

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-27-93

Cheese

you sure got it wrong
this study
B.

Researchers Say U.S. Social Well-Being Is 'Awful'

Increases in child abuse and child poverty have driven the nation's social well-being to its lowest point in two decades, according to a study being released today by social scientists at Fordham University.

The scientists also evaluated Americans' confidence in their quality of life, and they said it was strikingly low.

The annual report, "The Index of Social Health," attempts to monitor the well-being of American society by examining statistics from reports by the Census Bureau on 16 major social problems, including teen-age suicide, unemployment, drug abuse, the high-school dropout rate and the lack of affordable housing.

Highest Rating for 1972

Aided by a computer model, the researchers use the statistics from the 16 categories to reach a single figure between 0 and 100, which they call the index of social health.

The report was first produced in 1985, when the scientists measured social health for the year 1970. The index for 1970 was 75, which the researchers said was above average. But in 1991, the most recent year for which complete data was available, the index was 36, down from 42 in 1990 and less than half the highest index rating of 79 for 1972.

The 1991 figure is "awful," said Dr. Marc L. Miringoff, the author of the study and the director of the Fordham University Institute for Innovation in Social Policy in Tarrytown, N.Y.

"These results reveal as much about what is happening to us as the economic indicators that we watch closely every day," he said.

Two major reasons for the drop, Dr. Miringoff said, are that child abuse reached its worst recorded level and that the number of children living in poverty reached its worst level since 1983.

Pointing to Decline in Economy

Also eroding society's health was a decline in average weekly earnings, he said. "The decline in the economy has much to do with the decline in our social health," Dr. Miringoff said. "Especially the economic factors that affect the labor market. Simply, there are a lot fewer jobs now that people can depend on for stable long-term employment."

Two of the indicators used to calculate the social index did improve in 1991: infant mortality and food stamp coverage.

A new feature of the report, the Index of Social Confidence, seeks to show how Americans evaluate national performance in areas that shape the quality of life: education, health care, safety, occupation and living standard. In a national telephone survey, 1,200 randomly selected Americans were asked how confident they felt about those areas.

The result was a confidence index of 34, which Dr. Miringoff called disturbingly low. He said the respondents to the survey saw serious problems in the nation's social well-being and were

pessimistic about the future.

Eighty-four percent of those questioned said they believed it was difficult for the average American to provide for his family, while 71 percent said it was difficult for the average person to find a satisfying job.

The telephone survey was conducted with Yankelovich Partners Inc., a research firm based in Westport, Conn., from May 27 to June 7. The poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Hospital Misread Pap Retests

NEWPORT, R.I., Oct. 17 (AP) — Independent laboratories re-examining Pap smears first analyzed at Newport Hospital concluded that the hospital misread 16 of the first 664 slides it rescreened, according to a hospital report released this weekend. The hospital is disputing those findings on 11 slides and has sent them to the Medical College of Pennsylvania for further review. The State Health Department ordered the re-examination of about 20,000 Pap smears read at the hospital between May 1988 and May 1993 after a woman repeatedly given clean bills of health died of cervical cancer.

Quotation of the Day:
page 2, every day,
in the News Summary.
The New York Times.

U.S., Mexico to Set Up Bank to Fund Environmental Cleanups at the Border

By ASRA Q. NOMANI

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor said the U.S. and Mexico agreed to set up a development bank to fund environmental cleanups at their border, which the Clinton administration hopes will appease some critics of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. Kantor said he expects total border funding to reach \$7 billion to \$8 billion. That would include roughly \$2 billion from a new development bank set up by the two countries. About \$3.5 billion to \$4 billion would be available to Mexico from the World Bank, and about \$2 billion would come from existing environmental programs in both nations. Additional money is expected from proposals that haven't been specified.

Cleaning up the U.S.-Mexico border has been a controversial issue for environmentalists, lawmakers and community groups concerned that environmental problems could worsen along the border as a result of the trade agreement.

But in order to win over the strongest skeptics, the administration will have to spell out more details of the border-cleanup funding. There are two remaining thorny questions: how far the cleanup projects will extend from the border and whether the projects will include work that isn't strictly environmental.

Discussion Over Funding

The arrangement involves terms that the two sides have been discussing for weeks. What has been unclear is the amount of money that each side would contribute to the new bank. An administration official yesterday said the U.S. and Mexico are considering capitalizing the development bank at \$500 million, which would be equally shared by the two nations and paid over four years. That bank would then borrow the projected \$2 billion from international capital markets.

The initial U.S. plan for the funding facility had the U.S. contributing \$500 million over five years, an amount equal to 85% of the initial capital. That would have

Clinton Decries Proposals To Curb His Authority

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration strongly opposed congressional efforts to limit the president's authority to conduct foreign policy.

In a letter to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, President Clinton said, "I am fundamentally opposed to amendments which improperly limit my ability to perform my constitutional duties as commander in chief." Mr. Clinton was referring to plans by Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas and GOP Sen. Don Nickles of Oklahoma to offer amendments that would require congressional authorization before U.S. forces could be sent to Haiti or Bosnia, and that would bar U.S. forces from operating under foreign commands.

Last night, Clinton administration and congressional aides worked to modify the language of the amendments in a way that would be acceptable to the White House. Sen. Dole, striking a conciliatory tone yesterday, said, "We're prepared to work with the administration if we can. If we can't, we'll make whatever changes we can agree on, and then ask the Senate to vote on it."

given the U.S. a controlling interest in the bank, but that proposal kicked up opposition even within the administration because it was seen as a handout to Mexico, where most of the environmental projects would be located.

In a briefing to reporters, Mr. Kantor said the Clinton administration will release more details about the plan as early as today. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner are scheduled today to testify on Capitol Hill about the border cleanup agreement.

As part of the accord, Mr. Kantor said the U.S. and Mexico also would set up a border environmental authority to oversee administration of the projects.

Bid for Capitol Hill Support

The agreement comes as the Clinton administration tries to line up congressional support for Nafta, which would dismantle trade barriers among the U.S., Canada and Mexico over 15 years. The agreement is considered a sure win in the Senate, but is a toss-up in the House.

Mr. Kantor cast the border cleanup agreement as a political plus for the administration's effort. "This is one of the major selling points, we believe, of the Nafta," he said.

The administration faces a skeptical audience. House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich pointedly warned President Clinton yesterday that the agreement is headed for defeat unless the president escalates his Nafta campaign, which Mr. Gingrich called "pathetic" to date. The Georgian, a supporter of the accord, insisted Republicans would oppose any efforts to use tax increases to make up revenue lost from lower tariffs in the pact.

A congressional win for Nafta also hinges on the breadth of a worker-retraining plan the administration is assembling. Rep. Collin Peterson (D., Minn.), chairman of the House employment subcommittee, leaked a copy of a plan the administration is considering, and called it "pretty callous."

Mr. Peterson, whose subcommittee is holding a hearing today to review the plan, said the \$90 million currently allocated for the plan offers too little money to workers who would lose their jobs because of Nafta. However, the draft shows that retraining and income-support benefits for such workers would have to be considered within 40 days, rather than the one year that is often needed for similar benefits.

—William Murray contributed to this article.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-27-93

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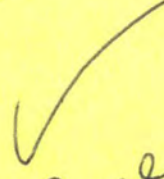
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1993

Chion

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA *JP*

SUBJECT: ENROLLED BILL H.R. 2517, HUD DEMONSTRATION ACT OF 1993

Attached for your signature is H.R. 2517, which authorizes the following three new demonstration projects at HUD.

- ✓ \$100 million Community Investment Program to subsidize housing projects financed with pension funds;
- ✓ \$200 million program for Innovative Homeless Initiatives to support comprehensive methods to assist homeless individuals and families;
- ✓ \$25 million program for Capacity Building for Community Development and Affordable Housing which will provide assistance to community development and housing development organizations to enhance their effectiveness.

The bill also increases the FY 94 authorization level for the Moving to Opportunity program which helps low income families move to areas with low concentrations of poverty.

This bill is a priority initiative of Secretary Cisneros. DOL has signed off on the pension fund initiative. OMB has cleared.

I recommend you sign the bill.

*We should work with them
to get the word out on this to
effectual contributors - without pub.
would make sense*

B.



THE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

October 21, 1993

21 24:54

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill H.R. 2517 - HUD Demonstration Act of 1993
Sponsors - Reps. Gonzalez (D) TX and Roukema (R) NJ

Last Day for Action

October 27, 1993 - Wednesday

Purpose

(1) Establishes three new demonstration programs to be administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); (2) authorizes additional FY 1994 appropriations for certain HUD programs; and (3) makes other technical amendments.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget

Approval

Department of Housing and Urban Development

Approval

Department of Labor (DOL)

Approval

Department of Veterans Affairs

Defers to HUD
(Informally)

Department of Agriculture

No objection
(Informally)

Department of the Interior

No objection
(Informally)

Department of Justice

No objection
(Informally)

Department of the Treasury

No objection
(Informally)

Interagency Council on the Homeless

No objection
(Informally)

Discussion

On June 16, 1993, Secretary Cisneros proposed a new HUD initiative in testimony before the House Housing and Community Development Subcommittee. The initiative included three demonstration programs -- a Section 8 Community Investment program, an Innovative Homeless Initiatives demonstration program, and a Capacity Building for Community Development and Affordable Housing program. The initiative also proposed increasing the authorization of appropriations for the Moving To Opportunity program. H.R. 2517 includes all four components of the HUD initiative and certain other provisions added by the Senate.

Major Provisions of H.R. 2517

The major provisions of H.R. 2517 are discussed below. A detailed description of the enrolled bill is enclosed with the HUD views letter. H.R. 2517 would:

- o Establish a Section 8 Community Investment demonstration program. The program would set aside funds under the Section 8 program to subsidize housing projects financed by pension funds. At least 50 percent of the funds for the program would be required to be used in conjunction with the disposition of multifamily housing that is either HUD-owned or that is secured by a HUD-held mortgage. H.R. 2517 would authorize \$100 million in FY 1994 for this program.
- o Establish an Innovative Homeless Initiatives demonstration program. Under this program, HUD would be authorized to provide funds to States, localities, private organizations, and Indian tribes to find comprehensive methods to assist homeless individuals and families. The enrolled bill would authorize \$200 million in FY 1994 for this program.
- o Establish a Capacity Building for Community Development and Affordable Housing program. The program would provide assistance to community development corporations and community housing development organizations to enhance their administrative capacity and carry out activities that benefit low-income families. Private sources would be required to match three times the amount of any assistance provided under the program. H.R. 2517 would authorize \$25 million in FY 1994 for this program.
- o Increase the authorization of appropriations in FY 1994 for the Moving to Opportunity program from \$52.1 million to \$165 million. The program helps low-income families move from areas with high concentrations of poverty to areas with low concentrations of poverty.

Agency Views

HUD and DOL recommend approval of H.R. 2517. HUD states that the enrolled bill is "a key component of the Department's 1993 Legislative Agenda" and would "further the goals of providing . . . safe, decent, and affordable housing for homeless and other low-income persons and families." DOL believes that private pension funds would be invested prudently under the enrolled bill, "consistent with the Employee Retirement Income Security Act." Labor states "that these demonstration projects have the potential for stimulating other pension funds to become involved in economically targeted investments."

Conclusion and Recommendations

We join HUD and DOL in recommending approval of H.R. 2517, which passed the House and Senate by voice vote.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Leon E. Panetta", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Leon E. Panetta
Director

Enclosures

Grunwald, Eskew & Donilon

P3:18

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: M DATE: 10/31/93

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2018-0667-5

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Bill Clinton (1)
Vice-President Al Gore (2)
Mack McLarty (3)
David Gergen (4)
George Stephanopoulos (5)
Mickey Kantor (6)

FROM: Mike Donilon and Carter Eskew

RE: NAFTA Polling Memo

DATE: October 19, 1993

Mack/Gergen
— This is very good —
Shows we should keep
message —
Do more on trade advocacy
get more women, smaller
businesses —
main way to next 3 weeks
R.
— Q: is there data
on public reaction to the
consequences of not doing it?

Following are the highlights from a national telephone survey of 1,200 registered voters. The survey was conducted from September 26 to September 30 by trained, professional interviewers. The margin of error is +/-2.9%.

I. THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM IS WRONG

- The conventional wisdom is that NAFTA is an insider's issue, driven by the pressure-cooker of special interest politics. However, NAFTA is no longer an insider's game-- *nearly nine in ten Americans have heard, read, or seen something about NAFTA in recent weeks.* This creates a tremendous opportunity for the pro-NAFTA forces: Now this argument can be driven by the broader national interest rather than by the narrow agenda of the special interests.

2. The conventional wisdom is that NAFTA is currently strongly opposed by the public. In fact, *support for NAFTA outruns opposition today: 44% of the country supports NAFTA, 40% opposes NAFTA, and 16% are undecided.* These numbers are particularly remarkable given the fact that Ross Perot and the anti-NAFTA forces have been engaged in a relentless assault on the agreement. Further, these current numbers reflect the impact of the best anti-NAFTA arguments. In short, even a sustained negative attack, employing their very best arguments, has not moved the public against NAFTA. One other reason these numbers are remarkable: The best pro-NAFTA arguments have yet to be used. In sum, the public is supporting NAFTA-- the issue is whether the Members will.
3. The conventional wisdom says that Democrats are opposed to NAFTA. In fact, *51% of self-identified Democrats support NAFTA today.* Other strong supporters of NAFTA: Liberals (53% favor), Moderates (51% favor) and Suburban voters (51% favor). Surprisingly, even 34% of Labor Union Households support NAFTA.
4. The conventional wisdom is that NAFTA cannot survive the give-and-take of attack & counterattack style politics. In fact, not only does NAFTA stand up to the very best attacks that the anti-NAFTA forces have to give, *support for NAFTA actually rises to a majority of the electorate after the give-and-take:*

	<i>Pre-Information</i>	<i>Post-Information</i>
Favor NAFTA	44%	51%
Oppose NAFTA	40	45
Don't Know	16	4

II. THE PRO-NAFTA ARGUMENT MUST CHANGE

Right now, the public is more supportive than not of NAFTA, even though the best arguments for NAFTA have yet to be made in a sustained fashion. This process of shifting message has begun, but it must be accelerated.

The jobs argument is not a winning argument for NAFTA. When the pro- and anti-NAFTA side of the jobs arguments are put forth, the anti-NAFTA side wins by a 53% to 42% margin. The reason: Voters find the argument that jobs will be shipped to low wages in Mexico persuasive.

Now, it is important to point out that *we have managed to muddy the jobs argument.* We have presented our figures of 700,000 jobs saved & 200,000 jobs created; they have presented their argument of 500,000 jobs lost. We have reached a threshold of credibility on the jobs issue. However, the key now is to move the debate elsewhere.

Two other arguments that also fail to advance the ball much for the pro-NAFTA side: (1) Immigration-- the anti-NAFTA side wins the immigration argument by a margin of 61% to 34%;

(2) The environmental argument-- this is a stand-off, with 48% agreeing with the anti-NAFTA argument and 46% agreeing with the pro-NAFTA side.

III. THE PRO-NAFTA MESSAGE

There are essentially three prongs to the most effective pro-NAFTA message:

- (1) NAFTA means selling American-made products in foreign markets. We need to make NAFTA real to people: *It means selling American-made cars, computers, telecommunications equipment and other products in Mexico.* It's on the tail-end of this argument that we can make a jobs claim: The jobs argument is not that NAFTA will open markets & create jobs so much as it is NAFTA will make it possible to sell more & more of our products in Mexico and that's what will create new jobs. Specifics on this topic matter-- NAFTA means selling 60,000 more cars and billions of more dollars in computers & telecommunications equipment in Mexico.

One other point: It is critical to talk about the Mexican market, not the Mexican consumer. Few people believe that Mexicans spend \$481 a year on American-made products; however, the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that Mexico spends \$40 billion a year on our products--- and that's growing.

In addition to making the case that NAFTA means selling American-made products, it is important to raise the following issue in the public's mind: *If we don't sell our products in Mexico, guess who will?* We need to inform the public that if we don't take the deal, the Europeans & Japanese will-- which will mean that American will have lost out in yet another market, this one right in our backyard.

- (2) NAFTA finally gives America a competitive advantage over Europe & Japan. After years of playing on unfair playing fields, *NAFTA, for once, gives America the upper hand.* This not only means that American-made products will have an advantage in Mexico, it also means that America will now be leading the largest & most powerful economic market & trading alliance in the world. The issue for the anti-NAFTA forces is why they would oppose an agreement that gives the U.S. a competitive advantage over Europe & Japan.
- (3) NAFTA is substantially helped-- in the public's eyes-- *once the line-up of supporters and opponents is known.* It matters to voters that every living President, 12 Nobel prize winning economists, most of the nation's Governors, and Lee Iacocca support NAFTA; it also matters to voters that Ross Perot, Pat Buchanan, Jesse Jackson, Jerry Brown, and the AFL-CIO oppose NAFTA. Indeed, once voters know who is for NAFTA, and who's against it, 55% of the voters say they agree with the NAFTA supporters. while just 39% say they agree with the NAFTA opponents.

IV. OTHER KEY POINTS

- (1) *The Governors have been woefully underutilized in the NAFTA debate.* Clearly an event with the Governors-- similar to the event with the Presidents-- would have real impact. This would not mean all 40 or so Governors would need to be present, just a sizeable number of them. 52% of the voters said they would be more likely to support NAFTA after hearing that some 40 Governors supported NAFTA.
- (2) *The other group that has been visibly missing from the NAFTA debate is small business:* 55% of the voters said they would be more likely to support NAFTA if small business supported it. Inserting small business into the NAFTA picture is important as we move forward.
- (3) Right now, the NAFTA debate is largely characterized by a split between high school educated men (against) and college educated men (for). *We need to energize college educated women.* Support for NAFTA among college educated women increases from 45% to 55% over the course of the survey. Putting forth business women & women business leaders in an important component of the NAFTA fight that has yet to happen.
- (4) It is also important for the White House to carry out a series of validation events that elevate the NAFTA debate-- for example, events with the Secretaries of State and Secretaries of the Treasury.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2 OCT 26 P2:23

October 26, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Howard Paster *HP*

SUBJECT: 50th Anniversary of Battle of Guadalcanal

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT

Senator John Chafee, who is the only Member of Congress who was at Guadalcanal, has called and requested that you name him to head a delegation to the November 29, 1993 50th anniversary ceremonies in the Solomon Islands.

II. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS

Besides his obvious importance to the fate of health care reform, you might want to know that Senator Chafee voted with the Administration against the McCain, Nickels and Helms foreign policy amendments to the recently passed Defense Appropriations bill.

III. RECOMMENDATION

I recommend you respond favorably to the Senator's request, and designate him to lead a delegation to the Solomon Islands after Thanksgiving. We would help him put together a proper bi-partisan group.

I have spoken with Tony Lake who concurs in this recommendation, and my staff has been in touch with the Departments of State and Defense with whom we will coordinate this trip.

IV. ☒ DECISION

☒ Approve ☐ Approve as amended ☐ Reject

C.E. MACK
B.Lindsey



A Proposal for the Chief

POLICE CHIEF Fred Thomas is right on the money when he says, "We need a larger presence on the streets." In this emergency, the city's trained police officers should be deployed in patrol work. But in the 7th District, the most violent section of the city where 29 percent of all homicides can be traced, too many cops who ought to be out working beats apparently are instead inside performing jobs that civilians should be doing. City leaders are lobbying the federal government for use of the D.C. National Guard and more money to pay police officers overtime to work in crime-ridden neighborhoods. But as city officials are busy seeking crime-fighting help from the Clinton administration, consider the action that's taking place behind the lines at 7th District headquarters:

- One sergeant is doing the budget;
- Two uniformed officers do payroll records;
- Two sergeants and two uniformed officers file records and order supplies;
- One uniformed police officer repairs motorcycles;
- Two uniformed officers put pins in maps and track crime trends and totals—that's called Crime Analysis;

■ Three desk sergeants and nine uniformed officers are assigned to the station clerk's office to assist people at the counter.

That comes to 22 experienced police officers off the beat and engaged in clerical work in an area crushed by a disproportionate share of the District's violence. If the remaining six patrol districts, the Special Operations Division and other headquarters units have other uniformed officers dedicated to similar activities, it's easy to see why the public, which is supporting a department with more police per capita than any other urban force in the country, complains bitterly that there's no cop there when you need one.

