had the article
on Mali selection
We should discuss

The whole file was
opened —

B

VANITY FAIR



NOVEMBER 1993/\$3.00

CASTRO'S MISTRESS
Life with Fidel,
the C.I.A.,
and Oswald
by Ann Louise Bardach

**A NIGHT
TO DISMEMBER**
The Wife, the Knife,
and the
Cruellest Cut
by Kim Masters

**SLY'S BODY
OF ART**

Sylvester Stallone Muscles
Back into Action
by John Heller

**THE SCARLET
EMPRESS**
The Inimitable
Diana Vreeland
by Amy Fine Collins

PLUS:
Shannen Doherty
Jerry Jones
Rudolph Giuliani
and Lucian Freud

10/12

~~See need to~~
Rubin → see 3 pg memo
et al

Show Paul Grier to GS / Giger - may
want to ~~let~~ let them out →

WEEKLY ECONOMIC BRIEFING OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers
with the assistance of the Office of the Vice President

October 8, 1993

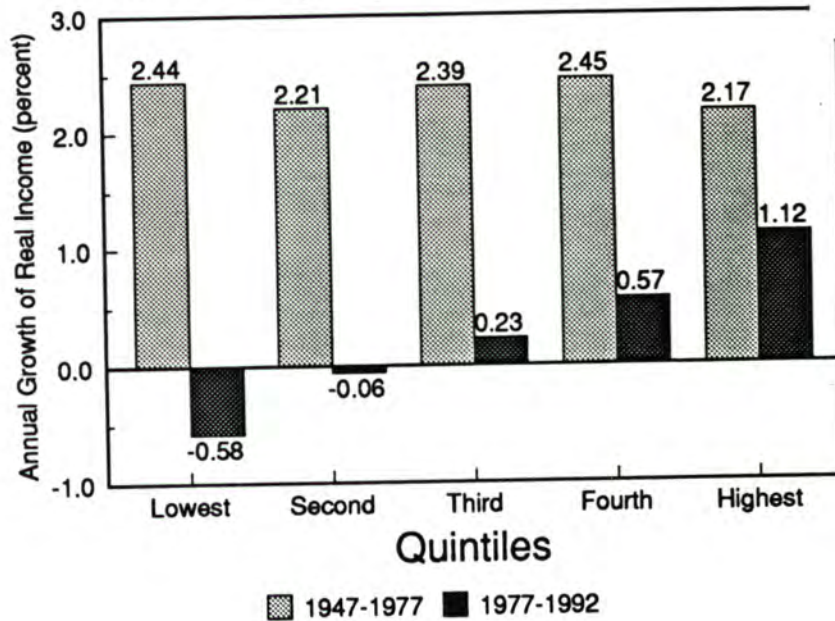
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who?

Rubin ✓
GS
Giger } (last)

CHART OF THE WEEK

Widening Income Disparities



For about three decades, real incomes of rich and poor American families grew at roughly equal rates (the light-shaded bars). In the last 15 years, however, this pattern changed dramatically (dark-shaded bars). Real incomes of middle-income families have stagnated while low-income families have experienced real income declines.

Poverty Rate Increases to 14.5 Percent

Analysis. The poverty rate both moves with the business cycle and has long-term trends.

The graph displays the percentage of the population aged 18 years and over in 1959 and 1991, broken down by age group. The Y-axis represents the percentage (5% to 40%), and the X-axis represents the years (1959 to 1991). The three age groups are: Under 18 years (solid line with dots), 18 to 64 years (dashed line), and 65 years and over (dotted line).

Year	Under 18 years (%)	18 to 64 years (%)	65 years and over (%)
1959	35	17	27
1963	30	13	23
1967	29	10	25
1971	15	9	15
1975	15	8	15
1979	16	9	14
1983	22	12	12
1987	21	11	12
1991	22	12	13

- The decline in wages of the lowest paid workers over the last 20 years has been one of the largest factors contributing to poverty and decreased income of the "Chart of the Week"). Increased demand for low-skilled workers is one of the main reasons for the decline of wages of low-income workers.

- Wleen figure
Nin years ~~old~~
* wu look
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10/12

Reubin → see 3 pg memo
et al

Show Paul Grier to GS/Gergen - may want to let her out

WEEKLY ECONOMIC BRIEFING OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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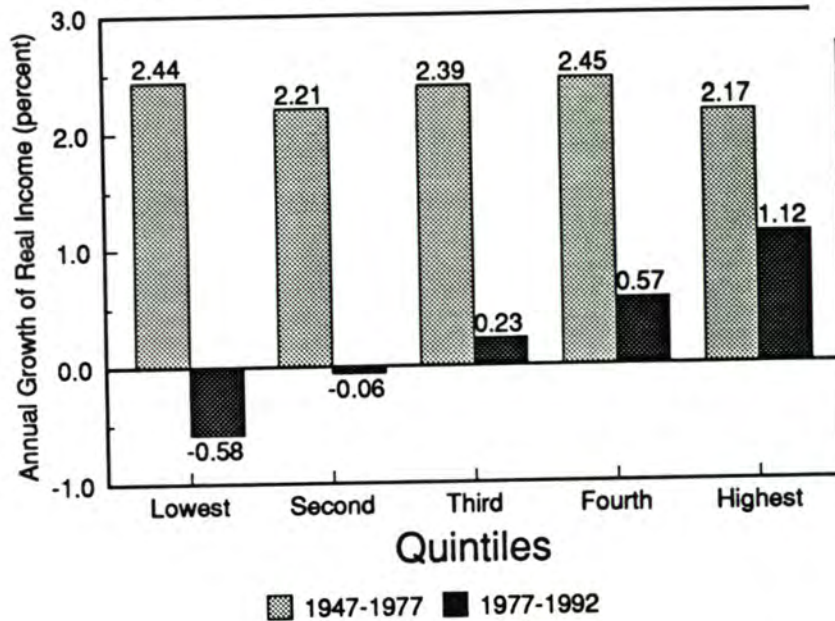
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who?

Rubin ✓
GS
Gergen *(last)*

CHART OF THE WEEK

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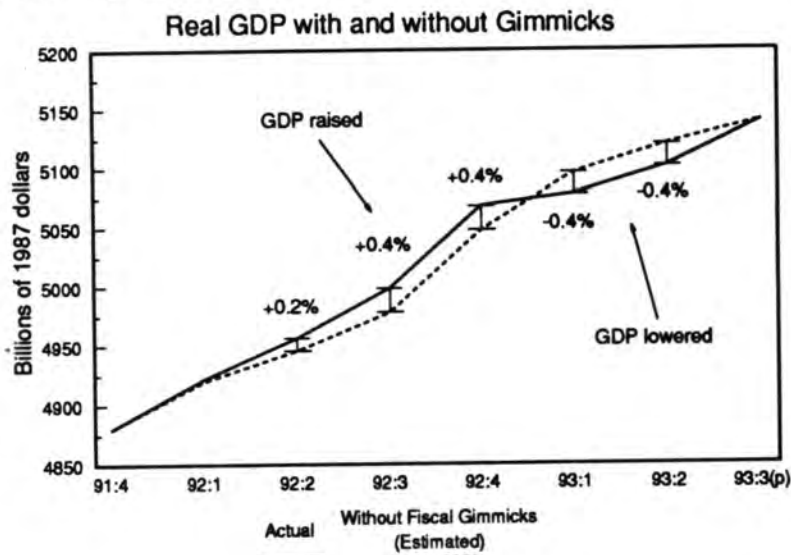
ARTICLE

Bush Fiscal Gimmicks Shifted GDP from 1993 to 1992

During 1992, President Bush acted to stimulate economic growth. Two fiscal measures gave a short-run boost to the economy in 1992, but led to slower growth in 1993. There were two principal measures:

- 1) The change in income tax withholding that President Bush announced in his January 1992 State of the Union address.
- 2) The temporary burst in defense purchases in the second half of 1992.

The CEA estimates that these two measures added 0.2 percent to the level of GDP in the second quarter of 1992 and 0.4 percent in the third and fourth quarters. But as the chart shows, these gains were temporary. The CEA estimates GDP was 0.4 percent lower during the first two quarters of 1993 than it would have been without the fiscal gimmickry.

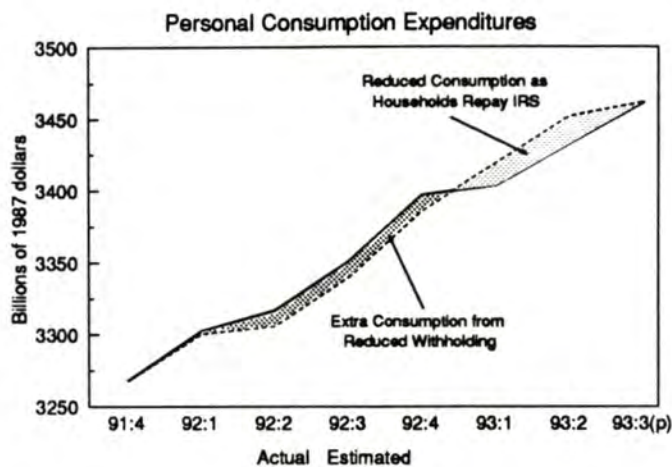


Government has at its disposal powerful tools for affecting the timing of demand and production.

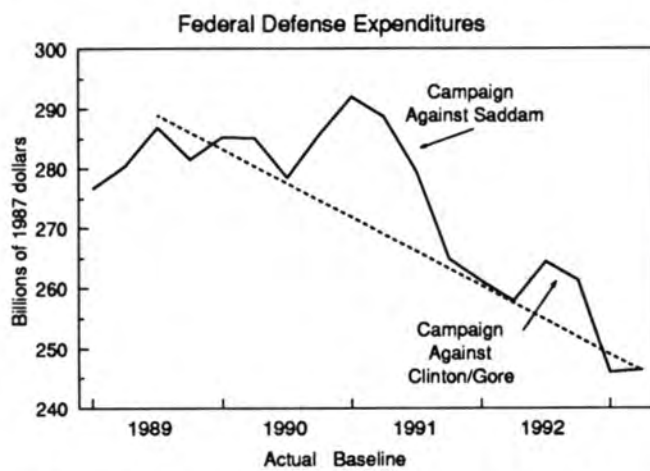
- The Bush Administration intended the two fiscal measures to have only temporary benefits. They borrowed some of 1993's GDP for 1992.
- These measures partly account for the slow growth in the first two quarters of 1993.

Details of the timing of these fiscal measures are given on the next page.

Withholding tax change. The change in the withholding tax gave most wage earners an extra \$25 a month in take-home pay beginning in March 1992. In April 1993, these people therefore owed the IRS an extra \$250. Many households simply let the extra pay accumulate in their bank accounts and used this accumulation to make the extra \$250 payment to the IRS in April. But other households—estimated to be about 40 percent—spent the extra cash. They then had to reduce spending when they settled with the IRS. This led to the shifting of consumption from 1993 to 1992 shown in the chart.



Defense spending. During the second half of 1992, defense spending increased well above the post-Cold-War trend. This burst in spending does not reflect



President Bush's much-criticized authorization of exports of future production of F-15s, F-16s, and M-1A2s. Rather, the increases were mainly in the miscellaneous "other services" category, where executive discretion could increase purchases quickly.

Are 1993 Tax Liabilities a Threat to 1994 Growth? High-income households will have large tax liabilities in April 1994 due to the retroactive increase in income tax rates in 1993. There is reason to expect, however, that these extra payments by high-income individuals to the IRS in 1994 will have a smaller effect on GDP than the extra payments to the IRS in 1993 made by taxpayers affected by the 1992 change in withholding. High-income taxpayers are more likely to make the payments out of savings. Moreover, under provisions of OBRA, they can spread the payments over 3 years. And many high-income taxpayers acted to minimize their added tax liability by shifting income from 1993 to December 1992.

October 11, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/12

GS

- What does this mean
- Does she want another
interview -
- (she doesn't reply)

Dear Mr. President

In the Hebrew language, each letter of the alphabet has a numerical value. The two letters, CHES and YUD, which add up to 18, also add up to the word CHAI— which means LIFE.

May your 18th wedding anniversary today signify for you a long, a healthful and a happy life together.

And may God bless you and the First Lady with many, many more joyous and successful days and years.

Respectfully

Trude
Trude B. Feldman

P.S. Enclosed are two versions of last October 11th article, based on your September, 1992 interview, and an update after your election, including your responses on California issues.