The answer to this problem isn't hard to find. Chief Thomas need look no farther than the three-year-old Rivlin Commission report, which identified the department's wasteful practice of assigning uniformed managers and officers to administrative and staff functions. The safety and well-being of citizens can't be protected by police officers sitting behind closed doors. The commission recommended reassigning those duties from uniformed officers to civilians. It made sense then. It surely does now.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/27

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Clinton Choice for Forest Service Chief Upsets Ranks

✓ By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26 — The Clinton Administration has stirred broad resentment in the ranks of the National Forest Service with a plan to name a political appointee, rather than a career forest manager, to head the agency, which is embroiled in politically sensitive disputes over the use of public woodlands.

Jack Ward Thomas, the government scientist favored for the job by the Agriculture Department, which manages the agency, has been with the forest service for 27 years. But he is not among the ranks of senior managers from which the appointment would usually be drawn, and therefore would have to be promoted as a political appointee.

That prospect has drawn unexpectedly strong condemnation from within the Forest Service, which for a century has prided itself for having a career professional at its head.

Determined to name Mr. Thomas anyway, the Administration has signaled that it plans to do so by using its power to make political appointments outside the career promotion process. Although the nomination has not been made formal, people throughout the forestry establishment said they expected it to be announced soon.

James Lyons, the Assistant Agriculture Secretary for natural resources

Managers say they, not an appointee, should oversee forests.

and the environment, said he viewed the political appointment as an expediency that would, as in the past, put "a career professional from within the agency" at its helm. "I would prefer that people focus less on the process than on the leadership," Mr. Lyons said. "What is most important is strong professional leadership."

Mr. Thomas, generally regarded as an innovative and accomplished scientist, steered the agency's work on the most recent plan for controlling development of the forests of the Pacific Northwest. Opposition appears not to be directed at him personally, but at the idea that the Agriculture Department would be labeling the top forestry job a political one. Mr. Thomas declined to comment.

Representative Bruce F. Vento, the Minnesota Democrat who heads the House Interior Committee's subcommittee on public lands, said that despite Mr. Thomas's credentials naming him as a political appointee would be

"setting a precedent that would be very harmful."

Scores of Forest Service supervisors from coast to coast, and at least four of the service's regional forest managers, have written letters of protest to Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy and the President.

"With all due respect, we oppose this course of action," said 70 forest supervisors in a letter to Mr. Clinton on Friday. "It would set a precedent for all future administrations, making it possible for the then currently correct special interest groups to control the National Forests. Doing so would create a serious threat to the future of the National Forests."

Advocacy groups who for years have criticized the Forest Service as too eager to promote logging are ambivalent about appointing Mr. Thomas, whom they described as a scientist of integrity. "We are reluctant to see gross political interference in the Forest Service," said Jim Pissot, director of the Washington State office of the National Audubon Society. "Yet there has been such gross mismanagement that this may be one case where that is called for."

Years of Dissent

For the past few years the agency has been racked with dissent among its senior managers, many of whom disagreed with the forest policies of the Reagan and Bush Administrations. Some career managers have said that

their decisions about how to protect the health of the forests were being undermined in Washington in order to promote the development of forests.

For weeks, the Agriculture Department has been saying that it would soon remove F. Dale Robertson, the current head of the service, a step that was being urged by groups opposed to heavy cutting of timber. "We need new leadership there," Secretary Espy said three weeks ago.

Many in the Forest Service believed they had been promised that the job would be filled from within the ranks of the senior executive service, a cadre of experienced senior managers who are promoted by competition.

"When Assistant Secretary Jim Lyons met with several of us on Sept. 28, he assured us that he intended to maintain this important tradition," said more than two dozen forest managers from the Pacific Northwest in a letter to Mr. Espy last week.

At a two-hour meeting today between Mr. Espy and hundreds of Agriculture Department senior executives, including some from the Forest Service, the Forest Service job did not come up. But Mr. Espy made a point of telling the executives that he valued their work so much that he often used them even in positions that are normally filled by political appointees.

"I cannot conceive of someone coming in, even a political, and doing better," he said.

UP
How much bigger is this?
What about Vento?
B.

Corruption Issue Enters the NAFTA Debate

Accord's Foes Cite IBM Consultant's Allegation of Mexican Bribery Attempt

By Peter Behr
Washington Post Staff Writer

According to business consultant Kaveh Moussavi, the three strangers who called on him in Mexico City's Nikko Hotel put the matter simply.

For a \$1 million "donation" to the government's antipoverty fund, his client—International Business Machines Corp.—would win a prized contract to modernize Mexico's air traffic control system. Otherwise, they said, IBM would lose.

IBM refused to pay the money, according to Moussavi and the company. The Mexican government ultimately awarded the contract to a European venture.

Moussavi's allegation of high-level Mexican corruption, though unproven, raises an issue that until now has received relatively little attention in the heated debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement: As the two economies converge, can Mexico eradicate the bribery that has long been a fact of its business life? And how will newly arrived U.S. companies, banned by law from making foreign payoffs, cope with Mexico's different legal and ethical climate?

Opponents of NAFTA will try to give the corruption issue new emphasis today, when Moussavi is scheduled to testify before a House Small Business subcommittee. These NAFTA foes have embraced the allegations by the Oxford-educated Iranian as a dramatic

example of the "mordida," the long-standing practice of under-the-table payments to Mexican government officials to get business done.

IBM broke off its relationship with Moussavi after the controversy broke out last February. They have settled their differences through an agreement that restricts both sides from commenting on the case.

But Moussavi's account is challenged by others. A high-ranking Mexican law enforcement official close to the investigation, who refused to be identified by name, questioned Moussavi's veracity and motives. The official said that Moussavi should have realized that the three strangers who called him and saw him in Mexico were not ordinary consultants. They were "coyotes" looking for a payoff, he said.

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agent for the
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/21

A Mexican newspaper, El Financiero, reported yesterday that two IBM officials who worked with Moussavi told Mexican authorities that Moussavi had suggested to them that his commission be increased and that he could cover any payments to others that way. A source close to the investigation supports that report.

Moussavi has refused to comment about the case, citing the confidentiality agreement with IBM.

Mexican officials insist that payments to influence government decisions are illegal there, just as in the United States. But there is no ar-

See NAFTA, F4, Col. 1

Corruption Issue Enters NAFTA Debate

NAFTA, From F1

gument that despite this legal ban, Mexican business deals have long been lubricated by undercover payments.

"We had laws in the past that were so discriminatory and put so many obstacles before private investors that to get along it was necessary to smooth your way," said Santiago Levy, a former Boston University professor who is now president of Mexico's new Federal Competition Commission.

But according to Levy and a host of Mexico's supporters in this country, Mexican business practices are changing under the leadership of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Enacting NAFTA would provide a strong endorsement of recent reforms and speed up the modernization of Mexico's economy—perhaps the best medicine against the hidden currents of corruption, NAFTA supporters say.

By weakening the power of the bureaucracy, the reforms reduce officials' power to extract payments, Levy said. "We've made a fair amount of progress—not that we're home yet," he said.

A cross-section of business executives interviewed for this article generally concluded that the corruption problem in Mexico has improved, although some remain worried by

the slowness of reform in Mexico's court system, which remains closed and often arbitrary by U.S. standards.

Most agreed with Helene Paxton, president of Integrated Diagnostic Inc. in Maryland, that NAFTA should make it easier to do business in Mexico, by making foreign investment more secure and opening new avenues for commerce.

As an executive of the Greater Dallas Chamber of Commerce, Robert L. Klein worked with about 400 small companies that wanted to establish offices in Mexico or sell products there. "Not once did we hear of a company that had to pay," said Klein, who left the chamber recently. Some bribery may go on, but it is dramatically reduced since the 1970s, he said.

NAFTA's opponents argue that the change is an illusion. The best way to bring about a truly democratic Mexico and an honest business culture, say these critics, is to end the one-party political monopoly directed by Salinas's ruling party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Rejecting NAFTA and defeating PRI in next year's presidential elections are essential steps toward that goal, say PRI critics such as Jorge G. Castenada.

NAFTA is "a seal of approval on Salinas and PRI—the whole gamut. That's how it has to be viewed," Castenada said.

THE WASHINGTON POST
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1993

10/22

~~Not a bad idea.~~

✓

The nationalists see nuclear arms as a symbol of power and don't want to give them up. But nuclear weapons won't put food on the table. They're an expensive distraction from the true threat: the social unrest that's sure to follow if Ukraine's economy collapses. Unless Ukraine is prepared to spend billions it can't afford to pay for the infrastructure to control, re-target and maintain the warheads, they are a wasting asset.

Kazakhstan's President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, wants a face-to-face meeting with President Clinton to clinch the deal. President Kravchuk of Ukraine also wants a summit soiree in Washington before facing the electorate back home. But why give him one now? Rewarding Mr. Nazarbayev with a photo opportunity while denying one to Mr. Kravchuk would allow Mr. Clinton to show that the way to win Washington's favors is to disarm.

✓

Speaker Thomas Foley, who had reluctantly agreed to accept a \$20 gift limit that includes meals, pounced on the dissatisfaction to appoint a committee of Democratic and Republican leaders to "study the issue." No one can be sure what the study committee will do when it meets later this week. But the maneuvering has the worrisome feel of an insider cabal to preserve a disreputable status quo.

The freshmen who ran on promises of reform should be screaming loud enough to be heard inside the room where the panel will meet. They need to remind their party elders that the public has a strong stake in this, too, and that the world won't end if members of Congress have to pay for their own meals and vacations.

GS/cas ~~Bob Baggett~~

Score for Defects
in Tables

This explains what happened.

Knocked Out by the Freshmen ✓

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 — Perpetually teetering on the edge in Washington's annual budget battles, the superconducting supercollider had managed to survive one brush with death after another like an alley cat with extra spring in its legs.

But the proton smasher lost its ninth life on the House floor last week, the victim of a new generation of politicians whose faith in big science has been shaken by the kind of cost overruns and construction delays that have dogged the supercollider for years.

Eighty-one of the 113 freshmen casting votes in the House moved to kill the project, defying the advice of President Clinton and the House leadership of both parties. It was a majority so overwhelming that House leaders could not revive their strategy of last year, which was to go along with the Senate's solid support for the project even after the House voted to kill the project.

Many of the freshmen have challenged the old boy network by which members of Congress vote for each other's projects as an exercise in mutual back-scratching that assures their re-elections but also drives up the deficit. The backbenchers have made limited progress, in part because they have been just as meek about tackling automatic spending programs like Medicaid as their elders.

Space Station Is Target

But in the case of the supercollider, those freshmen not representing the construction states of Texas and Louisiana found a cause they could rally against without offending any vital constituency back home. Likewise, the vast majority of House freshmen voted last week to kill the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's \$3.7 billion advanced solid rocket motor project, which was designed to enable the space shuttle to carry heavier cargoes at higher altitudes in orbit. And many freshmen now say they are preparing to take aim at the space station next year.

"It was the House freshmen who were the driving force," grumbled Senator J. Bennett Johnston, a Louisiana Democrat who strongly favored the supercollider project. "They are the product of an angry electorate that wants to cut projects and cut perks. Basically, they are at war with the institution of Congress."

To listen to the post-mortems from the proponents and opponents of the project is to hear two different visions of the Government's role in science, and the replacement of the once limitless faith that politicians put in scientists with a view that the wasteful ways of science contractors must be curtailed.

"This new generation of leaders doesn't understand the difference between an expenditure and an investment," complained Representative Robert G. Torricelli, a six-term New Jersey Democrat and who was a supporter of the supercollider on the Committee on Science, Space and Technology. "Listening to the debate, I wondered if this Congress would have invested in the railroads or the early development of aviation. It certainly is not a Congress that would have invested in the space program."

Representative Martin R. Hoke, a Republican freshman from Ohio who is also a member of science

panel, voiced a different view. "If we find more basic building blocks of the universe," he said, "it's not going to change the way people live."

'Cancer' of Runaway Budget

He added that the project's runaway budget, the fact that its estimated cost rose from \$4.4 billion to more than \$11 billion in just over seven years, demonstrated that the supercollider was "reflective of a cancer, the way a lot of these projects get sold in the first place."

"They are sold on the basis of numbers that are fraudulently produced with the contractors knowing that they are able to obtain more money later," he said.

Only 25 years ago, when Americans were more optimistic about their economic future and frightened that the Soviet Union could pull ahead in

A project to oppose, without offending any vital constituencies.

technology, 5.2 percent of the Federal budget was devoted to nonmilitary scientific research. That figure gradually dwindled to 1.8 percent of the budget last year, as Federal spending on programs like veterans' benefits, Medicaid and Medicare mushroomed, and research spending more or less stagnated.

If all nonmilitary science spending were cut this year, the budget deficit would still climb. But to the freshmen, the supercollider was a ripe symbolic fruit ready for picking. Several put the program on their pet lists for cuts during their election campaigns along with mohair subsidies and House mail franking privileges.

"We are spontaneously as a group against all unnecessary spending, and we were elected on that," said Representative Karen Shepherd, a freshman Utah Democrat.

Congressional supporters of the program knew they had an uphill fight with the incoming freshmen, so Representative Joe Barton, Republican of Texas, sent every one of them extensive literature on the project before they arrived in Washington and invitations to visit Waxahachie to see construction in progress. But only a handful accepted the invitation, and by their own account, few freshmen studied the program as closely as other issues like health care and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

"It's not something I stayed up at night reading about," said Representative Ernest J. Istook Jr., a Republican freshman from Oklahoma who voted against the supercollider. "The decision had to be made on what you can afford to do and what you cannot afford to do."

Representative Sam Coppersmith, a freshman Democrat from Arizona who is a member of the science committee, thought long and hard about the project, and concluded that it did have noteworthy scientific merit. But in the end, he voted against the project, because of the cost overruns.

"There should be some penalty for promising and not performing," he concluded.

True Believer

Harder Line Prevails As Neal Knox Gains Control Over NRA

His Zealotry Even Dismays
Some Shooters, but Views
Are Shaping Gun Debate

Arm Somali Mothers, He Says

By ERIK LARSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ROCKVILLE, Md. — Critics of the National Rifle Association often wonder why it opposes such seemingly moderate gun laws as the Brady Bill. What they overlook is the passion that infuses the pro-gun side of the debate, specifically, the thing that drives Neal Knox, the man sipping coffee at his country club here.

His allies and opponents alike call him the quintessential true believer, driven by an unshakeable conviction that the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guarantees an absolute individual right to keep and bear firearms. "He is the strongest defender of the Second Amendment I have ever worked with," says Marion Hammer, the NRA's second vice president. Mike Beard, president of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, in Washington, says he always had a lot of "grudging respect" for Mr. Knox. "He knew what he wanted and he wouldn't accept anything less than that. He wanted absolute adherence to the NRA line."

Although he is little known outside gun circles, Mr. Knox is likely to have a greater impact on the rapidly escalating fire-fight over gun control than any other individual in America. Over the past three years, Mr. Knox, one of 75 directors on the NRA's board, built his influence within the association to where he now has virtual control over its operation and policies. "Absolute, total control," says one disgruntled former director, recently ousted by the Knox camp.

His rising influence comes at a time when the nation seems primed for a new round of gun controls. Signs of the shift: Polls showing widespread support for new gun controls; the increased willingness of politicians to attack the NRA; and three dozen gun bills stacked up in Congress, including the Brady Bill, expected to come up for debate today in the House Judiciary Committee as part of a broader crime bill. The Brady Bill proposes a waiting period for handgun purchases, to be replaced later by an instant criminal-record check at the time of purchase.

Against this tide stands an increasingly fundamentalist NRA gaining 1,000 net new members a day and imbued with Mr. Knox's belief that any firearms regulation, however modest, moves the country another step onto the slippery slope toward outright confiscation and tyranny.



Neal Knox

Solving the Somali Crisis

In Mr. Knox's view, the gun barrel is the fountainhead of freedom: The Second Amendment puts the teeth in the Bill of Rights, guaranteeing through the threat of grass-roots armed force that the government will respect all other rights. He is a recent convert to a belief now gaining ground in gun circles that the federal Gun Control Act of 1968 may have been modeled on a 1938 Nazi gun-control law. He would have solved the Somali crisis, he says, not by disarming the country but by arming the Somali masses, specifically by giving AK-47s to Somali mothers.

"If those mothers had been armed, what do you think would have happened if some old boys in a Jeep with a .50-caliber machine gun had pulled over the truck that was bringing a little bit of food to some mother's starving baby? That mother would have blown away everybody on that truck, and that would have been that. That is an armed people."

To activists in the Knox camp, the NRA of the late 1980s was an ineffectual good old boy's club with a penchant for selling out gun rights. They credit Mr. Knox with transforming the association over the past three years into a hard-line political force more resolved to stand firm against firearms regulation. In the process, Mr. Knox transformed himself from a pariah, fired from an NRA executive post in 1982, to the NRA's spiritual master. Now when he gives speeches to the faithful, his trademark greeting "Good Morning, Gun Lobby!" invariably incites a brief period of pandemonium.

Attacking NRA Leadership

Paradoxically, he may also be partly to blame for the new perception of the NRA as a vulnerable target, despite its record size of almost 3.3 million members. In his quest for influence, Mr. Knox attacked the NRA leadership throughout the 1980s, widening an internal rift over the NRA's mission. Never the unified monolith it has been painted to be, the NRA harbors factions of shooters who oppose his fundamentalist bent. A recent survey by Louis Harris, denounced by the NRA as "a piece of junk," provided tantalizing if inconclusive evidence that even many among the NRA rank-and-file are willing to endorse certain gun controls. Some competitive shooters in particular say they feel abandoned. "I'm so disillusioned, it's terrible," says Wil-

Please Turn to Page A5, Column 1

True Believer: The Harder Line Prevails Within Neal Knox's NRA

Continued From First Page

liam Deneke, a former NRA director who heads its International Competition Committee, which governs the U.S. Olympic shooting team.

In his tweed shooting jacket and wire-rimmed glasses, Mr. Knox, 58 years old, looks more like a benevolent grandfather than a political firebrand. But he relishes confrontation. In his newsletter, *The Hard Corps Report*, and on his tape-recorded legislative-update service, Mr. Knox talks of "taking out" politicians who oppose the NRA. He is known to be fond of the maxim "It is good to be loved, far better to be feared."

He got a BB gun at the age of five, his first rifle at nine, and went on to become a prominent gun journalist and champion target shooter in the "Heavy Varmint Rifle" category. He traces the birth of his gun-rights commitment to 1955 when, as a national guardsman at Fort Sill, Okla., he heard a Belgian-born colleague describe the execution of his childhood playmates and the rest of their family by Nazi soldiers. Their father had been unable to locate a gun he had registered with prewar Belgian authorities. "That was my conversion on the road to Damascus," Mr. Knox says. "I was determined that wouldn't happen here if I had anything to do with it."

As Mr. Knox sees it, any firearms regulation merits full-scale resistance. The Brady Bill is "the camel's nose under the tent," he says. "A little Mickey Mouse waiting period, that isn't what they want." But fighting such bills, he concedes, is a tricky business. "What we're talking about is fighting on the frontier. It is more difficult to stand up and fight what appears to be a reasonable, modest bill . . . but you can't wait until they get to First and Main before you start fighting."

Declaring War on ATF

He has found, however, that he has had to do his fighting inside as well as outside the NRA. In 1977 he led a coup that deposed its executive officers and revamped its rules governing internal elections. Soon afterward, the NRA appointed him to head its lobbying division, the Institute for Legislative Action. He says he promptly "declared war" on the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, a unit of the Treasury Department.

At his direction, the NRA produced a video, "It Can Happen Here," which likened the bureau to a domestic Gestapo and featured Michigan Democrat Rep. John Dingell, an NRA board member, describing ATF as a "jackbooted group of fascists." In 1979, Mr. Knox set out to attack the Gun Control Act of 1968—"to repeal the guts out of it, and leave what was hanging"—and conceived the McClure-Volkmer Act, which, when passed in 1986, partially achieved his goal.

Mr. Knox thinks he may have grown too feisty. In 1982, he was fired. Suddenly, he says, the NRA had powerful friends on Capitol Hill, "and a warrior ready to tear up the administration didn't fit in."

Far from leaving gun politics, Mr. Knox began an epic comeback. In 1983 he was elected a director. But the board, still smarting from the 1977 coup, expelled him early in 1984, ostensibly for lobbying against official positions taken by the NRA. To the board, says John Wootters, a longtime friend and a director at the time, "he was the devil."

Undaunted, he founded the Firearms Coalition, his one-man lobbying firm, which he continues to operate from his Rockville, Md., home. Twice he ran for executive vice president, the NRA's chief executive officer. Twice he lost.