I respectfully hope that you will NOW take the time to read and digest your positive replies. With the past year of experience, I also trust you will NOW comprehend WHY these questions were a major issue, and uppermost on my mind one year ago. They were then designed to PREVENT AND DETER your current problems-- which are festering.

Your mother--in last Sunday's paper--said, of her condition: "I joked with my doctor that I would be here until they found a cure for this....It is such a prevalent disease."

So I told my doctors (who urged me to write this long ago) that I would be here until YOU, Doctor Clinton, find a cure for the "disease" that I mention herein and about which I wrote in 1985 and 1987--enclosed.

Your speech on Friday at the DNC was excellent--and touched, ironically, on this vital distraction to your goals--begging the question, "What about a CHANGE in 'mentality' ?

Because you often mention the Brady Bill, you may want to read my eye-witness account when Jim Brady was wounded, and his and President Reagan's reactions--ten years later.

Feldman
2020 F Street N.W.
Washington DC 20006

Phones: 202 638-3048
659 9841

TRUDE B. FELDMAN

White House 'Disease' Led to McFarlane's Untimely Departure

Robert C. (Bud) McFarlane turned 50 recently. The milestone, under ordinary circumstances, would be celebrated lightheartedly. But because of his recent brush with death and the lamentable reasons that led to his attempt to take his own life, this birthday is much more poignant.

It is also an occasion to reevaluate the circumstances that caused one of President Reagan's best and brightest to succumb to despair, and then to surmount it.

McFarlane, the president's former national security adviser, a pivotal figure in the Iran-*contra* debacle, "felt troubled at being the cause of all this turmoil," and his inability to assuage growing anxieties led to near self-destruction last February.

From countless conversations with him, I am convinced that the aftermath of the Iran initiative would not have reached scandalous proportions had he remained in his White House post 20 months ago. His departure left a serious vacuum in foreign policy, and abruptly detailed his spiraling career. He was at a prime age and at the peak of his professional life. The departure seemed to hold much promise for him, and for the president's foreign policy.

Current history, moreover, would have been different had McFarlane remained; and he would have been at peace with himself. Less than an hour after he resigned, he regretted his decision. And from that moment on, it seemed to him that his life pursued a downward cycle. He was overwhelmed with a sense of defeat, coupled with his perception at having failed to fulfill his highest commitments.

For him, the withdrawal from government was a wrenching experience. As the Iran-*contra* drama unfolded, guilt feelings enveloped him, and he took the brunt of the burden upon himself. Gradually, he began to question the meaning of his life.

He said he reached a state of depression largely because he felt that by leaving the White House, he had triggered a chain of events that have been hurtful to the president. Had he stayed, he asserts, he could have prevented the escalation of the Iran venture.

His shortcomings and problems notwithstanding, in 26 months as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Bud McFarlane orchestrated an arms control policy that resulted in the downgrading of the role of partisan politics regarding the so-called peace issue.

As the presidential envoy to the Middle East, he had ducked shells and rockets while negotiating a successful — albeit short-lived — cease-fire in Lebanon.

For one who considered his job "most challenging" and one which brought him an "enormous sense of fulfillment" his abrupt resignation was uncharacteristic, indeed it was a conundrum.

So why did he resign?



He resigned because of the "guerrilla" warfare and strife in the White House, and because of active, arrogant malevolence and belligerency within the administration. The hostile atmosphere had an insidious effect. It drained him.

Exacerbating the problem were malicious rumors concerning McFarlane's personal life. The gossip from phantom sources gnawed away at him. But he couldn't bring himself to tell the president what was swirling around him. So he cited "family reasons" and resigned at the peak of his influence with the president, the Cabinet and members of Congress, as well as with the Soviets.

Had the president known the true reasons for McFarlane's resignation, he might not have accepted it, certainly not so readily. But he chose to conceal his anxieties and spare his commander in chief from details of the friction and staff infighting that he (McFarlane) perceived as undermining foreign policy.

Just as Admiral John M. Poindexter (McFarlane's successor), felt duty-bound to shield the president, so had McFarlane felt the need to spare him his reasons for resigning. Recent explosive congressional testimony about "guerrilla" warfare in the White House underscores the fact that the Iran-*contra* fiasco was not an aberration. It wasn't an exception. It was the rule. Five years ago, Gen. Alexander Haig cited that same "guerrilla warfare" and chose to resign rather than

tolerate the inadequacies. The fates of Haig and McFarlane, with the consequences of a pattern of

Trude B. Feldman is a White House correspondent for

FELDMAN

Continued from page 9

disservice to the president by staff. No one has been able to alter the inherent disease that infected the Reagan White House, and led to the international crisis.

McFarlane now acknowledges that he was too passive in accepting the established chain of command and did not speak out firmly enough as an adviser to the president. He told me, "I could have been stronger in promoting what I thought was right and also what I thought was wrong."

A man of conscience and of impassioned convictions, he confronted his role with integrity, addressed the moral issues at hand, and came to the brink. He has more than merely survived. He has reached a personal resolution and acquired a new sense of direction and commitment.

Encouraged by the 30th chapter from the Book of Deuteronomy, Bud McFarlane cites verse 19: "I have set before the life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed . . ."

And he adds: "By not allowing me to foreshorten my life, the good Lord must have had a special purpose for me. Now it is up to me to search my soul and discover that purpose, then devote my life to its fulfillment."

Throughout years of unimaginable pressures, Bud McFarlane maintained a calm demeanor. He seldom showed distress, even frustration. But he became increasingly dispirited and disillusioned.

The year between ages 49 and 50 can be traumatic even for the average man responsible only for himself.

Often seen as a year of transition, a time for thinking about past accomplishments and future goals, it is also a period for reflecting upon disappointments and recognizing limitations.

That year for Bud McFarlane, who still felt a personal sense of responsibility for and to the president of the United States, was heavily laden with inner conflict, self-doubt and torment and despair.

Today marks a new beginning for him. With the blessing of the gift of life a second time, McFarlane turned 50 years of age with a fresh outlook and a new reverence for living. His perspective is broader, and he is regaining his enthusiasm and zest for life. His spiritual well-being is uplifted with a renewed faith in God, an abundance of love from family and friends and with moral support from the president and vice president of the United States.

But with that moral support and broader perspective, there still remains a tug of conscience that McFarlane could have minimized, perhaps even prevented, the still-festering crisis. He now realizes that his intent to protect the president from the deplorable disarray within the administration was an unwise course.

That realization is small comfort for him and for the president, to whom he feels such loyalty. Despite his personal pain and humbling ordeal, McFarlane is rebuilding his life. As he does so, in a sense, he exemplifies the essence of the congressional hearings — which were themselves a painful and humbling experience for the nation.

Like Bud McFarlane, the nation suffered. And like him, we need to learn from his White House affliction.

McFarlane casualty of power



TRUDE B. FELDMAN

top; partly with McFarlane himself, and partly with the rigors of the "system."

McFarlane, in not recognizing how proximity to extraordinary power lends itself to intrigue, minimized the impact of the insidious resentment and envy that high position engenders. He also was vulnerable to another dimension of the problem in the Reagan White House — reliance on subordinates whose efforts to protect their bosses with excessive zeal often hinder constructive advice and input.

Too often, staff members, rather than working for a high official, act as if they "own" him. Such possessiveness results in abuse of authority, creates obstacles and leads to misconceptions.

Furthermore, as foreign policy assumed a more vital role in the White House, ever-present minions outside McFarlane's control interfered in issues beyond their realm and expertise.

Robert "Bud" McFarlane joined the Reagan administration with substantial experience in foreign affairs and with an earnest desire to promote a strong America. Internationally, he earned credibility, gained stature and became a respected diplomat.

As long as he was perceived as an able, but anonymous, team player, he was recognized as the ideal person for the job. In fact, that's the reason he originally was selected over more strident and flamboyant personalities.

At first, he assiduously avoided the limelight and glare of publicity. But, gradually, he began to appear on television news programs and frequently meet with the press. The exposure made him a "controversial" figure and he then was perceived as too visible and too vocal.

Once he emerged as a heavyweight in his own right — with all the trappings of power and fame — he was seen as a threat, even by some early supporters and admirers. McFarlane tried in vain to ignore the relentless friction. He believed his efforts and his integrity would secure his standing with the president and the public, as well as with his colleagues.

In Washington, however, it seems that competence and devotion to duty are not enough.

In his 26 months as national security adviser — his shortcomings notwithstanding — McFarlane is credited with guiding the administration's foreign policy in a forward direction. He has been a forceful advocate of a realistic policy which embraces the president's desire

to strengthen America while assuring our allies such moves will be done in the context of an ongoing U. S.-Soviet dialogue.

One of his most successful feats was orchestrating an arms control policy which resulted in the downgrading of the role of partisan politics in the peace issue.

As the architect of the highly acclaimed Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva, he paved the way for future dialogue with the Soviets, with the support of the State and Defense Departments.

Prior to his appointment as national security adviser in October, 1983, McFarlane was the president's special envoy to the Mideast. In Lebanon, he often ducked shells and rockets while negotiating a successful — albeit short-lived — ceasefire.

House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, voicing dismay at McFarlane's resignation, called him a "terrific" adviser, and added: "If he hadn't been pulled out of the Mideast two years ago, he might have made even more significant contributions toward the peace process there..."

It is a conundrum that McFarlane leaves now when he is at the peak of his influence with the president, the Cabinet and members of Congress, as well as with our allies and the Soviets.

It's also perplexing because it is uncharacteristic of the 48-year-old former Marine who said he considers his job "challenging and one that brings me an enormous sense of fulfillment..."

Even more puzzling is the fact that the president accepted the resignation without gleaning the reasons why McFarlane wanted to resign. McFarlane did not volunteer the real reasons — persistent malevolence and belligerency within the administration which resulted in the undermining of policies.

For McFarlane, the increasingly hostile atmosphere was draining. It gnawed away at him. He saw himself as a solid professional adviser and refused to engage in petty and amateurish court intrigues.

By not being wholly candid with the president, perhaps McFarlane hoped to spare his commander-in-chief.

Yet, Reagan's tendency to allow internal conflicts to fester without resolving them only intensifies the problem in his White House and reinforces the belief that he is not compelled to take command of his staff.

More important, had the president known the truth, he probably would not have accepted McFarlane's resignation, particularly at this crucial time in our foreign relations.

Another of the best and brightest of President Reagan's advisers has been sacrificed. How many more valuable players must the president lose before he realizes the enormity of the loss to his administration and to the country?

Robert McFarlane's ill-timed departure has unfortunate overtones. It was avoidable.

Trude B. Feldman has been a White House correspondent for 20 years for a number of publications.

1985

199-1
Oct 17 1991
Oct 17

Sexual Harassment Flourishes in Secrecy

To the Editor:

I am a psychotherapist who sees and hears the human suffering resulting from abuse on a daily basis, and I am delighted to see the issue of sexual harassment explode into awareness on national television. The message of this whole process is that at last there will be serious consequences for sexual harassment. This is an extremely prevalent form of abuse in this country.

Abuse is the misuse of power whereby someone who is "one up" intimidates, threatens, controls, teases, humiliates, puts down or otherwise uses that position of power to get his or her own needs met at the expense of the person who is "one down," the one with less power.

Abuse, whether sexual, physical or emotional, thrives in secrecy, because there is no consequence to the abuser, and the victim, afraid of retribution, enables the behavior to continue by keeping the secret. Abuse stops only when there are consequences to the abuser, consequences like having the truth spoken out loud.

So tell your secrets, women; tell your secrets, children; tell your secrets, males and females alike who have been victims of abuse; talk about it; break the rules of secrecy that have allowed abuse to flourish for generations. Discard the legacy of silence and shame, and place the shame squarely where it belongs — on the abuser. That alone will insure that it stops.

PAMELA MONDAY
Austin, Tex., Oct. 12, 1991

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge or return unpublished letters. Those selected for publication may be shortened for space reasons.

What to Do With D.C.

To the Editor:

"Free the Government's Plantation" (editorial, Oct. 6), on a bill pending in Congress that would admit Washington, D.C., to the Union as New Columbia, the 51st state, overlooks a solution that does not require amending the Constitution and has historical precedent on its side. Congress need only draft a bill that returns all of the District of Columbia except for the Federal properties to Maryland. Congress ceded the areas now known as Arlington and Alexandria back to Virginia almost 150 years ago.

The Maryland Congressional delegation would gain a seat; the District would gain full control over local affairs; constitutional questions would be avoided, and we would not have as precedent the establishment of a city-state, especially one that could not possibly support itself.