The Final Assault

He remained convinced, however, that only the NRA had the size and budget to defend the Second Amendment. He launched yet another electoral assault, this time resolving to overhaul the board itself. In his columns in *Shotgun News* and other gun publications, he sniped at then-

executive vice president J. Warren Cassidy, accusing him of being too ready to make deals with anti-gunners. In the same columns, Mr. Knox campaigned aggressively to have himself and fellow gun-rights activists elected as directors, using a petition process established in the 1977 coup. He succeeded to the point where now his camp occupies at least two-thirds of the board seats.

Now, it is the Knox board that has gotten a bit testy about dissent. Earlier this year the board began internal "ethics" proceedings against three former directors after they publicly criticized the displacement of veteran directors and a \$32 million operating deficit incurred by the NRA last year. (The NRA says \$14.2 million of this is merely a paper deficit attributable to its practice of amortizing revenue from new member dues over the life of the membership, while booking the cost of acquiring each member when incurred.)

One of the accused was forgiven after

offering a formal apology; another, Paul Daniels, president of the Florida Sport Shooting Association, a state affiliate of the NRA, was suspended from the NRA for two years. Ray Burden, a revered director for 24 years before losing his seat to the Knox camp this year, learned he too had been censured. "Neal Knox wrote anything he damn well pleased," Mr. Burden grouches. "The instant I say anything, I get brought up on ethics charges."

His anger rising, he adds: "I feel like it's a bunch of b—. It's gonna hurt them a lot more than it hurts me."

Minority Power

Indeed, just how much of a grass-roots mandate Mr. Knox holds is unclear. Political power within the NRA is exercised by a tiny minority of members. Only members who pay the "life" membership fee of \$500 or who have remained members for five consecutive years are allowed to vote in elections. One-third meet the requirements, but only a tenth of these, presumably the most ardent, actually vote.

Equally unclear is whether the new members share Mr. Knox's fervor. From June 1991 through September 1993, the NRA gained 783,000 net new members, twice the total membership of its largest opponent, Handgun Control Inc., headed

by Sarah Brady. But Mr. Knox says he harbors no illusions about how committed the new members are likely to be. "I'm delighted to have these newcomers to the NRA," he says, "but there's some NRA members, it's obvious, who come and go." Mr. Knox's own father, now 81, drifts on and off the membership rolls, and currently is not qualified to vote.

"Many of those people joining right now are in general the less-educated, from a Second Amendment standpoint," Mr. Knox says. "They have less understanding of these issues or they would have joined long ago." The members who matter most, he says, are the hard-core activists. "There's an old saying: 'It's not the size of the dog in the fight that matters; it's the fight in the dog.'"

But lately, gun-control advocates have begun proclaiming that this dog has lost its bite. By way of example, they point to Virginia Attorney General Mary Sue Terry's willingness to campaign openly against the NRA in her bid to become governor in next week's election.

Mr. Knox calls such appraisals "wishful thinking." With obvious glee, he cites a recent poll showing Ms. Terry trailing her NRA-backed opponent, Republican George Allen, by 17 points, after starting the race with a solid lead. If Mr. Allen wins, Mr.

Knox crows, "it'll be a whale of a coup and a black eye to all the folks over at HCI [Handgun Control Inc.] who are telling the world this is a big important issue here and this is the way to get elected."

'Dragons to Slay'

He counts the NRA's campaign against the Brady Bill as something of a victory, even though Congress is widely expected to enact some form of the bill by Thanksgiving. "I would have bet the Brady Bill would have passed in the last two Congresses, particularly the last Congress, and it didn't," Mr. Knox says.

Now, after years of attacking the former NRA leadership, it is the Knox camp that will have to prove itself in battle. So far, the rising clamor for gun control seems to have helped the NRA woo members. "You've got to have dragons to slay," says Mr. Cassidy, the former executive vice president. "And Bill Clinton and Janet Reno are magnificent dragons." But, he asks, "who are the incumbents [in the NRA] going to blame for the defeats? It'll be interesting to see how they handle that."

Critics inside the organization worry that Mr. Knox's no-compromise approach could isolate the NRA. They frequently cite a series of his columns published last year

urging NRA members not to vote for the re-election of George Bush because of his executive order banning the importation of so-called assault weapons. "You can only be so hard, you can only be so tough and unbending," says Ray Burden. "This hard line, it wears pretty thin after a while."

"The NRA does have a problem," says Joseph P. Tartaro, president of the Second Amendment Foundation, Buffalo, N.Y. "How successfully they are able to convince their members and the general public that they are not just for indiscriminate gun ownership will have an influence on what gun legislation is passed." Any loss will further batter the NRA's image. "For the NRA to look good, it has to win every battle. For the other side to look good, it has to win one battle," says Alan Gottlieb, chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Bellevue, Wash.

Mr. Knox says the NRA is just as powerful as always, if not more so, but adds: "I don't ever claim that you can fight on this many fronts at one time and not lose any battles."

He has no plans to relent. "Sarah"—meaning Sarah Brady—"thinks we've given them a hard time," he says. He grins with boyish delight. "They ain't seen nothin' yet."

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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"PROMOTING THE COMMON GOOD THROUGH THE PRACTICE OF VIRTUES"

HOMILY FOR THE "RED MASS"

JOHN CARROLL SOCIETY

CATHEDRAL OF ST. MATTHEW THE APOSTLE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

JOSEPH CARDINAL BERNARDIN

October 3, 1993

My dear brothers and sisters in the Lord:

I am grateful to Cardinal Hickey for the invitation to be the homilist for this year's Red Mass, sponsored by the John Carroll Society. This Mass on the Sunday prior to the first Monday in October, which traditionally marks the opening of the Supreme Court's new term, is an appropriate occasion for us to gather in prayer. We ask God's guidance and wisdom for the President, the Congress, the Judiciary, the Diplomatic Corps, and all who serve our nation.

The scriptural readings we have just heard give us the image of a vineyard. As described by the prophet Isaiah, this vineyard was very valuable property which symbolized the wealth of the land. However, his parable suggests that this wealth had not produced a just society. The threat that the vineyard would be turned into a ruin was fulfilled quite literally after the Assyrian invasions during the eighth century B.C.¹

Isaiah used the song of the vineyard to establish why judgment was appropriate for God's people, and to show that their

behavior was tantamount to a total failure to live up to the demands of their privileged position.² The song, therefore, is a sophisticated form of legal indictment of those who had broken the covenant of justice and love.

The Gospel of St. Matthew continues Isaiah's image of the vineyard. The interpretation of this gospel parable is made clear to us by its connection to Isaiah's song of the vineyard: God is the owner of the vineyard; the vineyard is the community; the vinedressers are the religious and political leaders who have been entrusted with the care of the community; the servants who were sent to the vineyard were the prophets, but they all met the same bad fate. The son is Jesus Christ. The owner expects that at least his son (Jesus) will be received with respect. In fact, he receives even worse treatment, to the point of being killed. His murder is the rejection of the gospel message by the vinedressers, the leaders.³

The threat that the vineyard would be taken away and given over to others, who live in accord with justice, is a cogent reminder for us who exercise leadership positions in our religious and political communities. If we do not act as responsible stewards and servants of the communities in our care, our leadership will be taken away and given to those who will act responsibly and in accord with the demands of justice. (Those of you who face the prospect of a re-election campaign know all too well the reality of that challenge!)

As we look out across the nation, the vineyard in our care, we see a valuable community of people with a wealth of talents and resources. But it is threatened with destruction and ruin by the forces of violence and narrow self-interest. Perhaps now as never before, people in many of the communities of our nation live in fear of crime. Perhaps now as never before, human life cries out for dignity and respect at every stage and in all circumstances -- from conception to natural death. Perhaps now as never before, our failings as individual citizens threaten the common good of the vineyard in our care, the vineyard of our nation.

May I suggest a way to address this threat, a way which will entail no new government programs, no new laws, and best of all, no new expenditures of funds! That is because the means I suggest are not political, legal, or financial, but spiritual. My suggestion is that, as a nation, we embark on a concerted effort to promote the common good through the practice of virtues. Although not requiring any new government programs, new laws, or new expenditures of funds, the promotion of the common good in this way does call for a change of focus, a change of emphasis, a change of direction, a change of attitudes, and a change of heart.

When considering the common good, it is far too easy to fall into the trap of seeing the common good as somehow opposed to individual rights and freedoms. This is a false dichotomy since individual concerns are inherently contained in consideration of the common good. The common good is not concerned with the good of the

community in a way that sets itself in opposition to the rights and freedoms of individual persons. In fact, the common good of the community is harmed when individual rights and freedoms are not respected. On the other hand, the individual is harmed when narrow self-interests and the pursuit of purely private gain are pursued without reference to the needs and interests of the community as a whole.

As described by the Second Vatican Council in the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, "The common good... is the sum total of all conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfillment more fully and more easily."⁴ Thus, there is a dynamic relationship between the individual and the rest of society in promoting the common good. This relationship is reflected in the law of the Catholic Church, which says that "in exercising their rights, individuals and social groups are bound by the moral law to have regard for the rights of others, their own duties to others and the common good."⁵

While the United States Constitution has no similar provision, the common good does have a special place in our nation's understanding of its laws and system of justice. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 voted unanimously against adding a Bill of Rights to the Constitution, considering it unnecessary. It was not that the delegates were against such rights; they simply considered the matter already covered inherently in the Constitution and its parameters for the governance of the nation.⁶ As Alexander Hamilton said, an

enumeration of rights "would sound much better in a treatise of ethics than in a constitution of government."⁷

As we all know, proponents for a specific listing of protected rights, led by Thomas Jefferson, prevailed within two years of the Constitution's ratification and amended the document to include the first ten amendments as the Bill of Rights. This listing has made us keenly aware of the individual rights which we enjoy in this country. May I suggest that, even though not mentioned specifically in the Constitution, the common good is a fundamental principle which serves as a basic pillar of our nation's understanding of its laws and system of justice.

Just as respect for individual rights is inherent in promoting the common good, so also, when individuals conduct their lives in accord with the virtues, the common good is promoted. Perhaps this is more easily seen by considering the opposite. When individuals fail to live their lives virtuously, that is, when their conduct is marked by a life of sin and vice, then society as a whole, and thus the common good, is harmed.

Let me give you an example. Some time ago, a philosophy professor wrote an article criticizing the way ethics is taught in U.S. higher education. She charged that social policy questions were being overemphasized with little or no attention being paid to private morality. A colleague of hers objected to the article and alleged that "You are not going to have moral people until you have

moral institutions." Promoting "bourgeois virtues" instead of awakening the social conscience of students was a waste of time, she said. This colleague changed her mind, however, when she discovered that more than half of her students had cheated on a social justice final exam!⁸ In other words, it is a question of both personal morality and social justice. One without the other will not work.

Although it may be impossible to provide a list of virtues upon which everyone would agree, the ethics of virtue has certain common features which primarily involve a focus on individual character: Actions are important because they show a person's values and commitments. It is a person's good character that produces practical moral decisions "based on beliefs, experience, and sensitivity, more than on rules and principles."⁹

The new Catechism of the Catholic Church, reflecting our Catholic tradition, defines virtue as "a habitual and firm disposition to do good. It permits a person not only to do good deeds, but also to give the best of himself or 'herself.'"¹⁰ We distinguish virtues as being human and theological.

Human virtues are attitudes, dispositions, and understandings by which we regulate our actions, control our passions, and guide our conduct in accord with reason and faith.¹¹ Four virtues are called cardinal, not because they apply only to Cardinals (!), but because, coming from the Latin word, cardo, which means "hinge," all other virtues depend on these: prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance.

Prudence is the virtue which disposes practical reason to discern in every circumstance our true well-being and to choose the correct means to achieve it. St. Thomas Aquinas, following Aristotle, described prudence as the "right rule of action."¹² It is prudence which directly guides the judgments of conscience.¹³

Justice is the moral virtue which consists in the constant and firm willingness to give to God and neighbor that which is due. Justice disposes one to respect the rights of all and to establish in human relations that harmony which promotes the common good and fairness respecting all persons.¹⁴

Fortitude is the moral virtue which secures strength and constancy in the search for well-being when faced with difficulties. The virtue of fortitude is able to conquer fear, even fear of death, so that a person is willing to sacrifice his or her own life in order to defend a just cause.¹⁵

Temperance is the virtue which moderates the attraction of pleasures and provides a balance in the use of created things. Through temperance, persons are able to exercise control over the instincts and appetites of the senses and maintain their desires within appropriate limits.¹⁶

The human virtues are rooted in the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. They are called theological virtues because their reference point is God himself, leading human beings to a participation in God's divine nature.¹⁷

Faith is the theological virtue by which we believe in God and all that he has said and revealed, and which the Church proposes, because God is the essence of Truth.¹⁸

Hope is the theological virtue by which we aspire to the kingdom of heaven and to the happiness of eternal life, placing our confidence in the promises of Christ and in the assistance of the grace of the Holy Spirit rather than in our own powers and abilities.¹⁹

Charity or love is the theological virtue by which we love God above all else and our neighbor as ourselves.²⁰ Loving one another, the disciples imitated the love of Jesus.²¹ For this reason, Jesus said: "As the Father has loved me, so I have loved you; live on in my love" (John 15:12).

Charity is greater than all the other virtues.²² The exercise of all the virtues is animated and inspired by charity.²³ As St. Paul wrote, "There are in the end three things that last: faith, hope, and love, and the greatest of these is love" (1 Cor. 13:13).

Although I am speaking to you as a pastor in the context of a Catholic celebration of the Eucharist, my message of promoting the common good through the practice of virtues is by no means limited only to Catholics. Indeed, we have the example of none other than St. Paul, who relied on the ethical teaching of the Stoics and not on

any uniquely Christian doctrine when he wrote the words we heard in today's second reading from his Letter to the Philippians: "Your thoughts should be wholly directed to all that is true, all that deserves respect, all that is honest, pure, admirable, decent, virtuous, or worthy of praise. Live according to what you have learned and accepted, what you have heard me say and seen me do. Then will the peace of God be with you" (Phil. 4:8-9).

Just as St. Paul did not assert that there was anything distinctively Christian about this exhortation, neither do I contend that my call for promoting the common good through the practice of virtues is uniquely Catholic or even Christian. Nor is there really anything novel about the concepts of the common good and the virtues. However, we should not necessarily expect this message to have great popular appeal. As Mark Twain said, "Virtue has never been as respectable as money."²⁴ Nevertheless, I believe that this message has great timeliness and necessity for us at this time in our history.

This timeliness and necessity were recognized recently by three organizations representing some 100 million American Christians and Jews. A joint statement issued a few months ago by the United States Catholic Conference, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America said:

The common good is an old idea with a new urgency. It is an imperative to put the welfare of the whole ahead of our own narrow interests. It is an imperative which we fervently hope will guide our people and leaders at this new moment.

It is an imperative for a national embrace of responsibility and sacrifice, of compassion and caring as building blocks for meaningful lives and for a healthy society. We believe we can and must do better.²⁵

I, too, believe that we can and must do better, and I echo the call of our nation's religious leaders that our "faith communities must continue to strengthen our ongoing efforts to engage our constituencies in study, dialogue and action in pursuit of the common good. Let then the leaders of our nation pursue this call and pursue its direction with urgency and creativity."²⁶

May God who has begun a good work in you bring it to fulfillment.

Endnotes

- ¹John J. Collins, "Isaiah" in The Collegeville Biblical Commentary (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1989), p. 419.
- ²R.E. Clements, Isaiah 1-39, New Century Bible (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980), p. 57.
- ³Cf. Daniel J. Harrington, The Gospel of Matthew, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 301-305.
- ⁴Vatican Council II, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, Gaudium et Spes, 26.
- ⁵Vatican Council II, Declaration on Religious Liberty, Dignitatis Humanae, 7; see also canon 223 of the Revised Code of Canon Law (1983).
- ⁶Catherine Drinker Bowen, Miracle at Philadelphia: The Story of the Constitution Convention - May to September 1787 (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1966), pp. 245-247.
- ⁷Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay [Publius, pseud.], The Federalist Papers: A Collection of Essays Written in Support of the Constitution of the United States, ed. Roy P. Fairfield (1788; reprint, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), no. 84, p. 262.
- ⁸Christina Hoff Sommers, "Teaching the Virtues: a blueprint for moral education," Chicago Tribune Magazine, September 12, 1993, p. 14.
- ⁹William C. Spohn, S.J., "The Return of Virtue Ethics," Theological Studies, 53 (March, 1992), p. 61.
- ¹⁰Catéchisme de l'Église Catholique, unofficial translation (Paris: Mame-Librairie Editrice Vaticane, 1992), .p. 381, Art. 7, par. 1803.
- ¹¹Ibid., par. 1804.
- ¹²S.Th. 2-2, 47, 2.
- ¹³Catéchisme, par. 1806.
- ¹⁴Ibid., par. 1807.
- ¹⁵Ibid., par. 1808.
- ¹⁶Ibid., par. 1809.
- ¹⁷Ibid., par. 1812.

¹⁸Ibid., par. 1814.

¹⁹Ibid., par. 1817.

²⁰Ibid., par. 1822.

²¹Ibid., par. 1823.

²²Ibid., par. 1826.

²³Ibid., par. 1827.

²⁴Quoted in Charles E. Bouchard, O.P., "Make Virtue Your Habit," The Catholic Digest (March, 1993), p. 110.

²⁵"The Common Good: Old Idea, New Urgency," Origins 23 (June 24, 1993), p. 83.

²⁶Ibid., p. 85.

10/27
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

FAX TRANSMISSION
PLEASE DELIVER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

TO: NANCY HERNREICH

FAX NUMBER: (202) 456-2883

FROM: BOB ROSE

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVERSHEET: 1

BOB ROSE:

OFFICE: (212) 755-7800

FAX: (212) 755-8936

HOME: (203) 222-8800

NANCY,

WHEN I WAS WITH THE PRESIDENT LAST EVENING, I MENTIONED TO HIM THAT I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S NAFTA EFFORTS TO REACH OUT TO MALCOLM "STEVE" FORBES, JR. OF FORBES MAGAZINE. WHILE FORBES MAGAZINE HAS NOT BEEN SUPPORTIVE OF THE PRESIDENT PREVIOUSLY ON MANY ISSUES, THEY ARE STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF NAFTA. STEVE IS HIGHLY REGARDED BY THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL OUTREACH EFFORT TO HIM FOR ASSISTANCE WITH NAFTA (1) COULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND (2) HOPEFULLY, WOULD LEAD TO OTHER AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST IN THE FUTURE. THE PRESIDENT ASKED ME TO GIVE HIM A NOTE PRIOR TO HIS LEAVING THE DINNER REGARDING THESE DETAILS, HOWEVER, I THOUGHT THIS ROUTE MORE EFFECTIVE. STEVE FORBES @ (212) 620-2282.

THANK YOU,

BOB

Bob

1. *10/26*
cc Bill Daley
John
PO
2.

Bob Rose
Jan or Daley
Swivel
Chair
B

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO MACK MCLARTY, CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: WENDY SMITH *W*
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF SCHEDULING AND ADVANCE AND PRESIDENT'S
TRIP DIRECTOR

RE: MALCOLM "STEVE" FORBES

Last night during the President's attendance at the Democratic National Committee's fundraiser with the party's major Jewish supporters, Mr. Bob Rose approached the President with the following suggestion. Mr. Rose, an early supporter from New York City's financial milieu, spoke to the President about including Malcolm "Steve" Forbes in a business roundtable or some such event. Mr. Forbes, according to Rose, is a fervent supporter of the North American Free Trade Agreement, as is his magazine.

After the event, the President said this information should be directed to your attention. Additionally, I will send a copy of this memo to Bill Daley.

Mr. Bob Rose can be reached at (212) 755-7800 and the number he gave for Steve Forbes is (212) 620-2200.

cc: Bill Daley

Handwritten:
1500-cc stubs
cc: [unclear]
Ms Craft my

Handwritten:
VCC: [unclear]
2 PC

COUDERT BROTHERS

NEW YORK
1114 Avenue Of The Americas
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52, Avenue des Champs-Elysees
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TOYKO
1-1-1, Minami-Aoyama, Minato-ku
HONG KONG
Nine Queens Road Central
SINGAPORE
20 Collyer Quay
SYDNEY
State Bank Centre, Suite 2202
52 Martin Place
BEIJING
Suite 2708-09, Jing Guang Centre
SHANGAI
Union Building, Suite 1804
BANGKOK
c/o Chandler & Thong-Ek
315 Silom Road
SAO PAULO
a/c Machado, Meyer, Sendacz
& Opice, Advogados
Rua da Consolacao, 247

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Handwritten: 10/27

October 20, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

Having returned, after several days in Moscow, I thought I might pass on the following observations: first, the democratic base in Russia is broader and deeper than the Yeltsin base; second, support for Yeltsin could become an occasion for alienating other democrats; third, democracy cannot come to Russia through undemocratic means.

There are a considerable number of intelligent, younger, pro-reform democrats who believe the recent conflict between the Yeltsin administration and Parliament was not inevitable. A considerable number of people of good will, antagonized by the intransigence of Khasbulatov, were nevertheless unconvinced of the need to dissolve Parliament and precipitate a crisis leading to bloodshed. Like the United States itself, the more President Yeltsin proclaims the democratic ideal, the more he will be held to it.

It will be increasingly important for Ambassador Pickering, and others representing U.S. interest in Russia, to reach out to pro-democratic, pro-reform--but non-Yeltsin-- interests to demonstrate our commitment to pluralistic democracy not the democracy of personality.

Care must be taken - especially now - to avoid the impression among those Russians that, to be a friend of the U.S., one must first be a friend of Yeltsin's. Already the impression is abroad that one must be on the President's "team" to participate in U.S.-sponsored programs such as, for example, the new Russian-American Enterprise Fund. If the inner circle of the Yeltsin government is permitted to control distribution of U.S. financial assistance, it will personalize our Russia policy and alienate a growing democratic base which should be on our side.

President William Clinton
October 21, 1993
Page 2

My discussions with leaders inside and outside the Russian government revealed criticism of or deep skepticism about "placing the interests of the State above those of civil society", liquidation of the Constitutional court, placing the interests of the Federation government above the rights of the regions, control of the mass media and outlawing of dissenting opinion, increasing complications for Parliamentary candidacies, presidential control of the central election commission and disbursement of campaign funds, for the upcoming Parliamentary elections.

One prominent Russian businessman summarized it this way: "We are now in a post-totalitarian era of rule by decree. The West should insist on democratic pluralism and criticize undemocratic steps".

I must tell you in great confidence, I fear the U.S., directly or indirectly, is becoming dangerously immersed in the mechanics (including financial) of Russian politics.

I am a veteran of the Church committee (1975-76) and the Senate Intelligence committee (1977-78). In virtually every case during the Cold War where we financed one faction over another it was revealed and the U.S. was damaged. If our financing of democratic politics becomes financing of one political faction, it will damage U.S. interests in Russia for a long-time to come. I urge you as strongly as I can not to let this happen.

As always, I am available to you or others in the Administration at any time to discuss these or other matters, if I can be helpful. Lee and I wish you continued success.

Sincerely,


Gary Hart

GH/gmcg

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Not much new in OEP's weekly
report except the note on
reformulated gas/ethanol on
page 2.

Handwritten:
Mainly
John Podesta
Pod. Not a potential
w/ camp. position
clear conflict

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1993

OCT 22 P4:12

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATIE MCGINTY *Tracy Lindach for*
CC: THOMAS MCLARTY
SUBJECT: OEP WEEKLY REPORT

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

As you know, the PCSD held its second public meeting on Monday (10/18). Molly Olson, the new Executive Director of the PCSD, was introduced at the meeting. The Co-Chairs, Dave Buzzelli of Dow Chemical and Jonathan Lash of World Resources Institute, were pleased that they had an opportunity to meet with you to report on the Council's progress. Keith Laughlin attended a day-long meeting on Tuesday (10/19) with Molly and the staff of Council members to follow through on the action items from Monday's meeting.

CERCLA REAUTHORIZATION

I continue to cochair with Bo Cutter the interagency policy committee on CERCLA Reauthorization. We now meet twice a week for a total of 6 hours of meetings a week. We are beginning to make some progress. On Wednesday (10/20) we met on liability and federal facility issues, and today we will discuss remedy selection issues. We are struggling to meet the goal to deliver Administration positions on CERCLA Reauthorization by November 30.

CLIMATE CHANGE

The Climate Change Action Plan was released in a White House ceremony last Tuesday. Initial press reaction has been generally positive, although some environmental groups expressed disappointment that more aggressive measures were not included. OEP briefed representatives of 25 foreign embassies at the Department of State, where the Action Plan was favorably received. OEP is coordinating testimony for three Congressional hearings scheduled during the next week. Hill reaction has been supportive. The Action Plan will require a significant amount of follow-up -- drafting legislation, instituting assessment and evaluation procedures, establishing policy development task forces, and monitoring agency budget requests to ensure fulfillment of the commitments.

ENVIRONMENTAL SCORECARD

Greenwire, an environmental news service, issued an analysis showing that the Administration has delivered on most Earth Day pledges. "Their follow-through is impressive" said the Greenwire publisher.

RECYCLING EXECUTIVE ORDER

The Vice President announced the Executive Order in New York with Mayor Dinkins on Wednesday. As you know, the order sets new standards for federal procurement of recycled paper, as well as other environmentally preferable products. Press reaction was very positive, as was reaction from environmental groups and cities.

SAN FRANCISCO DREDGING

OEP's working group on the Port of Oakland Dredging Project convened for a second time. We mapped out a strategy so that your commitment for a go-ahead on the project by the end of next year can be achieved. We hope to have an agreement on the process by the end of November, and in time for you to make a return visit to the region.

COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY (CEQ)

Agreement has not yet been reached on the fate of CEQ. OEP continues to work with key House members (primarily Dingell and Studds) and will hopefully outline a plan by mid-next week. An important issue for the White House is to have a CEQ limited in scope to core-NEPA functions only. This appears to still be the major stumbling block.

REFORMULATED GAS/ETHANOL

OEP staff briefed Bruce Lindsey, Christine Varney, Bill Burton, and others on the policy and political issues concerning the role of ethanol in EPA's clean air regulations for reformulated gasoline, which must be issued by December 15. This follows meetings held by OEP, DPC, and Cabinet Relations with EPA, DOE, and USDA. The ethanol industry is seeking a clean air waiver; this is opposed by the oil industry, elements of the gas industry, environmentalists, and state and local air quality officials. No agency or White House policy office supports the waiver. We are reviewing other pro-ethanol measures that could be built into the regulations or announced simultaneously with them without compromising environmental objectives, including proposals for additional tax subsidies or for mandating ethanol use. Measures identified thus far, however, have significant drawbacks: additional tax subsidies increase budget costs; mandates are opposed by the oil industry, may require new legislation, and (depending on how constructed) could lead to higher emissions. OEP, DPC, and Cabinet Relations are working with agencies to get analysis of specific proposals.

ENVIROTECH MARKET IN MEXICO

Thursday, the White House hosted a NAFTA event with 130 executives from environmental technology companies. The Department of Commerce released a study showing that the U.S. envirotech industry has sales totalling \$1 billion annually in Mexico. The U.S. currently has 60% of the Mexican market for environmental technologies. With NAFTA, envirotech exports to Mexico will grow almost 400% by 2000, and more than double the number of jobs supported here at home in this industry. Secretary Brown, Administrator Browner, and Deputy Secretary Bill White addressed the executives, who lobbied their Members before and after the event.

SALMON RECOVERY

OEP conducted the second of its Interagency Salmon Conservation Working Group sessions this week to review a draft recovery plan for 4 listed stocks of salmon on the Columbia and Snake Rivers. The plan was prepared by an outside team of experts for NOAA and is going out for peer review before finalization and presentation to NOAA. Congressional Members (Foley, Dicks, Unsoeld, Swift) were also briefed by the Team with little sparks or fanfare. The salmon issue makes spotted owls look easy because salmon conservation will touch virtually every major facet of life in the Pacific Northwest: hydropower operations, fishing, agriculture, irrigation and water withdrawals, river transportation, the Native American tribes and the states, etc. Because the stakes are very high in the region, the biology and institutional issues complex, OEP has convened an informal group to anticipate and resolve the issues before they become intractable.

FLOOD RECOVERY

OEP and OMB convened a working group of relevant agencies to map out a process for developing a set of long-range options for floodplain management in the Midwest. This effort is part of the Administration's overall effort to be responsive in the wake of the floods and to make use of the opportunity to look anew at how to improve our Federal programs relating to the floodplains.

DIRECTOR'S MEETINGS

PAST WEEK

- 10/20 Press interview -- St. Louis Post Dispatch on flood recovery
- 10/20 Mayor Dinkins and Vice President event announcing of the Executive Order on Recycling
- 10/21 Meetings with industry representatives regarding Superfund
- 10/21 Associate Directors David Doniger and Marc Chupka briefed Bruce Lindsey and others on ethanol/reformulated gas.
- 10/22 David Doniger attended meeting of Gore-Chernomyrdin Energy and Space committees.
- 10/22 Chairing Superfund reauthorization interagency meeting

THIS WEEK

- 10/24 Speaking engagement -- Society of Environmental Journalists, Duke University, North Carolina
- 10/25 Press interview -- Fortune magazine regarding the President's Council on Sustainable Development

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/27/93

TO: ERSKINE BOWLES
(re: SBA (8a) program)

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

This information was dropped off
at the White House. Could you
please review and handle as
appropriate.

**A.
ARNOLD
&
ASSOCIATES**

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5934 Leavenworth Rd.
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Kansas City, KS

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(Drive Through Only)
Kansas City, Missouri 64151
(816) 741-5000

RICKY'S PIT



BAR-B-QUE

Walter Nelson
(VISA - MASTERCARD - DINERS)

RICKY'S PIT BAR-B-QUE
RICKY SMITH - OWNER
334-7000

5934 Leavenworth Rd.
(Dining Room)
Kansas City, KS
Fax # 334-0132

6407 N.W. Cosby
(Drive Through only)
Kansas City, MO 64151
(816) 741-5000

(VISA - MASTERCARD - DINERS)

2021

October 7, 1993

Dear Mr. President:

My name is **Anthony Arnold**, a Developer/Contractor located in Kansas City, Missouri, Region 7.

Prior to my (10) years of operating a small business concern, I served as the Director of "Mo-Kan", Minority Contractors Association, Head-quartered in Kansas City with offices in (7) seven states, representing approximately 2,500 small and minority business concerns for (12) twelve years. During that time, we had the luxury of working with most of the "Federal Family Agencies" locally as well as in Washington, during a period of time when most agencies were just developing internal policies & procedures for minorities, and our organization was used in an effort to help develop Policies & Procedures for Minorities. In addition to the afore-mentioned, I have also had the opportunity to work as a consultant to organized labor, during that time, we worked extremely hard to develop "Mentor-Protege" relationships with minority/majority contractors all over the United States, this program was met with strong opposition from the Republican Party, as this concept was not to their best interest because for the past (12) twelve years, many Republicans such as Senator Bob Dole of Kansas has already developed relationships with minority firms that were reaping the maximum benefits from programs established by Congress to assist minorities.

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce a concept to you that would help your administration develop a jobs program, provide an economic stimulus to minority/majority businesses, strength your relationship with the Congressional Black Caucus, and the other



June 23, 1993

RE: Wrong doing in Region VII.

To whom it may concern:

I, Eugene O. Ables, owner & operator of Gene Ables Excavation & General Construction Co. Inc., previously an SBA (8a) Contractor in Region VII.

I have been a life long democrat, as well as voted for you, your administration, and your philosophy. Due to my party affiliation, I feel that my firm has been subjected to political backlash as it relates to my party affiliation. I hope that there are some things that you and/or your administration can do to stop the wrongdoing and coverups that are still occurring in Region VII, which include Missouri and Kansas.

Trusting that the accompanying documents will be helpful to you and your administration.

I will be available to meet with you or your designee to further discuss and/or testify at any type hearing to convey all of the wrong doing that has and still is occurring in Region VII, this would include, but not be limited to the following:

SBA
SBA Loan Program
SBA 8(a) Program
SBA MESBIC Program
Veterans Administration
Justice Department

We are prepared to come to Washington at our own expense in an effort to further "expound" on the wrong doings in Region VII.

A review and resolve of just our situation alone involves millions of dollars worth of public money and tax dollars.

Awaiting your reply.....

Sincerely

Eugene O. Ables
Eugene O. Ables

John Podesta

DATE: October 21, 1993

TO: Nancy Hernreich

33 OCT 26 PM 2: 56

FROM: Ann McCoy

RE: Information - Walter Nelson

Nancy, Walter Nelson and his friends ask me to forward this information to the President.

Also, they left a small case of barbecue sauce in the Usher's Office for the President.

Can you forward
to appropriate
folks?

These gentlemen
(Nelson & Smith)
are cousins
of a farmer

State Palmetto
assigned to him
for Clinton
security
NH

back-up

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1993

Dear Gentlemen:

The "Health Security Act of 1993" holds the promise of a new era of security for every American -- an era in which our nation finally guarantees its citizens comprehensive health care benefits that can never be taken away.

Today, America boasts the world's best health care professionals, the finest medical schools and hospitals, the most advanced research and the most sophisticated technology. No other health care system in the world exceeds ours in the level of scientific knowledge, skill and technical resources.

And yet the American health care system is badly broken. Its hallmarks are insecurity and dangerously rising costs.

For most Americans the fear of losing health benefits at some time has become very real. Our current health insurance system offers no protection for people who lose their jobs, move, decide to change jobs, get sick, or have a family member with an illness. One out of four Americans is expected to lose insurance coverage in the next two years, many never to be protected again. Altogether, more than 37 million Americans have no insurance and another 25 million have inadequate health coverage.

Rising health care costs are threatening our standard of living. The average American worker would be making \$1,000 a year more today if health care accounted for the same proportion of wages and benefits as in 1975. Unless we act, health care costs will lower real wages by almost \$600 per year by the end of the decade and nearly one in every five dollars Americans spend will go to health care.

Small businesses create most of the new jobs in America and while most want to cover their employees, more and more cannot. Under the current health care system, cost pressures are forcing a growing number of small business owners to scale back or drop health insurance for their employees. Small businesses spend 40 cents of every health insurance dollar for administration -- eight times as much as large companies. And only one in every three companies with fewer than 500 workers today offers its employees a choice of health plan.

Our health care system frustrates those who deliver care. Doctors and nurses are drowning in paperwork, and hospitals are hiring administrators at four times the rate of health care professionals. The system places decisions that doctors should be making in the hands of distant bureaucrats. Its incentives are upside down; it focuses on treating people only after they get sick, and does not reward prevention.

Clearly, our challenges are great. This legislation is sweeping in its ambition and simple in its intent: to preserve and strengthen what is right about our health care system, and fix what is wrong.

Our needs are now urgent. A nation blessed with so much should not leave so many without health security.

This legislation draws upon history. It reflects the best ideas distilled from decades of debate and experience.

It reflects the sense of responsibility that President Franklin Roosevelt called for when he launched the Social Security program in 1933 and recommended that health care be included.

It reflects the vision of President Harry Truman, who in 1946 became the first President to introduce a plan for national health reform.

It reflects the pragmatism of President Richard Nixon, who in 1972 asked all American employers to take responsibility and contribute to their workers' health care.

And it reflects the ideas and commitment of generations of Congressional leaders who have fought to build a health care system that honors our nation's commitments to all its citizens.

Today America stands ready for reform. For the first time, members of both parties have agreed that every American must be guaranteed health care. An opportunity has been placed before us. We must not let it pass us by.

This legislation builds on what's best about the American health care system. It maintains and strengthens America's private health care. It extends the current system of employer-based coverage that works so well for so many. It protects our cherished right to choose how we are cared for and who provides that care. It invests in improving the quality of our care.

This legislation recognizes that America cannot, and need not, adopt one model of health care reform. It allows each state to tailor health reform to its unique needs and characteristics, as long as it meets national guarantees for comprehensive benefits, affordability and quality standards. It establishes a national framework for reform, but leaves the decisions about care where they belong -- between patients and the health care professionals they trust.

Under this legislation, every citizen and legal resident will receive a Health Security card that guarantees the comprehensive benefits package. People will be able to follow their doctor into a traditional fee-for-service plan, join a network of doctors and hospitals, or become members of a Health Maintenance Organization. Like today, almost everyone will be able to sign up for a health plan where they work. Unlike today, changes in employment or family status will not necessarily force a change in health coverage.

The self-employed and the unemployed will receive their health coverage through the regional health alliance, a group run by consumers and business leaders, that will contract with and pay health plans, provide information to help consumers choose plans, and collect premiums. The largest corporations -- those employing 5,000 workers or more -- will have the option of continuing to self-insure their employees or joining a regional alliance.

The legislation is financed by three sources: requiring every employer and individual to contribute to paying the cost of health care; raising excise taxes on tobacco and requiring small contributions from large corporations which form their own health alliance; and slowing the growth in spending on federal health care programs. Enormous efforts have been made to ensure that the financing is sound and responsible.

The Health Security Act is based upon six principles: security, simplicity, savings, quality, choice and responsibility.

Security. First and foremost, this legislation guarantees security by providing every American and legal resident with a comprehensive package of health care benefits that can never be taken away. That package of benefits, defined by law, includes a new emphasis on preventive care and offers all Americans prescription drug benefits.

Under this legislation, insurers will no longer be able to deny anyone coverage, impose lifetime limits, or charge people based on their health status or age. The legislation also limits annual increases in health care premiums, and sets maximum amounts that families will spend out-of-pocket each year, regardless of how much or how often they receive medical care.

The legislation will preserve and strengthen Medicare, adding new coverage for prescription drugs. To meet the growing needs of older Americans and people with disabilities, a new long-term care initiative will expand coverage of home and community-based care.

The legislation also provides residents of underserved rural and urban areas with better access to quality care. It also offers incentives for health professionals to practice in these areas, builds urban-rural health care networks, and protects those doctors, hospitals, clinics and others who care for people in underserved areas.

Simplicity. To relieve consumers, business and health professionals of the burdens of excess paperwork and bureaucracy, this legislation simplifies our health care system. It requires all health plans to adopt a standard claim form; creates a uniform, comprehensive benefits package; and standardizes billing and coding procedures.

Savings. The legislation promotes true competition in the health care marketplace. It increases the buying power of consumers and businesses by bringing them together in health alliances. Health plans will no longer succeed by trying to pick only healthy people to insure; they will have to compete on price and quality. This competition will be backed up by enforceable premium caps.

This legislation also criminalizes health fraud, imposing stiff penalties on those who cheat the system. And it takes steps to reduce "defensive medicine" and discourage frivolous medical malpractice lawsuits by requiring patients and doctors to try to settle disputes before they end up in court, and by limiting lawyers' fees.

Quality. The legislation empowers consumers and health care professionals by providing information on quality standards and treatment results. It calls for new investments in medical research, including heart disease, bone and joint disease, Alzheimer's disease, cancer, AIDS, birth defects, mental disorders, substance abuse and nutrition. To help keep people healthy, rather than only treating them after they get sick, the legislation pays fully for a wide range of preventive services and offers new incentives to educate primary care doctors, nurses and other family practitioners.

Choice. Through comprehensive reform, the legislation gives Americans a new level of control over their health care choices. It ensures that people can follow their doctor and his or her team into any plan they choose to join. It transfers the choice of health plan from the employer to the individual, and guarantees a choice of health plans, including at least one traditional fee-for-service plan. Doctors and health professionals may participate in multiple health plans if they wish.

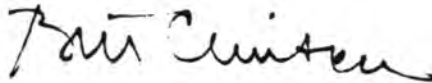
Responsibility. Under this legislation, every employer and individual will be required to pay for health coverage, even if that contribution is small. It extends the current employer-based system for financing health coverage -- a system that now serves nine of every ten Americans who now have health insurance. To ensure affordability, small businesses, low-wage employers and low-income individuals and families will get substantial discounts.

This legislation will strengthen our economy. Our current system is so much more costly than any other system in the world, and the American people should not be asked to pay huge new taxes in order to afford health care reform. This plan raises no new broad-based taxes, but spends our health care dollars more wisely. It levels the playing field for small businesses, making it possible for them to insure their families and employees. It eases the tremendous burden of rising health costs on big business, helping them to compete for global markets. And by bringing the explosive growth in health costs under control, it sets us in the right direction of reducing our national debt.

The legislation restores common sense to American health care. It borrows from what works today, letting us phase in change at a reasonable pace and adjust our course if needed. It builds on what works best -- and makes it work for everyone. Our task now is to work together, to leave behind decades of false starts and

agree on health care reform that guarantees true security. The time for action is now. I urge the prompt and favorable consideration of this legislative proposal by the Congress.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Pat Custer". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Pat" and last name "Custer" clearly distinguishable.