This solution is not given any consideration because there is no political gain in it. The Democrats prefer the statehood plan. They know it will never fly in 38 of the state legislatures, but they can rest knowing again they've done something to help keep the black vote in their party. Or so they think.

DUANE E. LAMERS
Detroit, Oct. 7, 1991

Saudi Insult at U.N. Confirms Israeli Fears

To the Editor:

One year after America's grand coalition with Saudi Arabia and other Arab states, several months after Saudi Arabia's agreement to attend a face-to-face conference with Israel, and one week after President Bush's landmark speech to the United Nations calling for peace in the Middle East and repudiation of the infamous Zionism-is-racism resolution, this astonishing event took place.

Foreign Minister David Levy of Israel addressed the 46th U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 2, and you reported that the President of the Assembly, Samir Shehawi, the first Saudi official to hold a senior U.N. post, "left the podium before the Israeli delegate spoke" (news story, Oct. 3).

Is this a matter of no consequence, like a previous debate elsewhere on the shape of a conference table? I dare say that the symbolism involved here is crucial and makes a mockery of Saudi protestations on behalf of peace. As a national representative, Mr. Shehawi had the right to absent himself at any time. As the General Assembly President, Mr. Shehawi had the obligation to attend and even to provide formal welcome — not to smile, not to applaud, but to do his duty as a U.N. official.

To have done otherwise sends a signal to Israel and the world that old venoms persist, that motives are suspect and intentions dishonorable. Could we blame the Israelis if with this insulting sign, unchallenged by the U.N., they continue to suspect that a peace conference is a fatal trap? Israel must surely feel that one of its great prophets viewed the world correctly when he railed against the hypocrites who proclaim "Peace, peace; when there is no peace" (VI Jeremiah 14).

LEO HABER
Brooklyn, Oct. 4, 1991



The New York Times
Company

229 West 43d St., N.Y. 10036

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MICHAEL E. RYAN, Senior Vice President

Oct 17 - 1991

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Governor Bill Clinton: An Exclusive Interview

By Trude B. Feldman
Our White House Correspondent

Washington, DC—Bill Clinton reveals his Sunday debate strategy, reflects on the persistent draft issue and gives his vision of moving America forward—with him at the helm.

In an exclusive interview on the first anniversary of announcing his candidacy, the Democratic nominee for president explains why George Bush "is in such trouble today".

Clinton also discloses his criteria for selecting a white House staff and other officials; and he emphasizes his determination to "clean house" and prevent future scandals.

Excerpts of the one-on-one interview in Washington's Grand Hyatt Hotel:

Q: What are some of the specifics?
The trade mission to Japan was a disaster. We really do not have a good, coherent policy toward Japan that will lead us to open markets with the Japanese and give us enough respect in their country to be real partners in a movement for global economic growth.

We have to do much, much more with regard to China. I will tell Bush that he was too easy on the Chinese and too cozy with their leaders in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square. They now have a \$15 billion trade surplus with us, the second largest of any country.

We should use our leverage to promote democracy and freedom and human rights.

Q: How do you differ with Bush's approach to human rights abroad?

"We should use our leverage to promote democracy and freedom and human rights."

Q: On Sunday, when you debate President Bush, on which foreign policy issues will you challenge him?

A: I'll challenge his policy toward Iraq before and after the Gulf War. For instance, he made a basic mistake in being so friendly toward Saddam Hussein, extending agricultural credits that will never be paid, providing technology which Saddam used in his weapons program, and sending signals that must have given Saddam the impression that he had a good chance to be able to invade Kuwait and get away with it—because of the way we coddled him.

That was the mistake. Then, as soon as the war was over, out of fear that Iraq would break up, we let him attack the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South until the international press and our allies forced us to get back in and try to change it.

For the first year after the war, we were not nearly as insistent as we are now that the terms of the ceasefire resolution be observed.

Now, I think we're pretty much on the right course. But we ought to work even harder to achieve some sort of arms control in the whole area in conventional arms build-up, as well as weapons of mass destruction.

I'll also tell Bush that he has been more than a little one-sided in his repeated criticisms of Israel when the Shamir Government was pursuing a policy different from our own. Bush overdid that and could have provoked a backlash, derailing the whole peace process.

But my main problem with Bush's handling of Mideast policy is with his treatment of Iraq before and after the Gulf War, not with the war itself.

Q: Which other international issues will you include in the debate?

A: I strongly disagree with Bush on many foreign policy issues. Among those I intend to cite are Haiti, China, Japan, Asia and the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

I disagree with his whole conduct of international economic policy, and when we debate, I will be specific.

A: I think he has been more concerned with maintaining the status quo and his personal relationships with foreign leaders than with being a real force for democracy.

I will point out that Bush was slow to recognize the disintegration of the central authority within the Soviet Union; slow to recognize the independence of the Baltics and slow to recognize the movement for independence in the Ukraine.

Indeed, he condemned it.

We should have been and should be fighting for democracy and human rights. After all, the end of the bi-polar world that characterized the Cold War not only gives us freedom from fear of imminent nuclear annihilation, it also imposes on us responsibilities as the world's only super power to really try harder to promote human rights, human freedom and the alleviation of human suffering.

Q: On which three domestic issues will you debate?

A: On jobs, on health care and on George Bush's responsibility to use the power of the presidency to solve problems.

As for jobs, we have less employment today than 4 years ago when Bush took office.

My program will build the infrastructure and create new opportunities for increased employment. I would encourage the creation of small businesses, the largest creator of new jobs in our system. And unlike the Bush Administration, I will not encourage American business to transfer plants overseas.

On health care, I will tell Bush that our present system not only does not work, but is too expensive. It leaves some 60 million Americans without sufficient health insurance. It also bankrupts families, businesses and the federal budget.

An independent economic analysis of both our programs determined that my health programs would be more effective and less costly than Bush's.

Concerning the president's overwhelming power, I believe Bush has not used the Oval Office to help the American people. He conducts his Administration as

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if government creates problems instead of trying to resolve them.

He has ignored most of our problems, denied that they exist, and only, as the election neared, he started giving out money like it was going out of style, and saying whatever he thought it would take to get re-elected.

There never has been a constant, consistent passionate theme to Bush's presidency to guide us through these troubled, changing times and help us make the most of our opportunities in the aftermath of the cold war.

I think that's why today he is in such trouble.

Q: If you're elected president, what would be your immediate priorities?

A: I would begin with an immediate economic recovery package to get people back to work and to get incomes going up again. I would work for a comprehensive system of controlling health care costs and providing basic health care to all Americans. We must have a long term economic and educational program which includes a revitalization of our cities, a new energy policy, an environmental policy that helps to promote economic growth and responsible long-term sustainable environmental policies.

These are some of the things I want to accomplish after I am inaugurated, and, I believe I have a good chance.

There are now a number of members in Congress who would turn this country on a dime if given the opportunity.

In January, there will be new members who will have been elected on a pledge to make changes, and I'm committed to working with them to get my programs passed.

To implement these programs, I want a staff in the White House, a cabinet and



Photo: Hal Sloane

Governor Bill Clinton

I will do what I've done as governor for 12 Years, and there has never been a hint of scandal in my administration—knock on wood. I have prided myself on running a very clean government—one that people could be proud of.

In the White House, I will set a good example. I know how power can, and often does corrupt people, so I will select the best person for each position and keep avenues of communication open to me. We'll have the best system of checking on all matters, and should problems begin to develop, we can nip them in the bud.

Even with all my caution, I suppose, there may be pitfalls, but I surely hope not. I will be in charge of policy, and will choose a White House Chief of Staff to oversee all personnel and flow of

"I would begin with an immediate economic recovery package to get people back to work and to get incomes going up again."

administration which looks like America, feels like America, and encompasses our rich diversity. I also want an administration which makes Americans feel good about the way their government is running, and the fact that their government cares about them and is trying to make progress for them.

Q: What type of people do you want for the White House, your cabinet and federal agencies?

A: People who are very smart, very energetic and who care about ordinary Americans. I want concerned people who are competent and have a very high sense of ethical and moral standards.

I want those who do not have personal agendas and who work to do the people's business and try to make America a better place in which to live.

I want team players, who do not engage in bureaucratic games, do not stab each other in the back, who do not jockey for positions in the White House, and do not leak stories to make themselves look good or someone else look bad.

Honesty and integrity are the most important traits, and I will not allow my staff to use a White House pass as a 'license' to be arrogant or overbearing and abusive.

Q: How would you prevent scandals such as 'Watergate', Iran-Contra, Iraq gate, Housing & Urban Development (HUD) and the Savings & Loan, which have cost billions of dollars to taxpayers?

work. I will insist that we all serve the people, not ourselves.

We all should have learned lessons from 'Watergate' and how it affected the world. I will be on guard to prevent similar scandals in my Administration.

Q: Why do you really want to be president?

A: Because I believe I can change the country for the better and unless we change the presidency we cannot change the country. I have a deep conviction not only that the country has to change, but that I know what kind of changes can and should be made.

We're in the grip of a failed economic idea—this trickle-down economics is not working for America.

Most people are working harder for less money. More people are unemployed or insecure in their jobs. At least 100,000 people a month are losing health insurance.

We're not competitive in education. We don't have any national economic strategy.

None of these things can be changed without real initiative and leadership from the president. As President Kennedy once said, the White House is the vital center of action. I believe that when I'm in the oval office, I can change the country in a meaningful way.

You know, at first I wanted to change the Democratic Party. I wanted it to face the realities of the world as it is.... to be-

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Bill Clinton

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ome once again a party that was both ro-business and pro-labor, one that promoted economic growth and equal opportunity and one that understood that we had to impress upon people the need for more personal responsibility as well as the obligation of their government to create more individual opportunity.

I have now accomplished this, and that's why I'm getting so much Republican and independent support, even from former Ross Perot supporters.

Q: After a year on the campaign trail, what have you learned?

A: I've learned that the American people have much more in common than they thought they did, and more in common than they think they do, even across racial, regional and income lines. They think more alike.

Most people are prepared to make sacrifices to get this country on the right track.

Q: What two broad goals are you seeking to achieve during the campaign?

A: First, I'd like to inspire real hope in our youth about their future. I want to restore a sense of accomplishment to politics, not only for them, but for everyone. That is, I want people to believe that we can actually solve our problems instead of just being cynical about them.

Second, I'd like to re-establish in our country a sense of community, a sense that we're all in this together—to end the politics of division that has been practised by the Bush Administration—dividing people by race, by gender or by generation, by income or by region.

I do not like that. I like to bring people together, and I like to get things done. That's what turns me on. That is why I entered politics and that's why I want to be President of the United States.

Q: And how has campaigning changed you?

A: I don't know if 'change' is the right

word. While I have met with some success in this campaign, I am humble, almost awed by the enormous responsibility I feel—not to let people down, to constantly do my best, and to make good on the mandate, if I do win.

Q: What sort of mandate do you want?

A: First, I want to win. You'll recall that President Kennedy only won by 110,000 votes, and as President, he still was able to command the support of a great many Americans. Obviously, if I could win by a greater margin—that would give me and the Democratic Party a stronger mandate to enact the changes to which I'm committed.

Q: Do you think you will win?

A: Yes, I think I'll win, but I am not sure—in the sense of being overconfident.

"...I believe I can change the country for the better and unless we change the presidency we cannot change the country."

I think I'll win because my campaign stands for something bigger than me as an individual. It stands for ideas that are basically on the side of history.

I have confidence in people to recognize the need for change, and my ability to bring this about.

Q: Why do you think there are so many misperceptions about you?

A: It takes a while for people to know me.

Those who don't want me to be victorious in this election have initiated and perpetuated mis-perceptions about me. Frankly, I've never been attacked in so many different ways at the same time. I've been in public life 18 years and in tough elections. But no one has ever made such a big deal on such flimsy grounds as during this campaign, nor have they questioned my personal integrity.

As a result, at first I was taken aback. Perhaps I contributed to some of the

misperceptions. Over time, I think people see through the phony charges. My hope is that by Election Day, enough people will know me.

Q: But what about the issue of your draft deferment? Are your motives now fully understood? Upon reflection, did religious considerations ever influence your decision?

A: I thought that our policy in Vietnam was morally flawed. I thought we were in a war we could not win, pursuing objectives that were unattainable at a cost to ourselves and to others that was unacceptable.

The more I knew about the war the more wrong I thought it was. My feelings were in part, a product of my own experience. I had access to information and to

knowledge which most people my age did not. While a student at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown, I was an employee at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I had to have security clearance to work there. I knew things about the war and the way it was being conducted and what was really happening there that most men my age did not know. This had a profound effect on me. I was raised in a very patriotic, pro-military environment, but I was convinced the Vietnam war was wrong.