The Honorable Thomas S. Foley
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable George J. Mitchell
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

October 26, 1993

3 OCT 26 AIO: 09

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. PODESTA

FROM:

TERRY W. GOOD *TWG*

RE:

BLUE PASSES FOR ORM STAFF

In the last several Administrations, this office has operated with three West Wing passes. Currently, we are operating with only two. While we have been able to provide adequate West/East Wing support, there have been numerous occasions when Lee Johnson and I have been unable to respond as quickly as promised to immediate or routine requests for assistance. Equally important, these requests have often occurred at times that forced us to temporarily interrupt a project or meeting. We anticipate that our contacts with West/East Wing offices will continue to increase as our function and support capabilities become more widely known.

For these reasons, I would appreciate favorable consideration of a request to assign ORM's next two senior members blue passes.

They are William Roberts and Patricia Young.

Craig Livingstone

Please give me a call about

this.

John D. Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 10/26

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
September 13, 1993

SEP 14 8:27

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HOWARD PASTER HP

SUBJECT: HOUSE VOTING RECORDS

Stuart Trevelyan, a very able staff assistant in our House liaison office, prepared the attached rating of Administration support based on 35 votes taken this year. Such ratings are always subject to fluctuations based on the arbitrary decision of what votes to include. On the other hand, 35 is large enough to be a representative sample.

Attached for your examination is a list of the 35 votes Stuart used in his analysis and an alphabetical list of the House indicating percentages of Administration support.

~~HP~~ Mack
keep up your finger
on this
B

C.C. VP
MACK
George

HOUSE MEMBERS PRESIDENTIAL VOTING PERFORMANCE

Voting Performance by ALL House Members Based on 35 Votes critical to the President's agenda

Alphabetically, with Percent 'FOR' the President's position.

ABERCROMBIE (D-HI)	88.57	BURTON (R-IN)	11.43
ACKERMAN (D-NY)	97.14	BUYER (R-IN)	22.86
ALLARD (R-CO)	20.00	BYRNE (D-VA)	94.29
ANDREWS, ROBERT (D-NJ)	80.00	CALLAHAN (R-AL)	22.86
ANDREWS, MIKE (D-TX)	97.14	CALVERT (R-CA)	22.86
ANDREWS, THOMAS (D-ME)	91.43	CAMP (R-MI)	22.86
APPLEGATE (D-OH)	82.86	CANADY (R-FL)	20.00
ARCHER (R-TX)	5.71	CANTWELL (D-WA)	94.29
ARMEY (R-TX)	5.71	CARDIN (D-MD)	97.14
BACCHUS (D-FL)	97.14	CARR (D-MI)	91.43
BACHUS (R-AL)	17.14	CASTLE (R-DE)	34.29
BAESLER (D-KY)	91.43	CHAPMAN (D-TX)	88.57
BAKER, BILL (R-CA)	14.29	CLAY (D-MO)	88.57
BAKER (R-LA)	11.43	CLAYTON (D-NC)	88.57
BALLENGER (R-NC)	11.43	CLEMENT (D-TN)	88.57
BARCA (D-WI)	77.78	CLINGER (R-PA)	37.14
BARCIA (D-MI)	82.86	CLYBURN (D-SC)	91.43
BARLOW (D-KY)	100.00	COBLE (R-NC)	8.57
BARRETT, THOMAS (D-WI)	97.14	COLEMAN, RONALD (D-TX)	94.29
BARRETT (R-NE)	28.57	COLLINS (R-GA)	17.14
BARTLETT (R-MD)	17.14	COLLINS, CARDISS (D-IL)	91.43
BARTON (R-TX)	8.57	COLLINS, BARBARA (D-MI)	91.43
BATEMAN (R-VA)	40.00	COMBEST (R-TX)	11.43
BECERRA (D-CA)	85.71	CONDIT (D-CA)	60.00
BEILENSEN (D-CA)	82.86	CONYERS (D-MI)	71.43
BENTLEY (R-MD)	45.71	COOPER (D-TN)	91.43
BEREUTER (R-NE)	40.00	COPPERSMITH (D-AZ)	88.57
BERMAN (D-CA)	94.29	COSTELLO (D-IL)	88.57
BEVILL (D-AL)	88.57	COX, CHRISTOPHER (R-CA)	11.43
BILBRAY (D-NV)	100.00	COYNE, WILLIAM (D-PA)	97.14
BILIRAKIS (R-FL)	37.14	CRAMER (D-AL)	82.86
BISHOP (D-GA)	97.14	CRANE (R-IL)	2.86
BLACKWELL (D-PA)	94.29	CRAPO (R-ID)	8.57
BLILEY (R-VA)	37.14	CUNNINGHAM (R-CA)	8.57
BLUTE (R-MA)	51.43	DANNER (D-MO)	88.57
BOEHLERT (R-NY)	71.43	DARDEN (D-GA)	88.57
BOEHNER (R-OH)	8.57	DE LA GARZA (D-TX)	85.71
BONILLA (R-TX)	28.57	DE FAZIO (D-OR)	74.29
BONIOR (D-MI)	88.57	DEAL (D-GA)	65.71
BORSKI (D-PA)	97.14	DELAURO (D-CT)	100.00
BOUCHER (D-VA)	94.29	DELAY (R-TX)	11.43
BREWSTER (D-OK)	71.43	DELLUMS (D-CA)	88.57
BROOKS (D-TX)	88.57	DERRICK (D-SC)	82.86
BROWDER (D-AL)	71.43	DEUTSCH (D-FL)	97.14
BROWN, SHERROD (D-OH)	94.29	DIAZ-BALART (R-FL)	60.00
BROWN, CORRINE (D-FL)	94.29	DICKEY (R-AR)	28.57
BROWN, GEORGE (D-CA)	91.43	DICKS (D-WA)	97.14
BRYANT, JOHN (D-TX)	97.14	DINGELL (D-MI)	94.29
BUNNING (R-KY)	11.43	DIXON, JULIAN (D-CA)	97.14

DOOLEY (D-CA)	85.71
DOOLITTLE (R-CA)	5.71
DORNAN, ROBERT (R-CA)	11.43
DREIER, DAVID (R-CA)	5.71
DUNCAN, JR. (R-TN)	8.57
DUNN (R-WA)	25.71
DURBIN (D-IL)	97.14
EDWARDS, CHET (D-TX)	80.00
EDWARDS, DON (D-CA)	85.71
EMERSON (R-MO)	42.86
ENGEL (D-NY)	88.57
ENGLISH, KARAN (D-AZ)	94.29
ENGLISH (D-OK)	71.43
ESHOO (D-CA)	94.29
EVANS, LANE (D-IL)	91.43
EVERETT (R-AL)	22.86
EWING (R-IL)	20.00
FARR (D-CA)	100.00
FAWELL (R-IL)	22.86
FAZIO (D-CA)	100.00
FIELDS, CLEO (D-LA)	94.29
FIELDS, JACK (R-TX)	5.71
FILNER (D-CA)	91.43
FINGERHUT (D-OH)	88.57
FISH (R-NY)	77.14
FLAKE (D-NY)	88.57
FOGLIETTA (D-PA)	94.29
FOLEY (D-WA)	100.00
FORD, WILLIAM (D-MI)	94.29
FORD, HAROLD (D-TN)	62.86
FOWLER (R-FL)	48.57
FRANK, BARNEY (D-MA)	97.14
FRANKS, GARY (R-CT)	34.29
FRANKS (R-NJ)	42.86
FROST (D-TX)	97.14
FURSE (D-OR)	94.29
GALLEGLY (R-CA)	20.00
GALLO (R-NJ)	51.43
GEJDENSON (D-CT)	100.00
GEKAS (R-PA)	20.00
GEPHARDT (D-MO)	100.00
GEREN (D-TX)	71.43
GIBBONS (D-FL)	97.14
GILCHREST (R-MD)	68.57
GILLMOR (R-OH)	40.00
GILMAN (R-NY)	80.00
GINGRICH (R-GA)	14.29
GLICKMAN (D-KS)	88.57
GONZALEZ (D-TX)	97.14
GOODLATTE (R-VA)	25.71
GOODLING (R-PA)	31.43
GORDON (D-TN)	100.00
GOSS (R-FL)	14.29
GRAMS (R-MN)	14.29
GRANDY (R-IA)	40.00
GREEN, GENE (D-TX)	91.43
GREENWOOD (R-PA)	28.57
GUNDERSON (R-WI)	57.14
GUTIERREZ (D-IL)	94.29
HALL, TONY (D-OH)	91.43
HALL, RALPH (D-TX)	60.00
HAMBURG (D-CA)	88.57

HAMILTON (D-IN)	94.29
HANCOCK (R-MO)	2.86
HANSEN (R-UT)	20.00
HARMAN (D-CA)	91.43
HASTERT (R-IL)	28.57
HASTINGS (D-FL)	88.57
HAYES, JAMES A. (D-LA)	57.14
HEFLEY (R-CO)	20.00
HEFNER (D-NC)	97.14
HERGER (R-CA)	11.43
HILLIARD (D-AL)	85.71
HINCHEY (D-NY)	91.43
HOAGLAND (D-NE)	97.14
HOBSON (R-OH)	51.43
HOCHBRUECKNER (D-NY)	97.14
HOEKSTRA (R-MI)	34.29
HOKE (R-OH)	37.14
HOLDEN (D-PA)	91.43
HORN (R-CA)	57.14
HOUGHTON (R-NY)	60.00
HOYER (D-MD)	100.00
HUFFINGTON (R-CA)	31.43
HUGHES (D-NJ)	88.57
HUNTER (R-CA)	11.43
HUTCHINSON (R-AR)	28.57
HUTTO (D-FL)	51.43
HYDE (R-IL)	34.29
INGLIS (R-SC)	8.57
INHOFE (R-OK)	8.57
INSLEE (D-WA)	91.43
ISTOOK (R-OK)	14.29
JACOBS (D-IN)	60.00
JEFFERSON (D-LA)	94.29
JOHNSON, DON (D-GA)	85.71
JOHNSON, NANCY (R-CT)	62.86
JOHNSON, SAM (R-TX)	8.57
JOHNSON, EDDIE (D-TX)	97.14
JOHNSON, TIMOTHY P. (D-SD)	94.29
JOHNSTON, HARRY (D-FL)	94.29
KANJORSKI (D-PA)	97.14
KAPTUR (D-OH)	94.29
KASICH (R-OH)	20.00
KENNEDY, JOSEPH (D-MA)	97.14
KENNELLY (D-CT)	100.00
KILDEE (D-MI)	94.29
KIM (R-CA)	34.29
KING (R-NY)	25.71
KINGSTON (R-GA)	20.00
KLECZKA (D-WI)	100.00
KLEIN (D-NJ)	85.71
KLINK (D-PA)	91.43
KLUG (R-WI)	42.86
KNOLLENBERG (R-MI)	5.71
KOLBE (R-AZ)	34.29
KOPETSKI (D-OR)	97.14
KREIDLER (D-WA)	94.29
KYL (R-AZ)	22.86
LAFALCE (D-NY)	85.71
LAMBERT (D-AR)	94.29
LANCASTER (D-NC)	85.71
LANTOS (D-CA)	94.29
LAROCCO (D-ID)	88.57

LAUGHLIN (D-TX)	80.00
LAZIO (R-NY)	57.14
LEACH, JAMES (R-IA)	51.43
LEHMAN, RICHARD (D-CA)	80.00
LEVIN, SANDER (D-MI)	100.00
LEVY (R-NY)	37.14
LEWIS, TOM (R-FL)	14.29
LEWIS, JERRY (R-CA)	28.57
LEWIS, JOHN (D-GA)	94.29
LIGHTFOOT (R-IA)	34.29
LINDER (R-GA)	17.14
LIPINSKI (D-IL)	68.57
LIVINGSTON (R-LA)	37.14
LLOYD (D-TN)	85.71
LONG (D-IN)	80.00
LOWEY (D-NY)	97.14
MACHTLEY (R-RI)	65.71
MALONEY (D-NY)	91.43
MANN (D-OH)	82.86
MANTON (D-NY)	94.29
MANZULLO (R-IL)	14.29
MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY (D-PA)	85.71
MARKEY (D-MA)	100.00
MARTINEZ (D-CA)	88.57
MATSUI (D-CA)	97.14
MAZZOLI (D-KY)	100.00
MCCANDLESS (R-CA)	14.29
MCCLOSKEY (D-IN)	100.00
MCCOLLUM (R-FL)	20.00
MCCRERY (R-LA)	37.14
MCCURDY (D-OK)	85.71
MCDADE (R-PA)	40.00
MCDERMOTT (D-WA)	94.29
MCHALE (D-PA)	94.29
MCHUGH, JOHN (R-NY)	48.57
MCINNIS (R-CO)	28.57
MCKEON (R-CA)	11.43
MCKINNEY (D-GA)	88.57
MCMILLAN, ALEX (R-NC)	34.29
MCNULTY (D-NY)	100.00
MEEHAN (D-MA)	94.29
MEEK (D-FL)	88.57
MENENDEZ (D-NJ)	91.43
MEYERS (R-KS)	51.43
MFUME (D-MD)	91.43
MICA (R-FL)	11.43
MICHEL (R-IL)	22.86
MILLER, GEORGE (D-CA)	88.57
MILLER (R-FL)	22.86
MINETA (D-CA)	94.29
MINGE (D-MN)	60.00
MINK (D-HI)	94.29
MOAKLEY (D-MA)	82.86
MOLINARI, SUSAN (R-NY)	45.71
MOLLOHAN (D-WV)	74.29
MONTGOMERY (D-MS)	74.29
MOORHEAD (R-CA)	5.71
MORAN (D-VA)	100.00
MORELLA (R-MD)	80.00
MURPHY (D-PA)	68.57
MURTHA (D-PA)	94.29
MYERS (R-IN)	20.00

NADLER (D-NY)	88.57
NATCHER (D-KY)	100.00
NEAL, RICHARD (D-MA)	94.29
NEAL, STEPHEN (D-NC)	82.86
NUSSLE (R-IA)	11.43
OBERSTAR (D-MN)	91.43
OBEY (D-WI)	97.14
OLVER (D-MA)	100.00
ORTIZ (D-TX)	88.57
ORTON (D-UT)	57.14
OWENS, MAJOR (D-NY)	91.43
OXLEY (R-OH)	20.00
PACKARD (R-CA)	14.29
PALLONE (D-NJ)	71.43
PARKER (D-MS)	65.71
PASTOR (D-AZ)	97.14
PAXON (R-NY)	5.71
PAYNE, LEWIS (D-VA)	88.57
PAYNE, DONALD (D-NJ)	94.29
PELOSI (D-CA)	91.43
PENNY (D-MN)	71.43
PETERSON, COLLIN (D-MN)	62.86
PETERSON, PETE (D-FL)	100.00
PETRI (R-WI)	20.00
PICKETT (D-VA)	60.00
PICKLE (D-TX)	88.57
POMBO (R-CA)	14.29
POMEROY (D-ND)	91.43
PORTER (R-IL)	37.14
PORTMAN (R-OH)	17.39
POSHARD (D-IL)	80.00
PRICE, DAVID (D-NC)	100.00
PRYCE (R-OH)	40.00
QUILLEN (R-TN)	25.71
QUINN (R-NY)	48.57
RAHALL (D-WV)	68.57
RAMSTAD (R-MN)	37.14
RANGEL, CHARLES (D-NY)	91.43
RAVENEL (R-SC)	48.57
REED (D-RI)	97.14
REGULA (R-OH)	57.14
REYNOLDS (D-IL)	94.29
RICHARDSON (D-NM)	100.00
RIDGE (R-PA)	48.57
ROBERTS, PAT (R-KS)	17.14
ROEMER (D-IN)	71.43
ROGERS (R-KY)	45.71
ROHRBACHER (R-CA)	8.57
ROS-LEHTINEN (R-FL)	57.14
ROSE (D-NC)	91.43
ROSTENKOWSKI (D-IL)	91.43
ROTH, TOBY (R-WI)	11.43
ROUKEMA (R-NJ)	40.00
ROWLAND, ROY (D-GA)	68.57
ROYBAL-ALLARD (D-CA)	91.43
ROYCE (R-CA)	8.57
RUSH (D-IL)	88.57
SABO (D-MN)	97.14
SANDERS (I-VT)	88.57
SANGMEISTER (D-IL)	94.29
SANTORUM (R-PA)	28.57
SARPALIUS (D-TX)	68.57

SAWYER (D-OH)	100.00
SAXTON (R-NJ)	31.43
SCHAEFER (R-CO)	17.14
SCHENK (D-CA)	94.29
SCHIFF (R-NM)	45.71
SCHROEDER (D-CO)	82.86
SCHUMER (D-NY)	88.57
SCOTT (D-VA)	94.29
SENSENBRENNER (R-WI)	5.71
SERRANO (D-NY)	91.43
SHARP (D-IN)	85.71
SHAW (R-FL)	37.14
SHAYS (R-CT)	60.00
SHEPHERD (D-UT)	94.29
SHUSTER (R-PA)	8.57
SISISKY (D-VA)	71.43
SKAGGS (D-CO)	94.29
SKEEN (R-NM)	28.57
SKELTON (D-MO)	80.00
SLATTERY (D-KS)	80.00
SLAUGHTER, LOUISE (D-NY)	100.00
SMITH, NEAL (D-IA)	97.14
SMITH, ROBERT F. (R-OR)	17.14
SMITH, NICK (R-MI)	8.57
SMITH, CHRISTOPHER (R-NJ)	57.14
SMITH, LAMAR (R-TX)	37.14
SNOWE (R-ME)	51.43
SOLOMON (R-NY)	11.43
SPENCE (R-SC)	25.71
SPRATT (D-SC)	94.29
STARK (D-CA)	82.86
STEARNS (R-FL)	17.14
STENHOLM (D-TX)	60.00
STOKES (D-OH)	97.14
STRICKLAND (D-OH)	97.14
STUDDS (D-MA)	91.43
STUMP (R-AZ)	5.71
STUPAK (D-MI)	97.14
SUNDQUIST (R-TN)	31.43
SWETT (D-NH)	85.71
SWIFT (D-WA)	97.14
SYNAR (D-OK)	80.00
TALENT (R-MO)	17.14
TANNER (D-TN)	94.29
TAUZIN (D-LA)	60.00
TAYLOR, CHARLES (R-NC)	17.14
TAYLOR, GENE (D-MS)	45.71
TEJEDA (D-TX)	91.43
THOMAS, CRAIG (R-WY)	28.57
THOMAS, WILLIAM (R-CA)	25.71
THOMPSON (D-MS)	79.17
THORNTON (D-AR)	91.43
THURMAN (D-FL)	85.71
TORKILDSEN (R-MA)	48.57
TORRES (D-CA)	91.43
TORRICELLI (D-NJ)	94.29
TOWNS (D-NY)	85.71
TRAFICANT (D-OH)	77.14
TUCKER (D-CA)	91.43
UNSOELD (D-WA)	94.29
UPTON (R-MI)	51.43
VALENTINE (D-NC)	65.71

VELAZQUEZ (D-NY)	88.57
VENTO (D-MN)	97.14
VISCLOSKY (D-IN)	94.29
VOLKMER (D-MO)	80.00
VUCANOVICH (R-NV)	40.00
WALKER (R-PA)	2.86
WALSH (R-NY)	68.57
WASHINGTON (D-TX)	80.00
WATERS (D-CA)	94.29
WATT (D-NC)	97.14
WAXMAN (D-CA)	82.86
WELDON (R-PA)	31.43
WHEAT (D-MO)	94.29
WHITTEN (D-MS)	74.29
WILLIAMS, PAT (D-MT)	80.00
WILSON, CHARLES (D-TX)	85.71
WISE (D-WV)	100.00
WOLF (R-VA)	20.00
WOOLSEY (D-CA)	94.29
WYDEN (D-OR)	91.43
WYNN (D-MD)	97.14
YATES (D-IL)	91.43
YOUNG, DON (R-AK)	42.86
YOUNG, BILL (R-FL)	34.29
ZELIFF (R-NH)	25.71
ZIMMER (R-NJ)	37.14

35 HOUSE VOTES CRITICAL TO THE PRESIDENT

H.R.1 by FORD, WILLIAM (D-MI) -- Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993
02/03/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1022: 265-163 (DEM: 224-29; REP: 40-134)

H.R.2 by SWIFT (D-WA) -- National Voter Registration Act of 1993
02/04/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1026: 259-160 (DEM: 237-14; REP: 21-146)