I didn't want to do anything to dishonor my country or myself, but I didn't want to go. That's why when I was facing the draft I sought out the ROTC deferment. But then, I didn't feel right about that. That's why I went back into the draft. The facts are really simple. I was back in the draft, and then the lottery came in, and I was not called.

Q: Was conscientious objection a factor?

A: I sympathize with conscientious objectors, but the law on conscientious objection in our country is that you cannot be exempt from military service for opposition to a particular war. You have to be opposed to all wars and I am not.

If I had been of age in World War II or even in Korea, I'd have been there. If I had been in the regular service or the Reserves, or the National Guard at the time of Desert Storm, I'd have been happy to be called into service.

As another example, if I had been brought up in Israel, I'd be glad to defend it. So I just have to answer you that I never thought about being a conscientious objector.

Do you believe that the Vietnam draft issue reflects some divisions in our society?

A: Absolutely. That war tore this country apart. Those people who did not live through it—either in Vietnam or in America—or who weren't part of my generation cannot imagine how divisive it was.

Many people who were in the war now tell me they understand and support me on this issue, that they know what went on, and believe that this election should focus on the future. Even combat veterans from Vietnam concur, as did Admiral Crowe, who said it all when he endorsed me.

Q: Finally, now that you say you've set the record straight, why not ignore the draft issue?

A: I tried that. But frequently that's all the press and my opponents ask me. For instance, some of my political opponents back home have 'convenient' memories of events after 23 years. Most of what has been alleged on the issue involves absurd accusations.

My obligation, nevertheless, is to continue to state the facts as they were. And if I become Commander-in-Chief, I hope those who voted against me because of my views on Vietnam, will give me a chance to earn their respect through my efforts to provide good government.

Clinton White House Appointees Must Reflect Commitment to Change

Explains Criteria for Selections

By Trude B. Feldman
Our White House correspondent

Little Rock, Ark.—"My selection of White House Chief Of Staff reflects my commitment for change from business as usual, President-Elect Clinton says. 'Mack' (Thomas F.) McLarty knows me and he knows the quality of personnel I want and need to help bring about essential changes."

In an interview, Clinton expands on the criteria he is using to appoint a White House staff and other Administration members as he prepares to assume the presidency on January 20th.

He discloses that he will be a 'hands-on' president and is determined to prevent serious infighting and scandals that have marred previous administrations.

He also relates why he had worked so diligently to become the president of the United States, and he talks about his vision of moving America forward.

Excerpts of the exclusive interview:

FELDMAN: When you begin work in the Oval Office, what will be your immediate priorities?

CLINTON: I will begin with an economic recovery package to get people back to work and to get incomes going up again. I'll work for a comprehensive system that will control health care costs and provide basic health care to all Americans.

We must have a long-term economic and educational program which includes a revitalization of our cities, a new energy program that helps to promote economic growth and responsible long-term sustainable environmental policies.

These are only some of the goals I hope to reach for after I am inaugurated, and I believe there is a good chance for success. The new members of Congress were elected on a pledge to make changes, and I'm committed to working with them to get my programs passed.

To implement these programs, in addition to my Cabinet, I want a staff in the White House and in federal agencies that encompasses America's rich diversity.

Q: What type of people do you want for the White House and the federal agencies?

A: People who are smart, capable and energetic, and people who care about citizens from every walk of life. I want those who have a very high sense of ethical and moral standards. Honesty and integrity are very important traits.

I want those who do not have personal agendas and who attend to the people's business. I want team players—those who do not engage in bureaucratic games, do not back-stab, do not jockey for positions and do not leak stories to make themselves look good or to make someone else look bad.

Q: How Will you prevent scandals such as 'Watergate', Iran-Contra, Iraqgate, HUD (Housing & Urban Development) and the Savings & Loan bust, which have cost billions of dollars to taxpayers?

A: I will do what I've done for 12 years as governor, and I have prided myself in running a very clean government. There was never a hint of scandal in my administration here in Arkansas.

In the White House, I will set a similar example, and establish high standards of behavior. The most competent person will be selected for each position. I will require each employee—from the lowest-level position to the highest-level post—to abide by a strict code of conduct. I will be extra careful to observe what's going on around me—with guidance from my Chief of Staff.

He will also oversee all personnel, as well as the flow of paperwork to me. I will continually remind all staff that we serve the people, not ourselves. I feel a huge responsibility to the people and each member of my administration will have to be responsible to me.

I'm familiar with how power does corrupt. I will not allow my staff to use a White House 'Pass' as a 'license' to be arrogant, to be overbearing, to be abusive or to be discriminatory in any way. We will have the best system of accountability while keeping avenues of communication open to me.

Should problems begin to develop, we will nip them in the bud. Even with all our caution, there may be pitfalls—but I will try to prevent them.

In a Clinton White House, precautions will also be taken to make sure no one uses government positions to unduly pedal influence and initiate self-profit, either during or after tenure.

'Watergate' and how it affected the entire world should have taught us all a lesson. And as I form a new government, I intend to be on guard to deter similar scandals.

Q: How will you use the power of the presidency to solve the people's problems?

A: The power of the presidency is overwhelming, and I believe that the Oval Office has not really been used to sufficiently help people.

Recent administrations have been conducted as if government creates problems—instead of trying to resolve them. Most of our problems have been ignored, their existence even denied.

We need a constant, consistent passionate theme for the presidency to guide us through these troubled, changing times and help us make the most of our opportunities in the aftermath of the Cold War.

Q: As for that power of the presidency, how will you use it, for instance, in California—which was the scene of the nation's worst civil unrest and which continues to suffer a serious economic downturn?

A: California needs a partnership with national government that has a real strategy for its citizens. As a native Californian, you know that the state has sort of gone its own way and done very well for

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awhile. But now it has really been thrown in an economic tailspin.

California must be part of a national economic strategy, then it will begin to get out of the current fix. California is a state with many incredibly bright and energetic people with enormous resources, and I think it is still a kind of beacon of hope to America.

Q: How will you use the Bully Pulpit to begin to make a difference for California?

A: I intend to make a difference for California—not just for the inner city people, but for those 200,000 defense workers, scientists and engineers who were put out of work with no conversion plans. I believe we can develop a plan which will build an economy for the 21st century, and get them back to work.

Q: What will you do to help prevent further riots in Los Angeles, and similar unrest in other cities?

A: A real effort should be made to educate people, and to reconnect the youth to the larger community with summer jobs, and before and after-school jobs. Over the long run, a permanent means of communication for community leaders has to be implemented across racial and income lines.

You know, I met a young man at the recent Congressional Black Caucus dinner in Washington with Cong. Maxine Waters (D.L.A.). He was once a gang leader in South Central Los Angeles. He later was among those who signed the truce after the riots. I was impressed that today he is working together with other residents to improve the situation in Los Angeles.

We can do a lot better if we would re-establish personal connections with the youth who have been involved in any kind of unrest or civil disturbances.

People in leadership roles—like myself—must help bring them back to the larger fabric of society.

We all seem to wait until something bad happens, then we wring our hands instead of trying to work with the symptoms before the problems get out of hand. I want to change this.

Q: How can Los Angeles be rebuilt from last April's riots?

What programs will you institute to deal with similar problems in our inner cities?

A: To rebuild L.A. you have to do more than just rebuild the businesses. We must rebuild peoples' self-esteem and re-direct their energies to constructive purposes.

Additionally, I think a whole new system of economic development is necessary. There should be a network of community development banks in all our large cities which can make loans to people in their run-down neighborhoods.

I want to bring free enterprise to Los Angeles and other large cities. There should be public investment for cities, roads, street projects and water and sewer systems. Most of all, we need to create productive jobs for people who are willing to work hard to improve their own neighborhoods.

Q: What did you learn during your 13 months on the campaign trail that might help you in the presidency?

A: I learned that Americans have much more in common than I thought they did, and more in common than they think they do—even across racial, regional and income lines. They think more alike than they realize. Most Americans are prepared to make sacrifices to get this country on the right track.

I also learned that people do recognize the need for change, and I have confidence in my ability to bring about that change. My campaign stood for something bigger than me as an individual. It stood for ideas that are basically on the side of history.

Q: Why do you suppose there were so many misperceptions about you during the presidential campaign?

A: Those who did not want me to be victorious in the election had initiated and perpetuated misperceptions about me. Frankly, I've never been attacked in so many different ways at the same time. I've been in public life for 18 years and in tough elections. But no one had ever made such a big deal on such flimsy grounds, nor had they questioned my integrity as they did during the campaign.

As a result, I was taken aback at first. Perhaps I contributed to some of the misperceptions. Over time, however, I think people do see through phony charges, and by the time I enter the White House, I hope I'll have won over many new supporters.

Q: As president, what steps will you take to help reverse the trend of the divisiveness in our society? And to reverse the trend of racism, discrimination and hatred?

A: I will support hate crimes legislation to enhance the ability of the legal system to provide for swift, and stiff penalties for such acts. And as I said earlier, I will select a staff and appoint to the Supreme Court and to other key positions people who reflect our nation's racial, religious and ethnic diversity.

My Administration will be committed to the highest standards of excellence, and will strive to bridge party lines so as to achieve a government of national unity that will fully reflect the richness that our history of tolerance provides.

You know, when people feel insecure, racial and ethnic tensions rise. The American way is that the president should properly use the bully pulpit to encourage people to communicate with each other across the lines of religion and race and income. Such interaction can dramatically ease existing tensions. We need to feel each other's pain and understand each other's hopes and aspirations.

As president, I want to challenge all Americans to lift one another's spirits.

Q: Why do you really want to be president?

A: Because the White House is the vital core of the nation, and meaningful change is initiated by the chief executive. I believe I can change the country for the better.

For instance, we are in the grip of a failed economic concept. Trickle-down economics has not worked. Most people are working harder for less money. More people are unemployed or insecure in their jobs. At least 100,000 people a month are losing health insurance. We are not competitive in education. We don't have any national economic strategy.

None of these things can be changed without real initiatives and vigilant leadership from the president.

Q: And once you're in the White House, how will you begin to make a difference?

A: I will start by inspiring real hope in a youth about their future. I want to give them the opportunity to make good for themselves, based on their own abilities. I will also restore a sense of accomplishment to politics. I want people to believe that we can actually solve our problems.

I'd also like to re-establish a sense of community, a sense that we are all in this together—to end the politics of division. No longer should we separate people by race, by gender, by generation, by income or by region. I don't like that. I want to bring people together and I want to get things done. That's what turns me on. That's why I made politics my life and that is why I look forward so eagerly to being president.

Q: Finally, what stirs within you as you prepare for the presidency?

A: I feel humbled, almost awed by the enormous responsibility. I am most anxious to do my best not to let down those who supported me, and I feel a need to inspire those who did not. I really feel the need to be a president for all the people. And I really do want to lead an America that puts people first.

IDEAS

In this exclusive interview with veteran White House correspondent Trude B. Feldman, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton reveals his debate strategy, reflects on the persistent draft issue and gives his vision of moving America forward — with him at the helm.

Clinton: Economic recovery the first priority

By TRUDE B. FELDMAN
Of The New York Times

Q: When you debate President Bush, on which foreign policy issues will you challenge him?

A: I'll challenge his policy toward Iraq before and after the Gulf War.

For instance, he made a basic mistake in being so friendly toward Saddam Hussein, extending agricultural credits that will never be paid, providing technology which Saddam used in his weapons program, and sending signals that must have given Saddam the impression that he had a good chance to be able to invade Kuwait and get away with it — because of the way we coddled him.

That was the mistake. Then, as soon as the war was over, out of fear that Iraq would break up, we let Saddam attack the Kurds in the North and the Shiites in the South until the international press and our allies forced us to get back in and try to change it.

For the first year after the war, we were not nearly as insistent as we are now that the terms of the ceasefire resolution be observed.

Now I think we're pretty much on the right course. But we ought to work even harder to achieve some sort of arms control in the whole area of conventional arms build-up, as well as weapons of mass destruction.

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humble, almost awed by the enormous responsibility I feel — not to let people down, to constantly do my best, and to make good on the mandate, if I do win.

■ Q: What sort of mandate do you want?

A: First, I want to win. You'll recall that President Kennedy only won by 110,000 votes, and as president, he still was able to command the support of a great many Americans.

Obviously, if I could win by a greater margin — that would give me and the Democratic Party a stronger mandate to enact the changes to which I'm committed.

■ Q: Do you think you will win?

A: Yes, I think I'll win, but I am not sure — in the sense of not being overconfident.