H.R.1 by FORD, WILLIAM (D-MI) -- Family Medical Leave Act of 1993 Conference
02/04/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1029: 247-152 (DEM: 210-29; REP: 36-123)

H.R.920 by ROSTENKOWSKI (D-IL) -- Emergency Unemployment Compensation
02/24/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1041: 254-161 (DEM: 226-20; REP: 27-141)

H.R.20 by CLAY (D-MO) -- Hatch Act Reform Amendments of 1993
03/03/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1052: 333-86 (DEM: 247-2; REP: 85-84)

H.R.4 by WAXMAN (D-CA) -- National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act of 1993
03/11/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1069: 283-131 (DEM: 225-16; REP: 57-115)

H.C.R.64 by SABO (D-MN) -- Resolution Concerning the Congressional Budget for
Fiscal Years 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998
03/18/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1085: 243-183 (DEM: 242-11; REP: 0-172)

H.R.1335 by NATCHER (D-KY) -- Emergency Supplemental Appropriations, Fiscal
Year 1993, Provision
03/18/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1088: 235-190 (DEM: 231-22; REP: 3-168)

H.R.670 by WAXMAN (D-CA) -- Family Planning Amendments Act of 1993
03/25/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1107: 273-149 (DEM: 221-28; REP: 51-121)

H.C.R.64 by SABO (D-MN) -- Resolution Concerning the Congressional Budget for
Fiscal Years 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998
03/31/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1127: 240-184 (DEM: 239-12; REP: 0-172)

H.R.1430 by ROSTENKOWSKI (D-IL) -- Public Debt Limit, Temporary Increase (Pub.
L. 103-12, approved 4/6/93)
04/01/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1133: 237-177 (DEM: 234-12; REP: 2-165)

H.R.1578 by SPRATT (D-SC) -- Expedited Rescissions Act of 1993
04/29/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1150: 258-157 (DEM: 174-70; REP: 84-86)

H.R.2 by SWIFT (D-WA) -- National Voter Registration Act of 1993
05/05/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1154: 259-164 (DEM: 238-14; REP: 20-150)

S.1 by KENNEDY, EDWARD (D-MA) -- National Institutes of Health
Revitalization Act of 1993 (Pub. L. 103-43, approved 6/10/93)
05/25/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1178: 290-130 (DEM: 230-16; REP: 59-114)

H.R.2118 by NATCHER (D-KY) -- Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993
05/26/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1188: 300-125 (DEM: 202-48; REP: 98-76)

H.R.2244 by NATCHER (D-KY) -- Second Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993
05/26/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1193: 287-140 (DEM: 248-4; REP: 38-136)

H.R.2264 by SABO (D-MN) -- Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993
Agricultural Reconciliation Act of 1993
Student Loan Reform Act of 1993
Veterans Reconciliation Act of 1993
Revenue Reconciliation Act of 1993
Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act
05/27/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1199: 219-213 (DEM: 218-38; REP: 0-175)

H.R.2348 by FAZIO (D-CA) -- Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1994
Congressional Operations Appropriations Act, 1994
06/10/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1217: 224-187 (DEM: 217-24; REP: 6-163)

H.R.5 by CLAY (D-MO) -- Cesar Chavez Workplace Fairness Act
06/15/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1224: 239-190 (DEM: 221-33; REP: 17-157)

H.R.2295 by OBEY (D-WI) -- Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related
Programs Appropriations Act of 1994
Supplemental Appropriations for the New Independent States of
the Former Soviet Union Act, 1993
06/17/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1240: 309-111 (DEM: 202-47; REP: 107-63)

H.R.1876 by ROSTENKOWSKI (D-IL) -- Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade
Negotiations, Provision of Presidential Authority and Fast Track Procedures
06/22/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1247: 295-126 (DEM: 145-102; REP: 150-23)

H.R.2403 by HOYER (D-MD) -- Treasury Department Appropriations Act, 1994
Postal Services Appropriations Act, 1994
Executive Office Appropriations Act, 1994
Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations
Act, 1994
Revenue Forgone Reform Act
Preventing our Federal Building Workers and Visitors from
Exposure to Deadly Smoke (PRO-FEDS) Act of 1993
06/22/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1260: 263-153 (DEM: 227-18; REP: 35-135)

H.R.2446 by HEFNER (D-NC) -- Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1994
06/23/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1261: 347-67 (DEM: 223-18; REP: 123-49)

H.R.2445 by BEVILL (D-AL) -- Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act,
1994
06/24/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1273: 350-73 (DEM: 248-4; REP: 101-69)

H.R.2491 by STOKES (D-OH) -- Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
06/29/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1290: 313-110 (DEM: 236-16; REP: 76-94)

H.R.2493 by DURBIN (D-IL) -- Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
06/29/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1302: 304-119 (DEM: 239-13; REP: 64-106)

H.R.2518 by NATCHER (D-KY) -- Department of Labor Appropriations Act, 1994
Department of Health and Human Services Appropriations Act, 1994
Department of Education Appropriations Act, 1994
Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
06/30/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1311: 305-124 (DEM: 237-18; REP: 67-106)

H.R.2492 by DIXON, JULIAN (D-CA) -- District of Columbia Appropriations Act, 1994 District of Columbia Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions Act, 1993
06/30/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1317: 213-211 (DEM: 200-50; REP: 12-161)

H.R.2118 by NATCHER (D-KY) -- Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993
07/01/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1321: 280-138 (DEM: 241-6; REP: 38-132)

H.R.2520 by YATES (D-IL) -- Department of the Interior and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
07/15/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1339: 278-138 (DEM: 227-17; REP: 50-121)

H.R.2519 by SMITH, NEAL (D-IA) -- Department of Justice and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
Department of Commerce Appropriations Act, 1994
The Judiciary Appropriations Act, 1994
Departments of Commerce, Justice and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 1994
07/20/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1346: 327-98 (DEM: 244-6; REP: 82-92)

H.R.2667 by NATCHER (D-KY) -- Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Relief From the Major, Widespread Flooding in the Midwest Act of 1993
07/27/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1370: 400-27 (DEM: 254-0; REP: 145-27)

H.R.2010 by MARTINEZ (D-CA) -- National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 Domestic Volunteer Service Act Amendments of 1993
07/28/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1379: 275-152 (DEM: 248-5; REP: 26-147)

H.R.2264 by SABO (D-MN) -- Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993

Agricultural Reconciliation Act of 1993

Student Loan Reform Act of 1993

Veterans Reconciliation Act of 1993

Revenue Reconciliation Act of 1993

Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act (Pub. L. 103-66,
approved 8/10/93)

08/05/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1406: 218-216 (DEM: 217-41; REP: 0-175)

H.R.2010 by MARTINEZ (D-CA) -- National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993

Domestic Volunteer Service Act Amendments of 1993

08/06/93 -- HOUSE Vote No. 1408: 275-152 (DEM: 248-6; REP: 26-146)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1993

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Representative Dan Glickman (D-KS)
Representative Jim Slattery (D-KS)

DATE: Today, September 21, 1993

RECOMMENDED BY: Susan Brophy *SB*

PURPOSE: To ask them for their votes on NAFTA.

BACKGROUND: **Slattery** is running for Governor, is worried about the politics of NAFTA vis a vis organized labor, and therefore is leaning no. His staff has suggested that he might announce against next week. The loss of Slattery would be great and would give alot of momentum to the anti-NAFTA groups. In addition, it would make it less likely that **Glickman** would support because he would be the only Democrat in the state supporting NAFTA. Glickman, as you know, was leaning yes, went home in August and got crucified in his district. He recently had a briefing by the CIA that he thought was compelling and now he is considered to be leaning yes. The loss of Slattery would imperil our ability to get Glickman. Hence, these are vital calls.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. Talk to both of the consequences of NAFTA failing from a foreign policy and trade perspective.
2. Tell Slattery the Administration is prepared to give him political cover and other assistance.
3. If Slattery is still a no, ask him not to do anything publicly.

CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): Rep. Glickman 225-6216
Rep. Slattery 225-6601

DATE OF SUBMISSION: October 21, 1993

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

10/25 25:25

October 25, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL *RE*

Subject: Nafta Support

As you may know, Congressman Lewis F. Payne (VA-5) and Congressman Peter Torkildsen (MA-6) announced their support for Nafta today. We are continuing to build momentum, and will continue working on the rest of the undecided members.

*Manley
dealer sum 11 hours
them as they come out*

Why U.S. Is Indeed Productive

Strong Suits in Skills and New Technology

By SYLVIA NASAR

Contrary to a widely held view that the United States is an industrial has-been whose productivity in manufacturing has been surpassed in some other countries, a new study concludes that for manufacturing as a whole, the United States still holds a significant edge over the presumed world standard-setters, Germany and Japan.

The yearlong study — by the consulting firm McKinsey & Company, together with three of the nation's top experts on productivity including Robert M. Solow, a Nobel laureate in economics — combined research into nine industries with a wide array of available statistics. While other studies have also found that the United States was still the world's productivity leader in manufacturing, the new study provides a more detailed look at individual industries.

Productivity, or output per hour worked, is the ultimate yardstick of an economy's competitiveness. It determines a nation's material standard of living as well as its standing among nations.

Explaining the Disparities

Perhaps the most provocative findings concern the probable causes of the productivity differences that do exist. It concludes that in industries where the United States has fallen behind, the reasons have more to do with how goods are produced than with the skills of workers or the quality of technology.

"If the United States is lagging behind Japan in certain manufacturing industries, it doesn't appear to be because of the failure of our schools or technology," said Martin Baily, a University of Maryland professor, who helped direct the study. "We haven't put enough effort into organizing the workplace and designing products so that they are easy to manufacture."

Others versed in the field welcomed the McKinsey effort. "A couple of economists in some dingy room

can cook up anything," said John A. Young, former chief executive of the Hewlett-Packard Company and chairman of President Ronald Reagan's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness. "This draws on McKinsey's incredible network of people in the field who can do a little sanity check on the numbers."

The study, a sequel to a McKinsey report last year that found the American service industries had a large productivity lead over the German and Japanese industries, challenges the view of some influential economists — from Lester Thurow, M.I.T., author of "Head to Head: The Coming Economic Battle Among Japan, Europe and America," to Laura D'Andrea Tyson, chief of the Council of Economic Advisers — who have argued that American manufacturing has been overtaken by German

Continued From First Business Page

and Japanese industries.

"There's a lot of conventional wisdom swirling around here that's turning out, by and large, just to be wrong," said Bill Lewis, director of the McKinsey Global Institute in Washington, and a former Assistant Secretary of Energy in the Carter Administration.

The study also suggests that losing leadership in a particular set of industries — cars, steel, consumer electronics — does not preclude first-rate economic performance or, for that matter, high living standards any more than a student with A's and B+'s would necessarily be less able than one who has a mixture of A+'s and D's.

"In the heads of a lot of people, there's a consumer-electronics theory of economic welfare," said Francis Bator, a Harvard University economist, who advised the research team. "It's nonsense."

The advice the report proffers runs

Plenty of skills and high technology. Now, organization is something else.

counter to the conventional wisdom, and boils down to doing what the United States — as opposed to Europe and Japan — has already been doing: Where you lag, open your borders — not just to imports, but to transplants; where you lead, set up shop in the countries of the laggards.

"You can make theoretical arguments about managed trade," Mr. Lewis said, "but the evidence that we found, for the first time, is that the more open you are, the more productive you become. On the U.S. side, the proof is the renaissance of the U.S. auto industry."

McKinsey's comparisons of individual industries show that the United States is by no means the most efficient producer of all products: Japanese output an hour is 15 percent to almost 50 percent higher in cars, car parts, machine tools, consumer electronics and steel.

Germany's productivity, which is half to three-fourths this country's in half a dozen industries from cars to beer, is equal to the United States' in steel and machine tools.

But these industrial powerhouses trail so far behind in some other industries — packaged food in Japan, beer and cars in Germany — that,

measured in dollars of comparable purchasing power, the average Japanese or German factory worker produces \$8 worth of goods in the time it takes an American worker to make \$10 worth. The comparisons are based on case studies of nine industries that account for about a fifth of United States manufacturing.

In Japan, for example, a worker in the highly protected and fragmented food-processing industry — which employs more workers than the auto, computer, consumer-electronics and machine-tool industries combined — produces \$39 worth of food in an hour, compared with an American counterpart's \$119.

"What makes the Japan-U.S. comparison for manufacturing as a whole so much in the U.S. favor is that food production is such a large business in Japan and is so primitive," Professor Bator said.

The study suggests that a lack of leading-edge technology is less important than some suggest. Brewers in Germany, for example, are far less productive than Japanese or American beer makers. But the reason is hardly that the Germans lack the technology. The more efficient American and Japanese brewers use machinery imported from Germany.

Quality Beyond Technology

Nor is lesser technology necessarily the difference in cars. General Motors, for instance, poured billions into robots and other glitzy technology, while Toyota and other Japanese manufacturers placed less emphasis on a high-tech approach and concentrated on how they trained, organized and motivated workers.

McKinsey's prescription for raising productivity — to expose manufacturers to head-to-head competition with Japan, Germany or whoever is No. 1 in an industry — raises hackles among American advocates of industrial policy.

The Europeans, said Stephen S. Cohen, co-director of the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, "would be foolish to resist pressures to insulate themselves."

"They don't need more pressure," he added. "They don't have to take the same bloodletting."

But Professor Baily has a different perception. "We keep hearing policy makers say 'We've got to protect,' as if Americans got no benefit from going through all this pain and agony," he remarked. "Our industries today are in much better shape. Our view is that the evidence — particularly from Germany, which hasn't allowed that kind of competition — suggests that you should let the winners and losers emerge."

Copies of the report can be obtained from the McKinsey Global Institute in Washington by calling (202) 662-3141.

Continued on Page D6

Laura

Do you agree with this?

B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10/18

10:17

John P

Don Munro is an
old friend / supporter
of the President's.
Thought you'd know
where his ought to
go

—Trey

Will Hahn.

for your handling.

Could you acknowledge
receipt to me.
WAKO

JDP



& COMPANY, INC.

P.O. BOX 1157 • HOT SPRINGS, ARKANSAS 71902

501-262-6000
FAX 501-262-6084

October 13, 1993

Office Of The President Of The United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N W
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Sirs:

I enclose, without comment, a fax received by my brother in Massachusetts from a respected friend of his living in Moscow. It might be of some interest to an appropriate individual or department.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'don munro', is written above the printed name.

Donald Munro

DM:lh

Mr. James S. Munro
Box 82
West Lynn, MA 01905

October 6, 1993

Dear James,

Thank you for your fax of October 4.
I hope you will get this urgent
message.

There remains a possibility of a
still greater bloodshed in Moscow
than what we witnessed on October 2-4.
This will happen in case of the new
attempts of the pro-Communist
opposition to seize power. (I would
remark, in passing, that up to 11.30 a.m.
of Oct. 4, President Yeltsin had not been
in the control of the situation). The potential
base of the opposition are:

1. workers and employees of former
military plants and research centres,
whose economic demands have
transformed into political ones (in
Moscow they are dozens of thousands)

2. the military discharged, or not yet discharged, from the army
3. Former members of the Soviet and Communist administration.

The worse possible scenario of the events might be the following:

- columns of people with red banners together with the armed fighters from the burnt-down "White House" will begin storming the government offices and informational centres
- after the bloodshed, the troops, which are now keeping neutrality (very unstable at the moment), will enter Moscow again
- this situation will spread over to the Russian provinces
- terror will begin.

In order to avoid the bloodshed, the following measures would be expedient:

1. USA sending gratuitous aid to Moscow by air, i.e. food and warm clothes.

food and warm clothes (in view of the coming winter.)

OCT- 6-93 WED 13:35

P.03

2. Food and clothes to be sold by Moscow authorities via state-run shops
3. Russian government paying salaries to the employees of the military plants and the servicemen, sufficient for them to buy food and clothes, lead a worthy life, etc.

Dear James, in case you find these measures expedient, you could make my recommendations known to the US administration through your friends.

With warmest regards,

Knutael-Cuon

P.S. I hope Angela will be better soon

P.S. I hope Angela will be better soon.
I am praying for her.

À È H D

~~now~~ keeping 'neutrality' ^{aspect}, which
unstable at the moment), will enter
Moscow again

- this situation will spread over to the
Russian provinces
- terror will begin.

In order to avoid the bloodshed, the
following measures would be
expedient:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

23 OCT 20 P8:17
MEMORANDUM TO MACK McLARTY
FROM GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

This is the matter we discussed.

cc: Howard Paster

MACK McLARTY

Oct. 20, 1993

To: John Podesta

I would like to discuss the
attached promptly.

m-g

*JP has
seen
10/26*

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: HALPERIN NOMINATION

1. Senator Danforth. Halperin has had a number of discussions with Danforth's staff and met with the Senator on October 4. Danforth is now prepared to make a statement which would argue that most of the charges against Halperin are out of bounds and that the sole issue is his views on relevant issues. Before Danforth does that, he wants a face to face meeting with either the Vice President or the Chief of Staff to discuss the nomination and some telecommunications issues. Danforth believes he has stuck his neck out to support a number of nominees and has not gotten any credit with the Administration. Because of Thurmond's active opposition to the nomination, Danforth is the only moderate Republican Senator close to speaking out for Halperin.



*Belvin
to the
deal on this*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/25

U.S. Department of Justice

Drug Enforcement Administration

732 P5:47

Office of the Administrator

Washington, D.C. 20537

October 22, 1993

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

Dear President Clinton:

This is to advise you that I am resigning as the Administrator of Drug Enforcement and as the head of the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), effective October 31, 1993, in order to return to private life.

It has been a privilege for me to serve as the DEA Administrator since my appointment to this office on July 30, 1990, and I greatly appreciate the opportunity you have given me to serve into your Administration and under Attorney General Janet Reno.

In my view, there is no greater threat facing America than that posed by drug abuse and drug trafficking, and the associated social harms that arise from them. I join with all Americans in wishing you great success in the fight against the scourge of drugs, a fight so important to the future well-being of our children and our nation. I believe you will find that DEA can and will make substantial contributions in implementing the drug control strategy adopted by your Administration for our nation.

Respectfully yours,

Robert C. Bonner
Administrator of Drug Enforcement

cc: The Attorney General

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 25, 1993

The Honorable Sharon Pratt Kelly
Mayor of the District of Columbia
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Mayor Kelly:

As President, and as a resident of this community, I am pleased to respond to your recent letter regarding the D.C. National Guard.

This is a painful time in the life of the District of Columbia. The majority of its citizens -- who work hard and play by the rules, who teach their children values and wish them a better life, who take pride in their neighborhoods, schools and churches -- are being terrorized by a violent minority with easy access to powerful weapons and illegal drugs. The persistent and often increasing rates of homicide and non-fatal shootings, robbery and other crimes against property, are siphoning away the humanity of this community, eroding each citizen's sense of personal security, and placing an incalculable strain on the District's resources.

There are answers to this problem -- none is easy and most involve the long-term. And while I cannot agree to every aspect of your request, I will take certain actions to help grapple with the District's crime problem. In addition to moving my anti-crime initiative through the Congress, which will make additional resources available to the District, I have directed Attorney General Reno, National Drug Control Policy Director Brown, and Secretary of Defense Aspin to meet with you promptly to review a wide range of options for concrete, additional federal actions to assist the District in combatting crime.

Your letter requests that, through Executive Order, I grant you the same authority over the D.C. National Guard in its local militia status that Governors enjoy with respect to state National Guard units in their state militia status. I have been advised by the Department of Justice that this action cannot be taken by Executive Order. Since authority over the D.C. National Guard is vested in the President by statute, the President's authority cannot be delegated to a non-Executive Branch official by Executive Order.

Your letter states that you are pursuing statutory changes that would give you the same authority over the D.C. National Guard in its local militia status that Governors enjoy with respect to state National Guard units in their state militia status. Consistent with my support for statehood for the District of Columbia, I support the prompt enactment of a statutory change.

In the interim, the District can certainly make increased use of an existing Department of Defense program. As you know, the D.C. National Guard, like the National Guard in all 50 States, currently engages in support for drug interdiction activities pursuant to a federal statute (32 U.S.C. 112) and pursuant to specific approval by the Department of Defense of the Guard activities. Guard members participate in this program on a voluntary basis. I have been advised by the Department of Defense that the District's participation in this existing program can be expanded. I have asked Secretary Aspin, Attorney General Reno, and Drug Control Policy Director Brown to explore this option with you.

I am confident that, working with the Cabinet, we will be able to respond with recommendations that deal specifically with the District's crime problem. Moreover, the pending anti-crime bill will make available 50,000 police throughout the United States, and contains various measures to control the proliferation of handguns, expand the community policing program, and contribute both to the severity and certainty of punishment in the criminal justice system.