I think I'll win because my campaign stands for something bigger than me as an individual. It stands for ideas that are basically on the side of history.

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■ Q: Why do you think there are so many misperceptions about you?

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Frankly, I've never been attacked in so many differ-

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10 years later: Reagan, Brady 'living on the extra time'

Editor's note: Today is the 10th anniversary of the assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. Trude B. Feldman, who has covered the White House for 25 years, was at the scene outside the Washington Hilton that rainy Monday at 2:27 p.m. when the president, press secretary James Brady and two others were shot.

By Trude B. Feldman

WASHINGTON — It's now 10 years since Ronald Reagan became the victim of an assassination attempt, only 69 days after his inauguration as president.

The near-fatal shooting had a significant impact on Reagan, as well as on those wounded with him: police officer Thomas K. Delahante, special agent Tim McCarthy and James Brady, White House press secretary.

Reagan, Delahante and McCarthy recovered fully within six months after John W. Hinckley Jr. fired six bullets at the president and his party as they left the Washington Hilton. Brady's injuries, on the other hand, were so severe that his "death" was announced on television within an hour after he was wounded.

In the decade since the attempt on his life, Reagan says he has enjoyed "greater appreciation of life in general ... and of the values I had previously taken for granted."

But he has not forgotten the initial shock or how close to death he really was. "To me, my survival was a miracle," Reagan says. "The ordeal strengthened my belief in God and made me realize anew that his hand was on my shoulder, that he has the say-so over my life. I sometimes feel as though I'm living on the extra time he has given me."

Reagan told me that he suffered a good deal of pain while he was recuperating. "I still remember those



File photo

Secret Service Agent Jerry Parr (right) and a fellow agent push President Reagan into his

limousine after he was shot outside the Washington Hilton on March 30, 1981.

Arthur Koblitz, "the outcome is truly extraordinary. In the past year alone, Jim has made dramatic improvements, and today he is intellectually normal."

He was recently asked to watch the "shooting"

made him the ideal patient, the staff at George Washington University Hospital deserves the credit for saving Reagan's life.

"Everything that followed (the shooting) was right,"

month on Reagan's 80th birthday, sent him a relic of St. Jude with a note: "Thank God for your safety. But I'm not surprised because I put you in the hands of St. Jude the moment you were in danger. Keep this relic with you."

Thomas, founder of St. Jude's Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, Tenn., received a prompt reply: "I know someone was helping me, and now you send evidence ... which I shall always carry with me."

Reagan assistant Joe Canzeri says that the impact of the shooting made Reagan focus on stark realities. "And I think," Canzeri adds, "that it made him more sensitive and closer to God."

Mike Deaver, who has known Reagan for 25 years, agrees that the tragedy "focused Reagan's spiritual life like no other event." Deaver recalls the time of Good Friday following the shooting when Reagan had returned to the White House from the hospital.

"The president told me he felt a need for spiritual conversation, perhaps with a minister," Deaver says. "So I called Cardinal (Terence) Cooke in New York who, on a moment's notice, flew to the White House. The two men spent 90 minutes together — talking, in particular, about how and why God spared Reagan. The president came away really satisfied."

Several years later, when Cooke was on his deathbed, Reagan flew to New York to visit him. Cooke, surprised at seeing Reagan, asked him why "a busy man like you would come to visit and old, sick man like me."

Reagan replied, "You weren't too busy to visit an old, sick man like me when I was shot and wounded."

Cooke then told Reagan, "Each day I have prayed for you, and when I get to heaven ..." He paused, then

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/12/93



TO: TONY LAKE
GEORGE TENET
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

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

George S. : I have been working
on this. We need to talk.



GS Can we do better B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/1

Secrets and More Secrets ✓

By Steven Aftergood
and Tom Blanton

WASHINGTON — Historians and journalists cheered last April when President Clinton ordered a sweeping review of the cold war rules for Government secrecy. Headlines predicted the imminent release of millions of classified documents, some dating back to World War I. But in crucial respects, the first draft of that review, which leaked out in Washington this week, does not even meet the formal standards of openness set by President Richard M. Nixon at the height of the cold war.

The draft proposal — the work of a task force of career secrecy bureaucrats — is full of rhetorical lip service to the idea of openness. For example, it claims credit for setting a "maximum life span" for classified information — what the archival world

Steven Aftergood heads the secrecy and government project of the Federation of American Scientists. Tom Blanton is executive director of the National Security Archive, a non-governmental research institute.

calls a drop-dead date. But the proposed implementing language sets that date at 40 years — with exceptions for even longer withholding.

By contrast, in his 1972 executive order President Nixon set a drop-dead date at 30 years, and in 1978 President Jimmy Carter chose 20 years. And this summer former Secretary of State Lawrence Eaglebur-

What happened to Clinton's promise of openness?

ger told a group of historians that most secret documents could be released within 10 years without damaging the national security.

Presidents Nixon and Carter also formulated better "sunset" standards — setting a date at the time of classification for the automatic release of the document. The draft proposal says new top-secret documents would have sunsets of 15 years (unless they were granted extensions for additional decades).

The draft proposal would make

some valuable improvements. It would eliminate the presumption that any national security information is classified; establish a Government-wide database of declassified documents; and penalize abuse of classification, whether negligent or willful.

But the contradictions overwhelm the reforms. The draft order would allow — but it would not require — Government officials to consider the public's need to know when they decide whether to classify documents. And the order would perpetuate an unrealistic aspect of the old system: all agencies would be required to conduct systematic review of classified documents older than 25 years — something that has never worked in the past and will not work today.

It is impractical, perhaps even impossible, to review all of the countless documents that are over 25 years old. Without real change, taxpayers will wind up spending millions of dollars for page-by-page reviews and still suffer an enormous bottleneck of dusty secrets. And without real change in this draft proposal, secrecy reform will never fulfill even this draft report's promise: to balance "the need to protect critically sensitive information with the public's need to know." □

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/12}

Rubin
wrote the
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WDO



Gingrich Claims He Has Votes To Be House Minority Leader

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

The second-ranking Republican in the House, Rep. Newt Gingrich (Ga.), yesterday announced his candidacy to move up a notch and promptly declared the four-day race to succeed retiring Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) all but over.

Gingrich, a House member since 1979 and Republican whip since 1989, said that 106 of 175 GOP lawmakers have pledged to vote for him in December 1994. All that stands in the way of Gingrich's ascent, according to this accounting, are voters who will decide whether to reelect him and his supporters to serve in the next Congress.

If elected Republican leader, Gingrich dispelled any doubt that he would continue his confrontational style when he directly questioned the military competence of President Clinton and Defense Secretary Les Aspin because of their handling of Somalia.

Gingrich specifically questioned whether Clinton controlled the chain of command and criticized Aspin's rejection of a field commander's request for additional armored vehicles. He called for the Democratic-controlled Congress to hold public hearings to determine whether or not American field commanders are being

given the support they need in a timely manner by civilians who frankly don't know what they're doing."

"This is not partisanship. The commander in chief has an obligation to be militarily competent," Gingrich said at an outdoor news conference where he was surrounded by 74 applauding supporters.

As an avid student of military history, Gingrich, 50, has been a frequent commentator on defense matters. But, like Clinton, he also did not serve in the military and took a student deferment during the Vietnam War. His father was a noncommissioned Army officer and once at yesterday's news conference Gingrich described his criticisms as those of "an Army brat."

Joining Gingrich was a cross-section of House Republicans that leaned toward newer members. There were second-term Reps. John A. Boehner (Ohio), Jim Nussle (Iowa), Rick Santorum (Pa.) and John T. Doolittle (Calif.), surviving members of the "Gang of 7" backbenchers. Rep. John Linder (Ga.) said 40 of 48 freshmen Republicans endorsed Gingrich.

"We standing here today see Newt as the next generation of Republican leadership in the House," Boehner said in one of several speeches given by supporters. He predicted that Gingrich would "build an action-oriented team."

More senior supporters included Reps. Nancy L.

Johnson (Conn.), Robert S. Walker (Pa.), John R. Kasich (Ohio) and Tom DeLay (Tex.), secretary of the Republican Conference.

Several women, a Hispanic, an Asian and an African American Republican stood front and center around Gingrich in an overwhelmingly white male crowd.

Later, DeLay announced his candidacy for Gingrich's job as whip. Walker, Gingrich's chief deputy, also is considering running for the post. Gingrich said he would not endorse candidates in contested leadership races.

Much of Gingrich's announcement speech resembled what has become familiar campaign rhetoric from the conservative Georgia Republican, including his declaration that the welfare state had failed and had to be replaced with "an opportunity society."

Gingrich denied his reputation as a partisan bomb thrower meant he was destructive, and he defended his aggressive criticism of House scandals, noting that the two officials who were responsible for the House Post Office and the now defunct House Bank recently pleaded guilty in federal court. He also cited the resignations of former speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.) and former Democratic whip Tony Coelho (D-Calif.) following reports about questionable financial dealings.

"I was a truth thrower and in this town, the truth is a bomb," Gingrich said.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WASHINGTON POST
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1993

RTC Nominee Intervened in Ethics Panel's Review of Louisiana Law Firm

By Jerry Knight
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Florida real estate executive, after being nominated by President Clinton to run the savings and loan cleanup, intervened on behalf of a New Orleans law firm that has previously sought political help in getting government contracts with the cleanup agency, according to officials involved in the case.

The executive, Stanley Tate, has yet to be confirmed as head of the Resolution Trust Corp. and has no authority to make decisions for the S&L cleanup agency. But he showed up uninvited last month at a meeting of a special RTC committee that deals with conflicts of interest and ethical matters, according to members of that committee, who

spoke on condition that they remain unidentified.

No top official of the agency had previously attended meetings of the panel, called the Outside Counsel Conflicts Committee, the committee members said. The committee makes decisions, which are supposed to be nonpolitical, about whether law firms and other contractors are eligible to do business with the RTC.

At the meeting, Tate criticized the procedures the committee had followed in deciding to prohibit the New Orleans law firm of Bryan, Jupiter, Lewis and Blanson from handling RTC legal work. The committee last summer ruled the firm should be prohibited from doing such work because it had allegedly violated the agency's ethics standards.

Tate's participation prompted several ca-

reer officials of the RTC to complain to news organizations about what they contended was a second attempt to use political influence to benefit Bryan, Jupiter.

"This is supposed to be an independent process. This kind of thing is absolutely unprecedented," the Associated Press quoted a member of the conflicts committee as saying.

The AP said Tate confirmed that he had participated in the meeting but declined to discuss his role.

Tate was not at his temporary office late yesterday and RTC officials said they did not have his phone number since he has not yet been confirmed. Supporters of Tate's nomination said he had been advised not to discuss matters that might affect his upcoming confirmation hearing.

The RTC staff complaints about Tate are expected to add to his difficulty in winning confirmation by the Senate Banking Committee, a congressional source said. Tate already was under fire for asking to see RTC records involving a friend of his who has been sued by the agency.

Earlier this year, three top officials in the Treasury Department met with representatives of Bryan, Jupiter to discuss the firm's complaint that it was unfairly being cut off from government contracts.

The meeting with Treasury officials was arranged by Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.) who was previously a partner in the law firm. Jefferson received more than \$100,000 last year from his former partners, who have agreed to buy out his interest in the practice over several years.

Treasury officials said the meeting was a routine session, like those set up by many members of Congress whose constituents have a problem dealing with the government. But career RTC employees said no other contractor seeking work with the agency has been able to take a case to such a high level in the administration.

Jefferson said he did nothing improper in offering to help his former law firm.

Jefferson also has tried to help Tate get a job at the RTC, sources at the agency said. In June, Jefferson was one of 25 members of the Congressional Black Caucus who signed a letter urging the appointment of Tate to be president of the RTC. Tate's support by minority members has weakened since then, however, as the result of an attack on his nomination led by the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

✓ Nancy H
✓ Ann S.

10/12/93



They should be
invited to dinner
if they haven't
been



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1993

Felicia Gervais
President
Leonard L. Farber Incorporated
One Cambridge Center, Suite 404
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142-1601

Dear Felicia:

Thanks for your letter and for the update on how you're doing. I'm pleased to know that you and Chuck are happy in Boston.

I appreciate your continued support for all we seek to do here, and I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,





Leonard L. Farber Incorporated

Boston Office:
One Cambridge Center, Suite 404
Cambridge, MA 02142-1601
617/252-9110
Fax 617/225-0806

September 30, 1993

President William and Mrs. Hillary Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Bill and Hillary:

I am hoping that we're still permitted to call you that! If not... I'm also hoping that you'll forgive my faux pas.