The current level of crime, and its corrosive effect on our daily lives, cannot be tolerated. We must, and we will, prevail on this fundamental challenge.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Haiti harbors drug traffic

Stopover point for shipments from Colombia

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

MIRAGOANE, Haiti — The cranes, forklifts and dock hands were ready as the ship eased into the harbor this weekend. The man in the dark sunglasses had his folder ready, set to ensure an accurate count of the incoming containers of goods.

The goods? Cocaine.

U.S. government officials in Haiti who are familiar with drug operations here confirm that Miragoane's harbor is a major stopover point for drugs from Colombia.

The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration has detailed intelligence on Miragoane and several other Haitian points used in the shipment of drugs from Colombia to the USA. And these days U.S. drug officials are more than willing to discuss the problem.

"It's an obvious problem and not an easy situation for us," says Stan Schrager, U.S. Embassy spokesman. "We have a host government with baggage. And it's not a leap of faith that the money being spent by some (in the military) is coming from unsavory sources."

The DEA estimates 1,000 kilograms of cocaine (2,200 pounds) move through Haiti each month. At any given moment, about 4,000 kilos are waiting in Haiti for shipment to the USA and Europe.

Also, some crack is part of the operation, drug officials say.

Deposed Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has long charged that one reason the military overthrew him two years ago is because he was clamping down on the drug trade. U.S. drug officials say that such reports aren't substantiated.

They say that, while some mid-ranking military people have been arrested by Haitian authorities, there is "no evidence we can use" in indicting top military leaders. So U.S. drug officials continue to share intelligence with Haitian officials.

Some U.S. lawmakers disagree and side with Aristide. This week, a House committee headed by U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., is expected to hold hearings on the Haiti drug network.

Some facts on drug operations in Haiti, according to U.S. and Haitian officials:

► Drugs from Colombia are sent to Haiti by the Cali cartel and independent drug traffickers.

► The Dominican Republic, which shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti, is a major shipment route. Drugs, once in the Dominican Republic, can be taken easily to Puerto Rico. From there, the drugs are "virtually in the U.S.," officials say.

► Colombians handling the drug business in Haiti work with Dominicans living in Haiti. Both speak Spanish, instead of the Creole and French used by Haitians. Colombians often disguise themselves as Dominicans and use Dominican passports to avoid detection.

► Drugs regularly arrive at the port here and at Les Cayes, Jeremie and Cap-Haitien.

There are also frequent airdrops at Cap-Haitien, Jacmel, Jeremie and Les Cayes. Cap-Haitien is described by U.S. officials as "an ideal area" for such shipments since it has an international airport far from the capital. One reason planes can make easy drops in Haiti: There is no radar in the country to track aircraft. That's why commercial aircraft fly in or out only in the daytime.

However, planes can be seen and heard landing at Port-au-Prince airport at night, when the airport is officially closed.

Drug officials say even commercial flights sometimes carry 10 to 15 kilos of drugs. The drugs are often

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
confiscated on arrival in the USA.

The man in charge of anti-drug efforts in Haiti is Col. Antoine Atouriste, among 41 people whose assets were frozen by the Clinton administration Friday for obstructing the return of democracy to Haiti.

DEA officials say they trust Atouriste, who owns a house in Miami, and his assets were frozen only because of his military rank.

The chief of Port-au-Prince's port is Max Paul, whose now deceased brother was the first prominent Haitian under DEA investigation for drug trafficking.

The good news about drugs in Haiti: U.S. officials say the new embargo and the unstable political situation has placed the nation under international scrutiny.

And, with the world watching, it's much harder for drug cartels to use Haiti as a stopover point.

USA TODAY • MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1993

No exact date for return to democracy

By Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Despite new talks aimed at restoring President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power, U.S. officials say it is unlikely he'll return to office by the original Oct. 30 deadline.

But, U.S. officials generally agree, the exact date of his return is not as important as the eventual resumption of democracy.

If Aristide does not come back this Saturday, as specified in the pact signed in New York last summer, it "would not abrogate (that) Governors Island agreement," said Stan Schrager, U.S. Embassy spokesman here.

And special U.N. envoy Dante Caputo has said Aristide could return Nov. 5 or Nov. 10, once all elements of the July 3 accord are met. Haitian newspapers report he'll be back Dec. 15.

But no timetable is certain. Caputo said he expects a letter in a few days, outlining a new pact being negotiated by Aristide's prime minister, Robert Malval, and Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, Haiti's military commander.

"This is good because it is Haitians coming to solve Haitian problems," said Caputo. "Second, (Cedras' support) comes from the opposition to President Aristide."

Cedras promised Saturday to retire from the army — he broke a similar vow Oct. 15 — if amnesty is granted to all those involved

in the September 1991 coup against Aristide.

Cedras also promised to support legislation that would separate the army from the police. Members of Haiti's Assembly tried to meet over the weekend to act on the two proposals, but anti-Aristide members boycotted the sessions to deny a quorum.

Lawmakers were expected to try again today.

U.N. officials said they'll seek to impose an almost total embargo on consumer goods against Haiti if Aristide does not resume power by the Saturday deadline.

It was a U.N. embargo in June that forced junta leaders to agree July 3 to allow Aristide's return, a promise they broke. The new embargo, applying the same pressure, is not expected to be lifted until Aristide returns safely.

"We will see if (the new talks) are a game," Caputo said.

The new embargo on fuel and weapons, which started Oct. 18, has created severe problems. Almost all gas stations are closed, telephone service could end Wednesday, water supplies have been curtailed and electrical power cut, plunging the capital into darkness each night.

Shell, Texaco and Exxon own a three-month supply of fuel already stored in Haiti but won't make it available, claiming the embargo forbids distribution.

► Talks resume today, 1A

Buy
What's the
Deal here?
B.

SECURE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 10/25/93 db
 Presidential Phone Calls

Long



DATE: 10-25-93 TIME: 5:20
 incoming/outgoing

WITH: Seny Sr

SUBJECT: Ukraine

- ① Start 1 by fax (K. Dwyer)
- ② write to non-much st
- ③ then - higher agreement
- ④ not consent to when
- demanded ss 2fs - but said
- in ⑤ would -

FOLLOW UP: _____



President Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20500-2000

*Therese
Poderski*

FENIX RISING FILM PROJECT

Laurie Coyle, Producer
122 Valley Street
San Francisco, CA 94131
(415) 282-8784

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/25/93

October 15, 1993

Tony

Dear Bill:

I am writing today to express my support for the Freedom to Travel Challengers, a group of American citizens who are currently visiting Cuba. I support their right to the free exercise of their civil liberties, including the right to travel and exchange information and ideas with the Cuban people.

Whatever validity travel restrictions to Cuba may have held during the Cold War period, such restrictions do not reflect present day strategic realities. Moreover they smack of a paternalistic style of government, one which assumes that American citizens are incapable of independently forming an opinion based on dialogue and direct experience with Cuba. I am certain that you do not wish to continue such a tradition of paternalism in relation to the citizens of this nation or our Latin American neighbors.

As a citizen and an independent filmmaker, I strongly believe that discourse and debate are the vehicles of political transformation, not embargo and restriction. I ask that you personally support H.R. 1579, the "Free Trade in Ideas Act" of 1993, and urge you to undertake a substantial reevaluation of United States policy toward Cuba.

Your election last November was a clear signal that Americans want change. We would be deeply disappointed if your new domestic agenda were coupled with "business as usual" in the hemisphere. I urge you to support the Rangel Bill, repealing the misguided Toricelli Bill, which has only increased human hardship and undermined political debate in Cuba. I

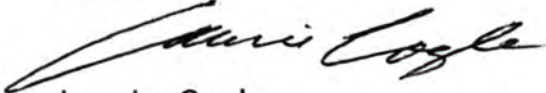
hope that your administration will bring a spirit of innovation to the international arena and initiate direct dialogue with the people and government of Cuba, who are not our enemies.

I recently had the opportunity to see an excellent documentary: *CUBA VA: THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEW GENERATION*. I know that you are a late night movie buff, and I think that you would be quite impressed to see the diversity of opinion and political debate among Cuban youth shown in the video. It certainly suggests that they are quite capable of taking their destinies into their own hands. Our policy toward that nation should be aimed at removing the fetters our government has placed on this small island nation, not strangling them economically and politically.

Maybe you should have a town meeting with these young people, and with the Freedom to Travel Challengers who have gone to Cuba, and ask them how our government might make a positive contribution to the political process in Cuba.

I thank you for your consideration of this matter, and I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Laurie Coyle".

Laurie Coyle

cc:

Secretary of State Warren Christopher
Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck
National Security Advisor Anthony Lake
Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown
Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentson

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DR. MAX AZICRI

Professor of Political Science, Edinboro Univ. of Pennsylvania

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A Documentary by GAIL DOLGIN and VICENTE FRANCO



Design: Anne Walter
Photos: Rick Rossmore & Gail Dolgin
Composition: Archetype Typography



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and to the camera, expressing their divergent perspectives on the
Revolution, the Special Period and the future.”

DR. JOEL EDELSTEIN
Assoc. Professor of Political Science, University of Colorado



The Challenge of the Next Generation

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Adm. Crowe To the Rescue?

With the falling dominoes of national security failures threatening his presidency, Bill Clinton is looking for a "David Gergen" to tidy up his problems abroad, and the search is now centered on 68-year-old retired Adm. William Crowe Jr.

That Clinton would even consider the amiable former chairman of the Joint Chiefs for a role only Clinton himself can fill suggests the president cannot identify the root cause of his bankrupt foreign policy: his own lack of interest.

Hence the question being asked with ominous frequency here and by statesmen abroad: Does Clinton comprehend the future costs of losing his and his country's credibility, or does he think a band-aid can make things right?

The Crowe gambit suggests the latter. The slow-moving, highly politicized Crowe is anathema in the Pentagon—for backing Clinton on gays in the military, among other matters. Yet the Pentagon is where the most valid grievances lie for the way the president and his White House aides have messed things up. Even if Crowe has the toughness and strategic sense to straighten out Clinton's national security system, distrust in the Defense Department would alone seem to rule him out for doing to foreign policy issues what Gergen has done for the president's domestic program.

These unpublicized Pentagon grievances reached a peak when Defense Secretary Les Aspin and military commanders wanted to postpone embarkation of the USS Harlan County to Haiti until uniformed Americans on board were assured of safety in Port-au-Prince. The standoff ended when Deputy National Security Adviser Sandy Berger shouted on the phone at a Pentagon official that "we committed ourselves publicly in the campaign, and we're going to do it." The vessel sailed.

President Clinton was not made directly aware of that outburst, an administration official told us privately. Nor was the dispute even kicked up to a formal Oval Office meeting. "The system is dysfunctional, it has missing parts," this official added. That left unsaid what his words strongly implied: The vital missing part is Bill Clinton himself.

Clinton's avoidance of close attention to the takeoff decisions that have ended in tragic crashes may explain the credo that Tony Lake brought to his difficult post as national security adviser. He told friends last winter that he would "never" allow a dispute between the National Security Council staff and the State Department to break into the open. That signaled Clinton's demand to keep foreign policy problems out of sight, an objective the president also spelled out to Warren Christopher before naming him secretary of state.

The demand has made life difficult for Lake, whose closeness to Clinton grows out of their mutual foreign policy mind-sets conditioned by the Vietnam era. To protect Clinton from bureaucratic infighting, he set up a smokestack NSC staff in which senior staffers are for the most part insulated from each other and almost wholly from the president.

Staff policy proposals move perpendicularly through three ascending layers of deputies before Lake sees them. As much as they can be, these proposals are purged of ideas that might ignite battles with Christopher and his top staffers.

Veterans in the national security game know that the best policy decisions usually come only after the waging of such battles, often in full public view, no matter who may get hurt. But that is precisely what Clinton does not want. Moreover, if the decisions he has made have damaged the United States, there is blame enough to go around: the United Nations for Somalia, the Europeans for Bosnia and those nasty Haitian military leaders.

Putting the retired admiral in the White House would do no more to cure problems abroad than the frequent recent efforts of Christopher and Lake to tap advice from lifetime foreign policy specialists. Christopher invited Lawrence Eagleburger, Bush's secretary of state, to lunch last Tuesday, and Lake has telephoned Brent Scowcroft, Bush's national security adviser, more than once.

They may have bequeathed Clinton the turbulent new era he confronts, but it is now well out of their focus. The task is his alone.

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*What's your
response to
the substitution
bit?*

10/25/93 db

Republicans Visiting New Hampshire Aren't There to View the Fall Foliage

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

MANCHESTER, N.H., Oct. 24—The autumn has arrived early here in New Hampshire, and for a few, brief hours today, it was in full bloom.

At the end of downtown, in the Holiday Inn on Elm Street, the state Republican party held its fall fund-raiser.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), who spent part of his summer vacation campaigning here, sent regrets—and repeated them on national television today. Former housing and urban development secretary Jack Kemp sent regrets too, but managed to have his included in the printed dinner program.

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), a frequent visitor to the Granite State this year, was on the program as one of the featured speakers. "I have no idea," he said when asked how many trips he has made here this year.

South Carolina Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. was making his first visit to the state in 1993 but not being overly coy about his

1996 interests. "I'm not here for the scenery and I'm not on vacation," he said.

Just north of downtown, at the state Armory, another political rally was unfolding, one that has the potential to rearrange the presidential landscape here in 1996.

Perhaps by coincidence, Ross Perot's traveling anti-NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) show arrived a few hours before the GOP dinner. About 1,500 people heard him speak on a beautiful autumn afternoon.

Former New Hampshire governor Hugh Gregg (R) stood in the back of the Armory surveying the scene. "I like to know what's going on," he said. "We've got a primary here in 1996"—as if anyone might not know. As the crowd continued to build, Gregg said with a laugh, "We couldn't get this many people out for a rally."

The early presidential political activity in New Hampshire this year appears to have irritated President Clinton, but he is primarily responsible. His ups and downs—and the belief that the Republican nomination is a wide-open contest—have accelerated appearances by potential candidates.

Gramm and Dole have been here the

most often, but others who have stopped by include Kemp, former defense secretary Richard B. Cheney, Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), former education secretary Lamar

"I'm not here for the scenery and I'm not on vacation."

—Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr.
of South Carolina

Alexander, former labor secretary Lynn Martin, and now Campbell.

Like Gregg at Perot's rally, the potential Republican candidates are up scouting the scene. They talk about electing Republicans in 1994, meet with party activists, pay respects to Gov. Stephen Merrill (R), the most popular politician in the state, and put out feelers for help when they make a definitive decision to run.

Many of the potential 1996 candidates consciously decided to avoid tonight's dinner. "All of them said, 'I'd love to come but I

don't want to start the speculation early,'" said Steve Duprey, the GOP state chairman.

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), who has announced his retirement and was honored at tonight's dinner, was the only speaker to joke about the early interest in presidential politics. "I may be the only official who announced his decision not to run for office—and immediately came to New Hampshire."

Former governor John H. Sununu, who was White House chief of staff under President George Bush, was part of the crowd of luminaries. He described the amount of presidential activity here as normal. "They may be a little bit more open about it, but it's typical," he said.

For most New Hampshire Republicans, it's too early to take sides. Michel, for example, has not decided what role he'll play, assuming he wins reelection next year. Sununu said he doesn't know what he will do, while former senator Warren B. Rudman (R) said today he might help Dole again, as he did in 1992, "if he's talking about the right things."

But this time, all the potential candidates

have to keep an eye on Perot, who has not said whether he will run again as an independent, jump into the Republican nomination fight or stay out of the action.

Perot's anti-NAFTA rally drew the kind of union crowd associated with the Democrats, but he neatly co-opted many of the GOP's traditional symbols, including a gigantic American flag papered on the back wall of the Armory and Lee Greenwood's anthem, "God Bless the USA."

Perot even placed a phone call from the stage to Army pilot and ex-POW Michael J. Durant, a New Hampshire native. "That was a great touch," Duprey said. "We should have done that. They beat us on that one."

All this activity made the Democrats nervous. George Bruno, former state Democratic chairman, stopped by the Holiday Inn to pass out a press release blasting Gramm for attacking Clinton.

Asked why he was singling out Gramm for criticism and ignoring Campbell, Bruno said, "Gramm's a commuter. We pay special attention to commuters. First-time visitors get a pass."

Even at this early stage, there aren't many first-time (presidential) visitors yet to come.

THE WASHINGTON POST | MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1993

Unhappily from BS - they were there in a good way - seen him - before

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is an information memo from Joan Baggett raising a red flag regarding your planned announcement Tuesday of support for Senator Glenn's procurement bill.

Joan believes our support for the Glenn bill could result in serious potential adverse affects on our relationship with labor.

Since Bob Georgine, of the Building and Construction Trades of the AFL-CIO will be at the Italian-American Dinner tonight, it would be useful for you to look at Joan's memo today.

We are circulating Joan's memo to relevant senior staff.

TDS
Todd Stern

*VP
we need to
discuss this
by. Difficult in Glenn
Kushner*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7:22 P7:13

OCTOBER 22, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT

FROM: JOAN N. BAGGETT JNB

SUBJECT: POLITICAL CONCERNS ON TUESDAY'S PROCUREMENT REFORM ANNOUNCEMENT

I. SUMMARY

It is my understanding that the intention is to go forward with an announcement Tuesday that includes a strong statement of support for Sen. Glenn's procurement reform bill. The AFL-CIO, particularly the Building Trades and the Service Employees Union, will strongly oppose this because it raises the threshold for Davis-Bacon and Service Contracts Act to \$100,000 from the present \$2,000 level.

II. DISCUSSION

The raising of the threshold on these laws has been an annual battle in Republican administrations and one they were not expecting to fight with a Democratic administration. The unions that are affected by this are the very ones we were asking to help debunk the litmus test issue around NAFTA. John Sweeney, president of the Service Employees Union and a leader in the health care issue, had agreed to make contributions to pro-NAFTA congressmen as had some of the building trades. The other concern is that we said when we vetted the NPR report with the unions that we would work with Sen. Kennedy to incorporate his reform provisions if we raised the threshold to \$100,000, and we have not done so on this bill. It should also be noted that according to the AFL-CIO, 50 - 60% of the service contracts are under \$100,000 and 80% of a service contract represents wages and benefits which are at the bottom end of the economic scale (\$6-\$8.00 per hour) and are usually female, single heads of households.

It's too soon to tell how much spillover we will have into other issues, but this will have a very negative impact on our relationship with the AFL-CIO and specifically with the Building Trades and Service Employees.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations



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

LANE KIRKLAND PRESIDENT

Albert Shanker
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Frank Hanley
Michael Sacco
Frank Hurt

22 P4:43

October 22, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

It has just come to the AFL-CIO's attention that, as part of the on-going efforts of your national Performance Review initiative, your staff has been working with Senator Glenn (D-OH) toward the introduction of a comprehensive procurement reform legislative proposal. Further, it is our understanding that this bill could be introduced as soon as next Tuesday, October 26, 1993.

The purpose of this correspondence is to bring to your attention the grave concern of the AFL-CIO over that portion of the proposed legislation that would establish a "simplified acquisition threshold" of \$100,000 that would replace the existing thresholds of both the Davis-Bacon Act and the Service Contract Act. These two crucial and related labor laws are the principal protections in Federal law for American workers who are employed to provide construction work and service-related work to the Federal Government.

The imposition of this \$100,000 threshold will result in hundreds of thousands of workers who now enjoy the protection of the prevailing wage concept inherent in the Davis-Bacon and Service Contract Acts finding themselves completely unprotected by law. While we have endorsed raising the Davis-Bacon threshold for new construction, but not rehabilitation, to \$100,000 in bills introduced in the Senate and House, it has been in the context of a broad Davis-Bacon reform; we could not find it acceptable to undercut the broader reform by moving ahead with the \$100,000 threshold in this bill.

The exemption for contracts under \$100,000 would be especially damaging to service contract workers whose custodial and maintenance type contracts are often for amounts under \$100,000 and who are very often women, minority workers or single heads of households who are living from paycheck to paycheck.

The President
October 22, 1993
Page 2

It is of concern to us that we have not yet had the opportunity to review the text and discuss with your staff a major bill affecting our members that has been months in preparation by your Administration. We believe there are other troublesome issues not yet identified and addressed by this letter. It is the purpose of this letter to ask that you reach agreement with Senator Glenn to delay the introduction of the procurement reform bill until we have had an opportunity to address and resolve the labor law related components of this legislation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Sam Rife", with a large, stylized loop at the end.