Recently Carolyn Huber wrote and sent us a special zip coded address where we could be sure that our letters were getting to you. My guess is that you haven't received any of our correspondence in the past ten months and we're delighted to have the opportunity to reach you now.

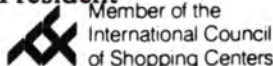
Chuck and I continue to be both fans and friends from afar. We are so proud of all the goods works you are doing and heartened by our decision to work so hard to help get you elected.

✓ We stay in touch with our campaign friends regularly. Those include Mark Middleton and Matt Gorman. Now that we're in Boston, we are establishing ourselves in the political world here through Alan Leventhal. Meanwhile our move to Boston has been a terrific one. We both love it here.

We hope we have an opportunity to see you both soon and to congratulate you in person. As Trustees of the DNC we've been invited to an event at The White House on October 14. Due to business commitments we cannot attend, so we'll be missing that opportunity to see you. We hope you know that we're thinking of you both though with admiration and fondness.

Sincerely,

Felicia Gervais
President



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/12

Mark
Winniford
R

Secret Service fears outsider as new chief

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Veteran Secret Service officials fear that Director John Magaw's transfer to head the troubled Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms opens the door to the possibility of an outside appointee for the first time in this century.

"There's a 50-50 chance of someone from outside. That would be a first," said one official who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Administration officials would not rule out the possibility either to The Washington Times or to Mr. Magaw, who raised the question with Ronald K. Noble, assistant Treasury

secretary for enforcement, before being shifted to ATF.

"It's very important that people who are prepared to give up their life for the president and first lady be under the command of someone who comes from their ranks," Mr. Magaw said in an interview with The Times.

Mr. Magaw also confirmed that President Clinton and his wife, Hillary, had early suspicions about the Secret Service and that the new White House officials were under the misimpression that he and protective agents were untrustworthy Bush loyalists who resented or disliked the Clintons.

see SERVICE, page A20

SERVICE

From page A1

The interview was granted after The Times asked White House officials about reports that then-Associate Counsel Vincent Foster visited Mr. Magaw in February to ease out the highly respected director and create a vacancy.

White House officials deny that was the intent, and Mr. Magaw said it was not discussed.

"Someone else might have made that statement, some staff person or someone else — those kind of things don't come out of thin air — but not to me," Mr. Magaw said.

Explaining the role of Mr. Foster, who killed himself in July, White House Communications Director Mark Gearan said he and Chief of Staff Thomas "Mack" McLarty knew of the meeting in advance. He said it was partially an effort to obtain reassignment to the White House of field agents who were bodyguards during the campaign.

Mr. Foster instead got a lecture about the eight years of training that precede assignment to presidential protection.

Mr. Foster was accompanied to the meeting by administrator David Watkins, who said through a spokesman that the session was "somewhat of a courtesy call to learn more about how the service worked."

When Mr. Magaw was asked to transfer last week to ATF, he raised the question of whether his successor would be from Secret Service ranks.

"Basically I got the response that they certainly would look at that, but it was not Mr. Noble's place to make the decision. It was the secretary's place to make the choice subject to the president's approval," Mr. Magaw said.

White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers and Treasury Department spokesman Jack Devore both said there has been no decision on whether to recruit outside Secret Service ranks, but Mr. DeVore said the Treasury Department may advertise nationally.

"It will be a professional law enforcement official of the highest quality," Mr. DeVore said, emphasizing that broadening the search outside the Secret Service would not make it political.

"I don't know that we have a timetable and I'm not sure that we've limited it to anybody in particular,"

THE PRESIDENT'S PROTECTORS

Ten men have headed the U.S. Secret Service since 1901, when it was given responsibility for protecting the president. The latest director, John W. Magaw, is now in charge of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

1992- Oct. 1, 1993	John W. Magaw
1981-92	John R. Simpson
1973-81	H. Stuart Knight
1961-73	James J. Rowley
1948-61	U.E. Baughman
1947-48	James J. Maloney
1937-46	Frank J. Wilson
1918-36	William H. Moran
1912-17	William J. Flynn
1898-1912	John E. Wilkie

Comparison of agency manpower and spending.

	1992	1993	1994
Secret Service			
Strength	4,581	4,570	4,501
Budget	\$463.1	\$467.5	\$447.9

ATF			
Strength	4,111	4,261	4,201
Budget	\$336.1	\$370.2	\$360.1

Sources: Secret Service archives, 1994 federal budget

The Washington Times

Miss Myers said.

Abraham Lincoln created the Secret Service to fight Civil War counterfeiting, and the task of protecting presidents was added after the McKinley assassination in 1901. Mr. Magaw, the 10th person to head the agency since then, held the post for 20 months, a shorter tenure than the others had. His predecessors averaged more than 10 years each.

"We understand what's happening here. This was opportunity presenting itself," a skeptical Secret Service official said of Mr. Magaw's shift to the smaller ATF, which like the 4,570-member Secret Service is part of the Treasury Department. The official said the move was particularly puzzling because Mr. Magaw excels at the Secret Service hallmarks of protection and intelligence.

Mr. Magaw said he was concerned about such reactions and would raise the issue again when it is less theoretical, but he warned that the decision is far above his pay grade.

"I'm not in a position to take on the secretary and the president. I'm a public servant," said the 26-year agency veteran, who has two sons in law enforcement, including one who is also an agent.

The fact that two Clinton confidants on the White House staff talked outside the chain of command with officials under the control of Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen also promised to raise questions. Both were involved in the White House's much-criticized FBI contacts in ousting the travel office staff.

Mr. Magaw said Mr. Foster didn't seem to understand for months that the Secret Service was an arm of the Treasury Department and was suspicious of agents he saw each day.

"When you walk around the halls they look like they're very serious and don't like us at all. ... We're concerned that these agents are Bush people," Mr. Magaw quoted Mr. Foster as saying.

"I said: 'You know there's nothing to that at all. They are here three or four years. None of the ones that are there now will be there when this administration is re-elected.'"

Mr. Magaw said he also told Mr. Foster the agents' stolid expressions result from training that discourages conversation with "any protectees unless they speak to you first."

"They were at the point of who could they trust. Could they trust the Secret Service?" Mr. Magaw said.

"They did not yet realize that the Secret Service was a very dedicated professional career organization. In many states — and I think in Arkansas it is true — the governor has a lot of input in who is on his detail," Mr. Magaw said, emphasizing that he believes the Clintons and most of their staff now have faith in the Secret Service Presidential Protection Division. Mr. Magaw headed the division before taking over the entire agency on Feb. 2, 1992.

Mr. Magaw was summoned to Mr. Foster's office for a follow-up conversation about other questions from Mr. and Mrs. Clinton. As one result, Mr. Magaw said, agents were moved from outside Mrs. Clinton's second-floor office to a downstairs location, from which they could protect her but where they were less obtrusive.

Several personal discussions with Mr. Clinton since then "have never been anything but positive."

March
Tuesday
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{10/2}

THE SUN SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1993 DATED MATERIAL

A2

RATING THE CABINET, FROM A TO D

Espy receives highest marks in survey

By Carl M. Cannon
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In any big organization, not every department head can be a star. Not everyone is skilled, either. Or lucky. Or successful. Some may even get fired.

A presidential administration is no exception. Eight months into Bill Clinton's administration, the members of his Cabinet are enjoying varying degrees of success. Here is a mid-semester report card, given by about two dozen Washington observers:

□ **Mike Espy, Secretary of Agriculture:** A+ — In his first week, Mr. Espy dealt with an outbreak of a fatal strain of E. coli in undercooked hamburgers by using the tragedy to push for overdue reforms in USDA meat inspections. During the Mississippi River flood, he is credited by farm groups with being responsive to the farmers' trauma.

Responding to calls to cut the fat in USDA's budget, Mr. Espy has also proposed eliminating 1,215 of the agency's 3,780 field offices. "He's good," says Sonja Hilgren, editor of the independent *Farm Journal*. "And he didn't need Al Gore to reinvent government."

□ **Bruce Babbitt, Interior Secretary:** A — Mr. Babbitt negotiated the fine points of a complex compromise on logging in the Pacific Northwest — without sacrificing the environmental community's beloved Endangered Species Act.

He also is making progress in getting Congress to require Western ranchers to pay reasonable grazing fees on public land. "He's aced the job of pushing the administration's program while also pushing the administration further environmentally," says Joan Moody, a spokeswoman for Defenders of Wildlife.

□ **Janet Reno, Attorney General:** A- — Popular and respected, especially by women and fellow lawyers, she helped dump controversial FBI director William Sessions. Her opposition to the death penalty warms liberal hearts.

But her calls for more creative approaches to fighting crime haven't progressed beyond generalities, she's been slow to fill jobs, and her first big decision was authorizing the FBI debacle in Waco. Republicans contend that Justice is more politicized than ever, pointing to the firing of all 93 GOP U.S.

Attorneys and to Ms. Reno's appearance at a rally for Democratic Gov. James Florio of New Jersey.

□ **Henry Cisneros, Secretary of Housing & Urban Development:** B+ — He got some credit for agreeing to head this troubled agency even before he demanded the resignation of the local housing authority board in Vidor, Texas, where the only four blacks in a public housing complex were hounded out. Mr. Cisneros, who has vowed to "reinvent" his agency, has his work cut out for him.

□ **Richard W. Riley, Education Secretary:** B+ — Although he hasn't authored any flashy new policies yet, he's impressed the education establishment with his work on Goals 2000, a series of goals for students. He's also refocused his department on public schools, particularly those in poor-

er neighborhoods.

□ **Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services:** B — She made some rookie mistakes, such as recommending a "value added tax" at a time the White House was scuttling the idea, but she brings a caring image to her agency. She also has reminded fellow liberals of the need to reform the welfare system. She's been overshadowed by Hillary Rodham Clinton on health care, but Mrs. Clinton eased the pain by smilingly introducing Ms. Shalala — the day after the secretary went golfing with the president — as the best golfer in the administration.

□ **Hazel R. O'Leary, Secretary of Energy:** B — She didn't fight hard for the Clinton administration's ill-fated energy tax but has brought an open style and a wry sense of humor to her job. A black woman, Ms. O'Leary has an office motto: "It's diversity, stupid." That's a reference not to affirmative action but to the need to diversify America's energy sources. After annoying Texas Democrats by saying she favored, but "not passionately," the superconducting supercollider, Ms. O'Leary made amends by saying later — with a straight face — "I lied. I am now passionate about the project."

□ **Jesse Brown, Secretary of Veterans Affairs:** B — Mr. Brown, a Marine Corps veteran who was wounded in Vietnam, earned his pay on Memorial Day when he stood beside Mr. Clinton, amid the boos and the taunts, at the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial. He also helped formulate provisions of the health care plan that will be a boon to VA hospitals. "He's a warrior," says Rep. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery of Mississippi.

CON

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□ **Robert B. Reich, Secretary of Labor: B-** — He used up a lot of his capital arguing for Mr. Clinton's proposed \$16 billion "jobs stimulus package." Mr. Reich kept upping his estimate of the jobs this would create, finally settling on the number 500,000, which many considered wildly inflated. He is respected by organized labor leaders, however, and enjoys easy access to the president, a friend of 25 years.

□ **Lloyd Bentsen, Secretary of the Treasury: C+** — Mr. Bentsen doesn't seem to have great influence at the White House; perhaps his closeness to former Senate colleagues hasn't counted as much as was hoped. On the other hand, Mr. Bentsen gets high marks for his forceful handling of ATF misconduct in the Waco raid.

□ **Les Aspin, Secretary of Defense: C+** — The mere appearance of the ruffled, slouching Pentagon chief is enough to antagonize some military officers, but Mr. Aspin has followed the brass' recommendations to go slow on cuts. He did not run interference for Mr. Clinton on gays in the military, but the biggest rap is that he hasn't filled key Pentagon posts. This is partly the fault of the "diversity police" at the White House; still, while the Army's 1995 budget is being decided, Mr. Aspin has no secretary of the Army.

□ **Federico Pena, Secretary of Transportation: C** — He flies coach class around the country as he tries to master what's gone wrong with America's airlines, but transportation issues haven't risen to the top of Mr. Clinton's agenda. Mr. Pena showed his commitment by rushing to the scene of the recent Amtrak crash in Alabama.

□ **Warren Christopher, Secretary of State: C** — A veteran of the Carter administration, Mr. Christopher is loyal, knowledgeable and respected by the young Clinton staff, who affectionally call him "Chris." But many diplomats believe he is not forceful enough, especially regarding Bosnia, where administration waffling and inertia have caused several State Department resignations.

□ **Ronald H. Brown, Commerce Secretary: D** — Mr. Brown's track record of accumulating wealth by representing various special interests was always his potential Achilles' heel. Instead of focusing on his top mission for the White House — twisting the arms of Democratic members of Congress to support the North American Free Trade Agreement — Mr. Brown is defending himself against allegations that he sought \$700,000 to help Vietnam secure favorable trading policies with the United States.



REUTERS

(From left) Bruce Babbitt, Les Aspin, Lloyd Bentsen and Warren Christopher are sworn into President Clinton's Cabinet.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Attorney General Janet Reno gets a good report card: A-.

P.L.
C. Varney



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/12

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THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

September 28, 1993

13 OCT 8 P6:56

Rulin
Zook

✓
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'.

Federico Peña

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
From: Bruce Lindsey 
Date: October 7, 1993
Re: **FYI ONLY**

At Beryl Anthony's request, I met with Beryl, Francisco Pavia, and Miguel Hernandez-Agosto last Thursday, September 30, to discuss Puerto Rican appointments.

*2002
Don Miguel was
on 1st support*

National Affairs

FREDDY KRUEGER DOES D.C.

Meet Bob Dole, nightmare on Capitol Hill

*Meet / GS - This is worth all on
Senior from making*



Dole in his Senate office, in front of a portrait of fellow Kansan Dwight Eisenhower

By ALAN CRANSTON

GOP MINORITY

leader Bob Dole paces back and forth on the bright blue, gold and white carpet of the Senate chamber, his war-wounded and still-painful right arm held tightly against his side, his trademark pencil clenched in his hand. Dole's demeanor is almost always grave, his voice deep and gravelly, his words caustic, his dark eyes intense, his patience short,

his partisanship long and his purpose fixed.

If the election of a Democratic president last November crushed George Bush, it liberated Dole and his Senate Republicans. They'd been, as Dole put it, "turned loose." Bush's defeat also left Dole as the only nationally recognizable elected GOP leader in Washington. He has swiftly become the Republican prince of legislative darkness, the Senator Gridlock of parliamentary maneuvering, able to take a proposal by the new president and — despite Democratic majorities in the Senate and the House — drop it into the black hole of procedural defeat.

Only because the recent budget-reconciliation bill was exempt from the Senate rule requiring 60 senators to vote to shut off a filibuster was Dole prevented from bringing Clinton's economic pack-

age crashing down. But other opportunities for legislative stalemate exist to tempt Dole, perhaps by now against even his own better judgment. "Dole said at the start that he was going to be very selective in his use of the filibuster," said *New York Times* Washington bureau chief R.W. Apple Jr. recently. "I think what's happened is that he's just gotten carried away with the sheer negative, hateful joy of the whole thing."

For 24 long years, I worked on the opposite side of the Senate chamber from Dole, using a long white tally sheet to count Democratic votes to his Republican ones. Working most often against him but sometimes with him, I found him fascinating. And I learned a few important things about him. His partisanship is extreme. His mood can shift suddenly. But he also deals in deals. And if he gives his word on something, you can absolutely count on it.

This shouldn't offer any comfort to Clinton, however. There are no signs Dole is in any mood to deal. He can see few reasons why it's in his interest to cooperate with the administration. And he can find many reasons not to.

Early on this year, he sounded moderate enough, imbued with the very spirit of bipartisanship. "Listen," he liked to say, "I'm just one senator from the small state of Kansas — very proud of that state — and we want to help this president when we can." But real bipartisanship is an idea that has seldom crossed Dole's mind at any point in his long career.

"The good news is he's getting a honeymoon in Washington," Dole joked after Clinton's victory. "The bad news is that Bob Dole is going to be his chaperone." In welcoming Clinton to town, Dole discovered that the gridlock he'd so deplored when Bush and Ronald Reagan were in office wasn't such a bad thing now that a Democrat occupied the White House.

"You'd better hope there is a little gridlock in Congress," Dole counseled all who might join him in opposing the president's programs, adding that "the Senate is the most deliberative body in the world."

He's doing his level best to make it as deliberative as possible, threatening frequent use of the primary weapon at his disposal — the rule that provides that debate may not be shut off in order to bring a bill to vote without the approval of 60 of the Senate's 100 members. This rule gives enormous "veto" power in blocking legislation to Dole, as long as he has 41 or more votes needed to keep a filibuster going.

It was with the solid vote of 43 Republicans (now 44) and one disaffected Democrat, Richard Shelby of Alabama, that Dole was able to "deliberate" Clinton's economic stimulus bill to death in April.

Dole's victory was not the amazing legislative feat for which some rushed to credit him. It's hard to lose when you have all the cards, as Dole did, while Clinton and

National Affairs

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell had been dealt hands, under Senate rules, that came up short.

Dole has to be smart enough to pick the fights where carefully calculated odds favor his use of the filibuster tactic. Clinton's proposals for campaign-finance re-

DOLE'S ACERBIC WIT NEVER LEAVES HIM. But the stiletto-like effect of his words is often camouflaged by the broad smile and outward appearance of geniality he projects while uttering his barbs. His humor is always sarcastic, sardonic and at somebody's expense — sometimes even his own.



Politicizing with wife Elizabeth in New Hampshire, '87

form, for example, felt the parliamentary bludgeon of Dole's partisanship. But the kind of Republican unity needed to make a filibuster stick is not likely to materialize often, even with Dole's skills. His effort to filibuster Clinton's motor-voter registration and national-service bills, for example, fizzled when independent-minded Republicans broke ranks.

What is much more likely — and more ominous for the White House — is that Dole will reach out to disaffected conservative Democrats like Shelby. If Dole can add enough of their names to his tally sheet, he can replace the votes lost by Republicans straying from the fold. In fact, it is the potential rebirth under Dole of the historic Southern Democrat/Northern Republican coalition — which blocked progressive legislation for decades — that really ought to worry the Clinton White House.

A great deal has changed in the South as the result of the Voting Rights Act and other civil-rights legislation. Still, many of the lawmakers the South sends to Washington remain conservative on fiscal and social issues and hostile toward new government programs. Those are the senators just waiting to be lured by Dole.

The extraordinary complexity of Dole as a man becomes a crucial variable in trying to predict how much impact he will have in determining the success or failure of the Clinton administration. He's gifted with incredibly sensitive political antennae. But he also has both a dark side and a light side, and if those who do business with him don't know which Dole they're dealing with, they've got what Ross Perot might call a "world-class problem."

ALAN CRANSTON represented California in the Senate from 1969 to 1992.

Professing to be untroubled by losing the 1976 election when he was Gerald Ford's running mate, Dole told reporters he'd gone home and slept like a baby: "Every two hours I woke up and cried."

But often his mordant sense of humor is directed outward. Never fond of Reaganomics, Dole frequently turned his caustic wit against the Reagan administration. "There's

good news and bad news," he liked to quip. "The good news is that a bus load of supply-side economists went over a cliff, and everybody was killed. The bad news is that two seats were empty."

ity that should cause Clinton and his aides to do their utmost to understand the man. It is possible to cut deals with Dole. But Clinton's dilemma is that it's not possible to give Dole the trade-off he most wants: the presidency itself.

THE MEDIA'S RUSH TO ANOINT DOLE AS THE front-runner for the 1996 GOP presidential nomination is the kind of thing that causes him to perk up brightly. Dole will be 73 when the next presidential election rolls around, and he's made the usual disclaimers about it being too early to think about such things. But he's already making forays into the early caucus and primary states. "I'm still the president of Iowa," he reminds people. And he's dropped hints that he "might" be "willing" to serve only one term as president — just to fix the government and get the country back on track.

In the meantime, he's still the president of the Republican minority in the Senate, a job not without its own headaches. One of them is a Texan named Phil Gramm. Another is a Mississippian named Trent Lott. Gramm is himself clearly running for the GOP nomination in 1996, and Lott is thought to salivate for Dole's job as Senate Republican leader.

however. Indeed, the bespectacled Gramm, who once taught economics and resembles a sort of forbidding version of Mr. Peepers, is unlikely to ever become the GOP's idea for a presidential pinup. Gramm is one of those supply-side economists whom Dole undoubtedly would have liked to have seen in the bus that went over the cliff.

Dole's failure to defeat both Gramm and Lott and install his own allies in their party posts reveals just how loose his grip is on Senate Republicans. While constantly keeping an eye on the far-right and supply-side wing among his colleagues, Dole also has to constantly watch more moderate and liberal-leaning GOP senators, who are tempted to vote with the Democrats on some issues.

And when Dole looks toward the White House, he faces still another dilemma. It's how to be partisan but seem bipartisan, how to act politically but sound statesmanlike, how to satisfy the far right but project a national image of responsibility, all at the same time. To this list must be added the absolute and imperative need to keep his "nonpresidential" temper under control.

Displays of temper and venom have done him in before. Had he not snarled at

Dole is smart enough to know he may develop problems with a large number of voters. In deliberately pursuing the tactics of obstruction and gridlock, the senator runs the risk of wide-scale public rejection.

Dole's personal hostility toward Bush erupted during the bitter 1988 GOP primary in New Hampshire. Dole appeared likely to win there in the wake of his big victory over Bush in the Iowa caucuses a week earlier. But with a last-minute barrage of attack ads crafted by media consultant Roger Ailes, which pummeled Dole for supposedly favoring higher taxes and more spending, Bush won — and effectively ended Dole's presidential hopes that year.

After victory in New Hampshire, Bush reverted to his kinder-gentler self during an election-night interview with NBC's Tom Brokaw. Did Bush have anything to say to the opponent he'd just creamed with a flurry of last-minute blows, inquired Brokaw? "Only," said the smiling Bush, "to wish him well and to say I look forward to meeting him in the South."

And did Dole, his face glowering on another TV screen in a two-way hookup, have anything to say to Bush? "Yeah," snarled Dole. "Tell him to stop lying about my record!"

Such examples of Dole's revelatory wit and legendary temper only barely outline his complexity. But they do illuminate the extraordinary intelligence and mental agil-

Last November, Dole opposed keeping Gramm as head of the influential National Republican Senatorial Committee, a post Gramm has used to further his own ambitions. Instead, Dole backed a challenge to Gramm by Kentucky Sen. Mitch McConnell. Gramm won anyway, though by only one vote. Next, Dole tried to discourage his Republican colleagues from electing the ambitious Lott to the job of secretary of the Senate Republican Conference. Dole lost that effort, too.

Lott's brand of partisanship is so nasty it seems to embarrass Dole. Compared with Dole's public pose of "We want to help this president," Lott lacks the wit for such subtleties. His rhetoric is more the "Pay up or we'll break your kneecaps" school of discourse.

Dole's differences with Gramm go deeper than just their presidential rivalry,

Bush in 1988, he might have become vice president. And Ford might have been re-elected in 1976 had Dole, his running mate, not become a drag on the ticket by blaming, in one outburst, every American combat death and injury in the 20th century on "Democrat wars."

In short, he has to fashion a "new Dole," just as voters in 1968 were persuaded to believe that a "new Nixon" had miraculously been born to replace the old one. Coming up with a new Dole may require a sort of in vitro political fertilization that is beyond even his manipulative capacities in the absence of a true transformation. He is smart enough to know he has a problem in this department with large numbers of moderate voters. In deliberately pursuing the tactics of obstruction and gridlock he [Cont. on 120]



During his first Senate term, '72

GREIDER

[Cont. from 32] percent took place in the child's own home or a friend's home. In a little over half the cases, the shooters were other children.

Beyond these facts, there is the extraordinary cost. The annual health-care bill for treating gunshot wounds has been estimated at \$4 billion — most of it borne by taxpayers. A study by University of California at Davis researchers calculated the average cost of hospital treatment for gunshot victims at \$13,200, with individual cases ranging as high as \$495,000. Spinal-cord injuries and paralysis, often associated with gun violence, are especially expensive. Three months of therapy at a rehab center typically costs \$135,000.

"The type and severity of the trauma now seen in our hospitals is so similar to that seen on the battlefield," says Chafee, "that Navy and Army physicians are doing rotations at urban trauma centers as training for military combat."

The country, in other words, is at war with itself, and the guns are winning.

NO ONE SHOULD IMAGINE THAT CLINTON or a majority of either the House or the Senate will soon rush to Chafee's cause. But it is possible to imagine that the senator's courage constitutes a turning point in the long, frustrating debate over violence. At the very least, it should blow away some of the pretense and wishful thinking that have surrounded gun control and start people arguing over the right questions.

Chafee's careful legal research has demolished a favorite red herring of the NRA's — the claim that the Second Amendment would prohibit his legislation. On the contrary, as a half-century of Supreme Court precedents makes clear, the Second Amendment does not proscribe a prohibition of handguns. "One thing we've accomplished," Chafee says, "is that we've blown away the Second Amendment argument. They've backed away from peddling that scam anymore."

Other gun measures are now being put forward in Congress that fall somewhere between the Brady bill's waiting period and Chafee's flat-out prohibition. Having carried the banner for moderate reform measures for so many years, Handgun Control Inc. cannot quite deal with Chafee's provocative departure. "Prohibition has not been shown to work," says Cheryl Brolin, a spokesperson for HCL. "There are certain valid reasons people have to own guns. We don't believe Sen. Chafee's bill is realistically addressing the situation. We're trying to pursue more middle-ground proposals — one where gun owners and antigun people can find some common ground."

But the violent reality of American life has moved beyond such sweet compro-

mises. Right now, it's time for a healthy, fundamental argument among the reformers themselves. This will be hastened, I think, as other groups representing public-health concerns, children and law enforcement come forward to redefine gun control in broader terms, just as Chafee is doing.

In the meantime, timid politicians still reluctant to take on the NRA, still afraid to pursue genuine solutions, should take note of public opinion. This summer, a Harris Poll found that for the first time ever, a majority of Americans — 52 percent — actually favor the radical step of banning the private ownership of handguns. Once again, it seems, the folks are a step or two ahead of Washington. ■

DOLE

[Cont. from 36] runs the risk of large-scale public rejection.

Others besides Dole's supporters have reason to be concerned about these dangers. Incumbent Republican senators up for re-election next year might be particularly uneasy. If Dole carries his obstructionism too far, he'll find it increasingly difficult to keep enough of his nervous GOP troops in line. And they won't be there at all for him if they are defeated as a backlash against Republican gridlock.

The whole question of party unity and loyalty is a sensitive one with Dole. His habit of deriding other GOP leaders, if not outright savaging them, makes others in the party wary of him.

This trait of Dole's has been attributed by more than a few observers to the grievous wound he suffered in World War II. For three years, Dole was laid up in hospitals, fearing that as a "cripple" he could look forward only to a life of selling pencils on street corners. "He's striking back," one of Dole's Senate colleagues told me recently, "at a world of people who were not wounded." That world includes men whom he regards as being far less able than himself but who have nonetheless managed somehow to be elected president — most lately, Bush and Clinton.

In his *Almanac of American Politics*, Michael Barone states that for all his success, Dole's wounds leave him even now a "bitter man, his bitterness barely camouflaged by Washington's most caustic wit." Yet much like Nixon, he remains a fighter. Dole chose New Hampshire as his August vacation site this year.

No one can fail to empathize with Dole's pain or fail to admire his sheer bravery in climbing slowly up the ladder to within sight of the White House — the very place once occupied by a president who'd also been bedridden in his prime, stricken for the remainder of his life by the crippling effects of polio: the jaunty, cheerful, gregarious and unbitter Franklin D.

Roosevelt, whose good cheer lifted a whole nation.

Much of what Dole does in public life seems driven solely by his personal experiences. He's been an ardent champion for the rights of the handicapped. That is something he can understand. But the boy from small-town Russell, Kan., had a hard time understanding something like a summer-jobs program, which would put tens of thousands of big-city youths to work in urban America. That program died, at least temporarily, when Dole shot down Clinton's economic-stimulus bill.

Having lived with rural poverty himself, Dole joined with George McGovern to fight for the food-stamp program. (Though it should be noted, Kansas wheat farmers are among the program's major beneficiaries — as they are on agricultural aid to Russia, which Dole always supports.) But Dole also grew up, Barone notes, "an old-fashioned Kansas kind of Republican: old-fashioned in what he believes in, old-fashioned in how he operates." Since time immemorial, Kansans have believed in balanced budgets.

This perhaps explains the innate loathing Dole felt for supply-side economics, from the very first moment it appeared on Arthur Laffer's cocktail napkin to the time it found its way onto one of Reagan's three-by-five cards, then into the national budget and at last into the national debt, where it resides today as Reaganomics' lasting legacy.

To his credit, Dole has been instrumental in pushing through tax increases several times to help repair some of the fiscal damage caused by the supply-side theorists. He was also a major player in fashioning the 1990 budget compromise that undid Bush's "no new taxes" pledge, undoing Bush as well in the process. But the partisan Dole, the "dark" Dole, loses no sleep in savaging Clinton today as just another "tax and spender."

This allows him to portray himself as the champion of "the American people" in "their" fight for "no new taxes!" Indeed, it's virtually impossible to catch Dole on a news show these days where he is not speaking for "the American people," explaining what "the American people" want and do not want, and what "the American people" voted for and didn't vote for in November, and what "the American people" elected Clinton to do or not to do.

In speaking for "the American people," Dole stands as the self-appointed champion of the country, the one who fights bravely in its behalf against all those who presumably do not speak for "the American people" — such as Clinton, whom "the American people" actually elected, as they have twice so far not rallied to elect Dole.

DOLE'S JOURNEY TO THE POSITIONS HE takes always seems to follow the narrow routes of his own experiences in life. It's a troubling factor in considering someone who wishes to be president of all of 250

million Americans, nearly all of whom did not grow up in Kansas or share his bitter boyhood, wartime and rural "old-fashioned" experiences.

Because Dole's actions are so narrowly animated, the excessive and combative partisanship he's displayed throughout his career may be easier to understand, if no more acceptable. In the years he and I served together in the Senate, there was hardly a time when he was personally called upon to exercise genuine bipartisanship. It's not been part of his own experience, because his own party controlled the White House for all but four of those years, and he was not then GOP leader.

There was a time, before Dole ever reached Washington (and I'm old enough to remember it), when there actually was such a thing as genuine bipartisanship. I was among those in the late '50s who was outraged that House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson cooperated with President Eisenhower in helping get his programs through a Democratic Congress. What a sellout by the leaders of my own party! What a betrayal of Democratic principles! What party disloyalty! What a disgrace!

But I was wrong, because all sorts of good things were done for the country that could never have been accomplished had there been eight years of gridlock. The American people, as Dole might have observed, had elected Eisenhower. The country was entitled to see what his programs could do.

Dole should recall that it was with deep misgivings, and even great distaste, that a number of Democrats in the Senate, myself included, voted to support Reagan's tax cuts. In a period of severe economic distress, mostly caused by huge OPEC price increases, the country had repudiated Carter and elected Reagan. It seemed only right that Democrats give Reagan a chance to implement his ideas and see if they worked. Voters, after all, had elected him, not us, for their own good reasons.

Democrats even worked closely with Bush during the first half of his presidency on a host of issues. There was no gridlock then. It emerged only after he decided that there was more mileage to be gained by taking on Congress than by working with it.

During the Johnson and Carter years, there were GOP leaders in the Senate who cooperated in a spirit of bipartisanship. Republicans like Illinois' Everett Dirksen, Pennsylvania's Hugh Scott and Tennessee's Howard Baker never indulged in wholesale obstructionism for its own sake. Nor did they pursue gridlock deliberately as a strategy. But Dole didn't grow up in this long-standing tradition.

During the 20 years that Republicans held the White House, genuine bipartisan cooperation was something demanded only of Democrats. And it was given. Now, to the partisan Dole's apparent confusion and dismay, it is being asked sud-

denly of Senate Republicans. He apparently finds this to be a wholly strange, unfamiliar and downright ludicrous request, as if he's never heard of such a weird thing. But he forgets.

Shortly after Reagan took office in 1981, a stern Dole solemnly instructed his Democrat colleagues in the Senate that "the new president is entitled to have the support of Congress, as the people of the United States intended, while he organizes his administration and tries to bring spending under control."

DOLE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN TRYING HARD, if sporadically, in recent years to soften his image. Colleagues began noticing a shift in the style when he took on the responsibilities of being Senate GOP leader in 1984.

In interviews today, he at least tries to present a sort of kinder-gentler Dole, stressing "bipartisan" support for Clinton's program of aid to Russia and expressing his general hopes that the administration "will succeed." He talks no more about "Democrat wars." In fact, he's more hawkish on the subject of intervention in Bosnia than the administration or most of his own colleagues. When he does criticize Clinton, he sometimes strikes a pose of doing so more out of sorrow than anger. With an eye on 1996, he's doing his best, in short, to seem more presidential himself.

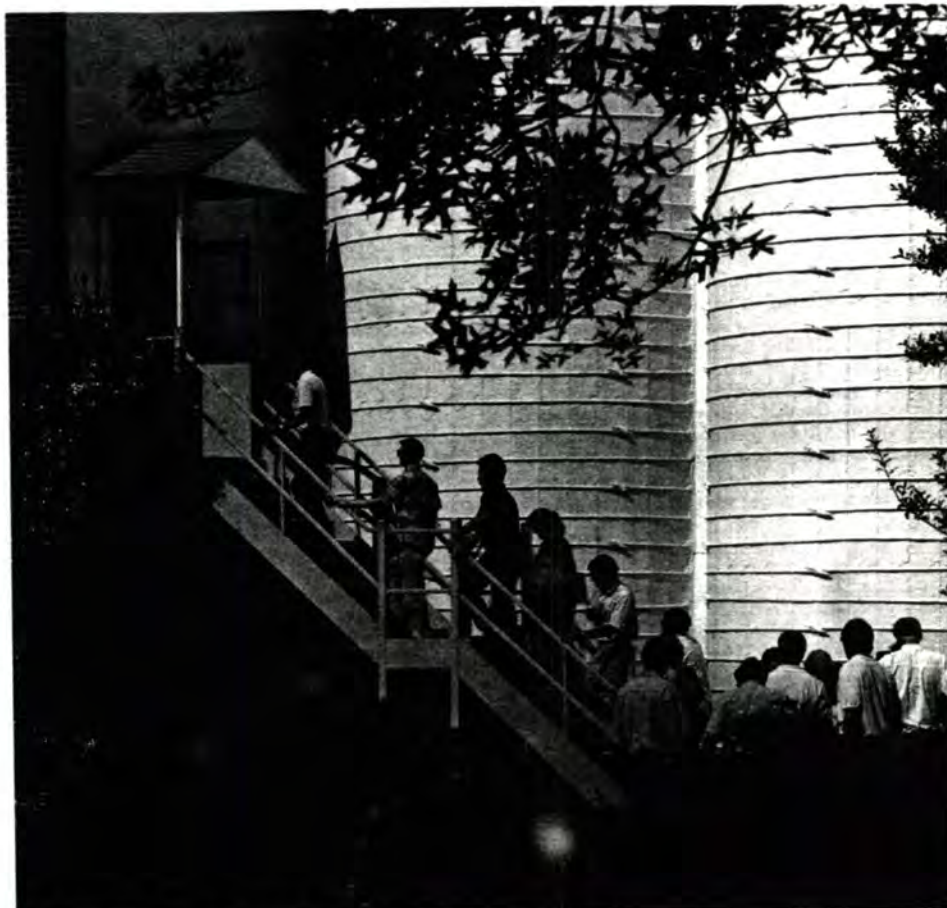
But despite these efforts, it's still just about impossible for Dole to forgo the old slash-and-burn whenever a juicy target pops up. "You just can't take the Freddy Krueger out of him," says a GOP congressman. When the overblown media flap about the operations of the White House travel office appeared, Dole was quick to pounce, darkly implying it might be a scandal equivalent to Watergate.

"The American people," he intoned somberly, "are asking questions, and they want answers to what they see as real conflicts of interest, real perception problems, real appearances of impropriety and possibly some real sleaze."

It's doubtful that "the American people" are quite that excited about whatever did or didn't go on with the small travel-office staff. Of more importance to the country is whether Dole will continue to play an obstructionist role or if his own ambitions will cause him to temper his almost Pavlovian predilection for gridlock whenever the opportunity arises.

In either case, it's never been clear exactly why Dole wants to be president, except as an exercise in partisan warfare and personal advancement. Dole has never put forth a clear view of what he wants to do for the country in all the times he's previously run for president. Ironically, Dole never seems to have come up with "the vision thing" any more than did his detested rival, Bush.

What is clear is that Dole still spells big trouble in the Senate for Clinton. The good news, one might say, is that Dole isn't president. The bad news is that nobody's told him.



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Mr. President,

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your mission could be
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confidence.

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efforts to carry out policy
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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 are 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 Deli 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 loag bahuut 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.