President

Military Toxics Project

P. O. BOX 845

SABATTUS, ME 04280

VOICE (207)268-4071

MODEM/FAX (207)268-9258

03 OCT 22 12:55

DATE 10/20/93fax to: John Podesta, Staff Secretary - White Housefrom: Tara Gilmartinsubject: EPA Restructuring

10/22

copy
R. G. Shaw
R. G. Shaw

Christine Varney

These people are
tenacious.
or her cos
friends to consider
their views?
Can Carol
melt with

John

October 20, 1993

Administrator Carol Browner
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency
401 M Street, SW
Washington, DC 20460

Dear Administrator Browner:

We represent national, state and local environmental organizations and Labor Unions working for cleanup, environmental compliance, and pollution prevention at Federal facilities. As you know, contamination at and from these facilities poses an enormous threat to the nation's public health, environmental security, and economic recovery. Furthermore, the cost of environmental programs at the Energy and Defense Departments now exceeds \$11 billion a year.

We have been pleased by recent progress in dealing with these issues, with the passage and implementation of the Federal Facilities Compliance Act, the initial implementation of the recommendations of the Federal Facilities Environmental Restoration Dialogue Committee, and the issuance of Executive Order 12856 mandating toxic release reporting and pollution prevention at Federal facilities.

Acting Deputy Assistant Administrator Tad McCall and the Office of Federal Facilities Enforcement have played a key role in charting this forward path. We are concerned to learn that an EPA reorganization plan may abolish this position and the entire OFFE.

We recognize that the administration is seeking new efficiencies throughout the Federal bureaucracy, and we understand the need to reverse some of the designed-in ineffectiveness left over from previous administrations.

However, we are not convinced that the proposed new structure will ensure the continuation of the current OFFE's approach to Federal facilities oversight and enforcement. We also believe that the magnitude of contamination at Federal facilities, its unique technical challenges, and the political role of other Federal agencies requires a continued high-level focus on Federal facilities at EPA. In particular, the Clinton Administration's highly regarded response to the economic and environmental challenges of military base closure could be undermined by the proposed reorganization.

We ask, therefore, that you modify the organizational changes to retain the thrust and status of Federal Facilities Enforcement programs. To that end, we ask you meet with a delegation representing our groups before you finalize the new structure.

We remain confident that this Administration wants to do the right thing to clean up government facilities. We believe that your effectiveness in dealing with these issues will be strengthened if you continue to build your partnership with environmental, environmental justice, labor, and other community organizations that share your commitment.

Administrator Browner

October 20, 1993

Page 2

Sincerely,

American Friends Service Committee/ Denver, CO

Citizen Alert/ Nevada

Citizens for Alternatives to Radioactive Dumping/ Albuquerque, NM

Concerned Citizens for Nuclear Safety/ Santa Fe, NM

Economist Allied for Arms Reduction/ New York, NY

Energy Research Foundation/ Columbia, SC

Environment and Energy Studies Institute/ Washington DC

Fernald Residents for Environment, safety and Health/ Ross, OH

Friends of the Earth/ Washington DC

Greenpeace/ Washington DC

Hanford Education Action League/ Spokane, WA

Heart of America NW/ Seattle, WA

Nuclear Safety Campaign/ Seattle, WA

Oak Ridge Environmental Peace Alliance/ Knoxville, TN

Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union

Pacific Studies Center/ Mountainview, CA

Panhandle Area Neighbors and Land Owners/ Panhandle, TX

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Washington DC

Portsmouth/Piketon Residents for Environmental Safety and Security/ McDermott, OH

Serious Texans Against Nuclear Dumping/ Amarillo, TX

Sierra Club/ Washington DC

Snake River Alliance/ Idaho

Southwest Research and Information Center/ Albuquerque, NM

Tri-Valley Cares/ Livermore, CA

20/20 Vision/ Washington DC

Western States Legal Foundation/ Oakland, CA

Womens Action for New Directions/ Washington DC

And

The Military Toxics Project - which represents over 100 grassroots groups in over 32 states active around Department of Defense Facilities.

- PC:
- * Katy McGinty, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Office on Environmental policy
 - * John Podesta, Staff Secretary for the White House
 - * Sherri Wasserman Goodman, Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Environmental Security
 - * Thomas P. Grumbly, Assistant Secretary of Environmental Restoration and Waste Management
 - * Representative Dellums, Chair, House Armed Services Committee
 - * Senator Nunn, Chair, Senate Armed Services Committee
 - * Senator Baucus, Chair, Senate Environment and Public Works Committee
 - * Representative Dingell, Chair, House Energy and Commerce Committee

LAW OFFICES OF JONATHAN W. CUNEO
1301 K Street, N.W.
Suite 650 East Tower
Washington, DC 20005

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

FOR IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

TO: Mr. John Podesta Staff Secretary The White House	FROM: Jon Cuneo PHONE: (202) 789-3960 FAX: (202) 789-1813
DATE: October 20, 1993	TOTAL PAGES: 17 (Including This Page)
SUBJECT: Service Station Dealers Convention	

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS OR MESSAGE:

*Joan Baggett / Tok Velasquez
call me about this
John Podesta*

LAW OFFICES OF JONATHAN W. CUNEO

1301 K Street, N.W.
East Tower
Suite 650
Washington, DC 20005

Phone: (202) 789-3960

Facsimile: (202) 789-1813

October 20, 1993

VIA FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Mr. John Podesta
Staff Secretary
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

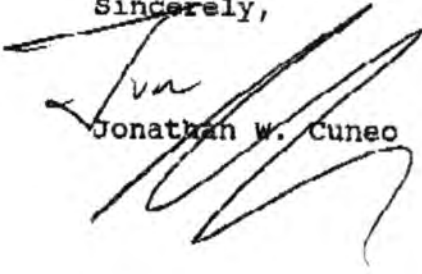
Dear John:

Thank you very much for returning my call. Attached please find a copy of the program for the service station dealers convention. As you can see, the program went to press before Vice-President Gore determined not to come. He will, evidently, be hosting a Halloween party at the exact time of his slot at the convention.

As I told you, my fear is that the Republicans are going to steal a natural Democratic constituency from us. Also attached is a press release announcing Lieutenant Colonel North's appearance.

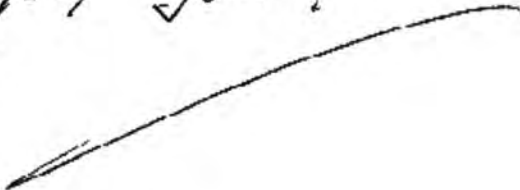
With best regards.

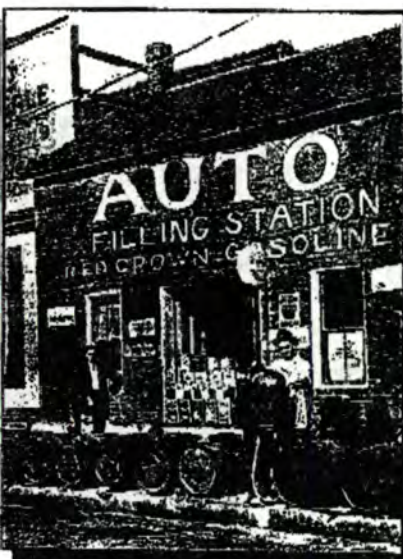
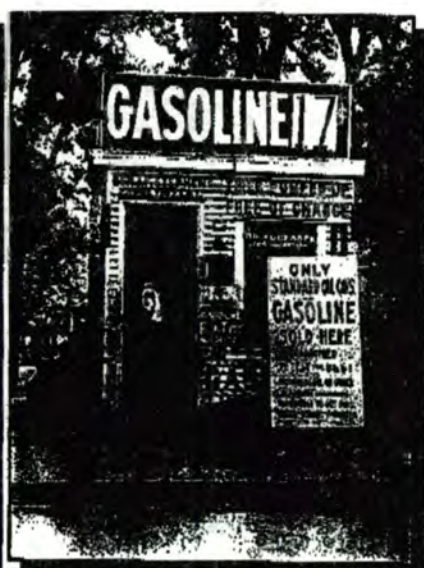
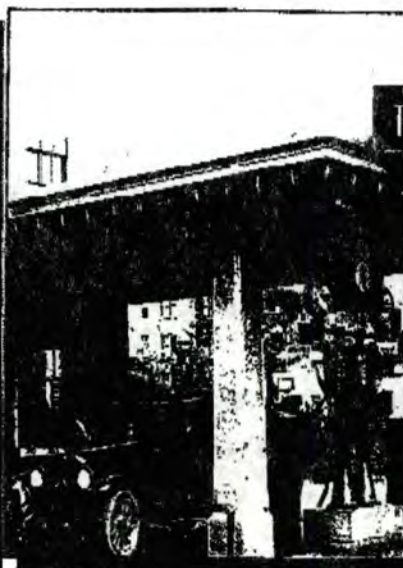
Sincerely,


Jonathan W. Cuneo

Attachments

*Best to you, John!
Pit coming!*





Providing An Environment For Success



Marketing changes. Technology. Environmental challenges. Survival. Solutions.

Service station and automotive repair associations will mesh issues and concerns of this complex industry in a way that has never been done before.

This October, an estimated 4,000 industry professionals will gather in Richmond to attend this premier event. This will be the largest educational and marketing forum sponsored by service station and automotive repair facility associations in the world.

People involved in every way in the service station and repair facility industry — dealers, suppliers, oil company executives, auto maker executives, political leaders, and the Administration — will come to Richmond October 28-31 because it will be a hallmark conference and the largest industry association trade show ever.

Host associations include the Service Station Dealers of America, the Greater Washington/Maryland Service Station and Automotive Repair Association, the Virginia Gasoline Marketers Council, the North Carolina Service Station Association, and the South Carolina Service Station Dealers Association.



A CHANGING...EXCITING INDUSTRY



In a truly unique setting the Vice Presidents of General Motors, Ford, Texaco, Mobil, and the

United States of America are scheduled to discuss where this industry is heading as we approach the 21st century.

How will transportation change? Can we survive a cleaner environment? How will the fuels change? What can we expect from government?

We anticipate national media coverage of this event. State and local legislators and regulators from the mid-Atlantic states will be invited. Major companies will line the room with displays and examples of ongoing research and development.

CROWN CHAIRMAN TO KEYNOTE LUNCHEON



Mr. Henry A. Rosenberg, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Crown Central Petroleum Corporation, has accepted an invitation to deliver the keynote address at the annual Awards Luncheon.

Founded in 1917, Crown's retail marketing operations include more than 450 retail gasoline stations and convenience stores in seven mid-Atlantic and southeastern states. Major company acquisitions over the past decade include the Fast Fare Zippy Mart convenience store chains in 1993, the Maryland BP stations in 1996, and the La Gloria Oil and Gas Company in 1989. In 1991 the main gasoline production unit at the Houston refinery was modified, increasing production yields and upgrading refined products.

LEGAL SESSION TACKLES THE TOUGHEST ISSUES



Dealers and repair facility operators will have a unique opportunity on Friday, October 29, to ask oil company and association attorneys the most pressing marketing, PMPA, and environmental industry questions.

This hard hitting session will not side step any issue as attorneys respond from their own unique perspectives.



The Richmond Centre
Virginia's Largest Meeting
Complex



1993 CONVENTION & TRADE SHOW

Richmond Convention Centre • Richmond Marriott
Richmond Omni • Jefferson Hotel
Richmond, Virginia

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1993

8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Trade Show Set-Up
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.	SSDA Executive Committee
9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	SSDA Convention Committee
10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Amoco Refinery Tour
10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.	SSDA Affiliate Lawyers Meeting
12:00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m.	SSDA Credentials Committee
12:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Art Studio Family Program Tour
2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	SSDA Board Meeting
5:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	GWMSSARA Board Meeting
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	SSDA Insurance Committee
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	SSDA Membership Services Committee
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	SSDA Industry/PR Committee
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	SSDA Legal Services Committee
5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	SSDA Bylaws Committee
7:30 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	SSDA PAC Fund-raiser

Richmond Centre
Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel
Yorktown, VA
~~Jefferson Hotel~~
Jefferson Hotel
Richmond, VA
Jefferson Hotel
Marriott Hotel
~~Jefferson Hotel~~
Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1993

7:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.	Exhibitor Set-Up
8:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	National Legal Review Breakfast
	Panelists:
	• Mr. Richard Bing, VGMC Attorney
	• Mr. Richard Calkins, Industry Mediator
	• Mr. James Carroll, SCSSA Attorney
	• Mr. D.G. "Jim" Daskal, SSDA General Council
	• Mr. J. W. "Bill" Dalgetty, Mobil Oil Corporation
	• Mr. Frank Devlin, Exxon Company, U.S.A.
	• Mr. J. D. Hurley, Star Enterprise (Texaco)
	• Mr. Harry Storm, GWMSSARA Attorney
	Moderator: Mr. Melvin Sherbert, SSDA President
9:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Family Program to Williamsburg
	• Historic Williamsburg
	• Pottery Factory Shopping Tour
	• Anheuser-Busch Tour
10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	SSDA Government Affairs Committee Meeting (Regulatory)
10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	SSDA Government Affairs Committee Meeting (Legislative)
10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	SSDA Long Range Planning Committee

Richmond Centre
Jefferson Hotel

Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel
Jefferson Hotel



Mr. Henry A. Rosenberg, Jr.
Crown Central Petroleum



Mr. Richard Bing
VGMC



Mr. Richard Calkins
Industry Mediator



Mr. James Carroll
SCSSA



Mr. Harry Storm
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Mr. J. W. Dalgetty
Mobil Oil Corporation



Mr. Frank Devlin
Exxon Company, U.S.A.



Mr. J. D. Hurley
Star Enterprise



Mr. D. G. Daskal
SSDA



Mr. Charles E. Wams, II
President - GWMSSARA



Mr. Rick Lowery
President - VGMC



Mr. James T. Long Jr.
President - NCSSA



Mr. Ron McMahon
President - SCSSOA



Mr. Ron Nelson - MDE



Mr. Drew Cobbs - MPC

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1993 (continued)

10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. North Carolina Service Station Association/
South Carolina Service Station Dealers Association
Jefferson Hotel

10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. Greater Washington/Maryland Service Station and
Automotive Repair Association Annual Meeting
Marriott Hotel

Speakers:

- Mr. Drew Cobbs, Executive Director
Maryland Petroleum Council:
"Industry Relations in the 90's"
- Mr. Ron Nelson, Deputy Director
Maryland Department of the Environment:
"Surviving Environmental Regulations"
- Mr. Charles E. Wams, II
GWMSSARA President
"State of the Association Address"

Moderator: Mr. James Jackson, First Vice President

12:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. Virginia Gasoline Marketers Council
Omni Hotel

12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m. Board of Directors Meeting/Lunch
GWMSSARA Awards Luncheon:
Marriott Hotel

- "President's Address"
Mr. Charles E. Wams, II
GWMSSARA President
- 1993 Customer Service Contest Awards Presentation
- Association Awards Presentation
- "Keynote Address"

Mr. Henry A. Rosenburg, Jr., Chairman of the Board
Crown Central Petroleum Corporation

Moderator: Mr. Tom Reidy, Second Vice President

2:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m. 300 Booth Trade Show
SSDA Government Affairs Committee (Full Committee)
Richmond Centre
Marriott Hotel
Marriott Hotel
Marriott Hotel

5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.

9:00 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.

- Oil Company Hospitality Suites
- Amoco Oil Company
- Chevron U.S.A. Products Company
- CITGO Petroleum Corporation
- Crown Central Petroleum Corporation
- Exxon Company, U.S.A.
- Mobil Oil Corporation
- Star Enterprise (Texaco)
- Sun Refining and Marketing Company

3-4 pm
5:00-5:45 FINANCE COMMITTEE

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1993

7:00 a.m. 5K Legal Fund "Fun Run" Marriott Hotel

8:30 a.m. - 9:45 a.m. National Dealer Forum, Zone Pricing, Rebates;
and Rack/DTW Disparities
Marriott Hotel

9:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. Family Program to Monticello
Marriott Hotel

10:00 - 5:00 LAWYERS MEETING

Hospitality Suites



Mobil



SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1993 (continued)

10:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. Industry Session: Research and Development Under The Clean Air Act Marriott Hotel

- "Seeking Quality Transportation: Fuel, Traffic Management, and Environmental Regulations"
Mr. William Tell, Senior Vice President
Texaco Inc.
- "Can Our Industry Survive A Cleaner Environment?"
Mr. Stephen Pryor, Vice President of U.S. Fuels Marketing
Mobil Oil Corporation
- "Transportation: Products and Services of The Future"
Mr. James Johnston, Vice President
General Motors Corporation
- "Transportation: Past, Present and Future"
Mr. Elliott Hall, Vice President
Ford Motor Company
- "A National Energy Strategy: Political Challenges to the Oil and Transportation Industries"
The Honorable Al Gore (Scheduled)
Vice President of the United States

Moderator: Mr. Charles E. Wams, II, GWMSSARA President

Press Conference for Vice President Al Gore (Tentative)

Reception for Vice President Al Gore (Tentative)

300 Booth Trade Show

SSDA PAC Golf Tournament

Theme Party

Featuring:

- Lou Christie (Lightning Strikes, Two Faces Have I, How Many Teardrops)
- The Crystals (Da-Don Ron Ron, He's A Rebel, Then He Kissed Me)
- The Tokens (The Lion Sleeps Tonight, Portrait of My Love, La Bamba)

2:30 p.m.

3:00 p.m.

1:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

1:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

8:00 p.m. - 1:00 a.m.

Marriott Hotel

Marriott Hotel

Richmond Centre

"The Crossings" Golf Course

Marriott Hotel

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1993

9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m. SSDA Awards Brunch
"President's Address"
Mr. Melvin Sherbert, SSDA President

Jefferson Hotel

Shuttle buses will run between the Jefferson Hotel, the Omni Richmond, the Richmond Marriott, and the Richmond Convention Centre. Shuttle service will run between 7:30 a.m. and 12:00 midnight on Friday, October 29; and between 8:00 a.m. and 1:00 a.m. on Saturday, October 30.

GWMSSARA Convention Chairman: Mr. Ken Ayre

SSDA Convention Chairman: Mr. Roy Littlefield



The Honorable Al Gore
Vice President of
the United States



Mr. William Tell
Texaco Inc.



Mr. Stephen Pryor
Mobil Oil Corporation



Mr. James Johnston
General Motors Corporation



Mr. Elliott Hall
Ford Motor Company



Lou Christie



The Crystals



The Tokens



Mr. Melvin Sherbert
President - SSDA



WHAT A SHOW!



A recent national survey among small business owners who join and participate in trade associations concluded overwhelmingly that the most important perceived benefit of their association membership was the industry convention and trade show experience (seminars, trade show, interplay with suppliers, and sharing experiences with their peers).

The convention experience, which was seen as a dollars and cents business issue, topped other important association benefits, such as government affairs representation, insurance, training, and legal counsel.

The Richmond show, with over 300 exhibit booths, will be the largest service station and automotive repair association trade show ever.

Attending the Industry Trade Show should be a very stimulating experience for service station dealers and for repair shop operators. In fact, the time you spend on the Trade Show floor should be very productive...if you plan and organize your effort.

With limited Trade Show hours, the number of exhibits may seem overwhelming. These suppliers are investing great sums of money to bring their people and products to Richmond to meet you. As a progressive business person, there are certain groups of exhibitors you should make time to visit. For example:

Visit your current supplier... even though you know and understand their products and services. In addition to the salesperson who normally calls on you, occasionally you should meet the company's senior executives and technical support people. The Trade Show environment affords you an excellent opportunity to discuss pricing, service and product developments, to address and respond to your changing needs. Exhibitors are at your Trade Show to listen to you as well as to "sell" you.





Visit the competitors of your suppliers... for no other reason than to reassure yourself that you are dealing with the right people and the right company. There is always the chance that you will find out otherwise. A Trade Show allows you a unique opportunity of comparing alternate sources without challenging or upsetting existing relationships.

Visit potential suppliers... those companies you may consider doing business with in the future as your own business changes (seeking new or alternative profit centers) and grows. If you have plans for expansion or modernization, you should be investigating a number of areas. The informal setting of a Trade Show makes this task much easier.

Visit all other exhibitors... make sure to allow ample time to make unexpected discoveries on the exhibit floor. After you have planned your coverage of specific exhibits, allow yourself some time for a relaxed walk through the entire exhibition. Browse freely. Spend a little time at any booth that catches your eye. Perhaps there is no faster way to get a sense for what is happening, and about to happen, in our ever-changing industry. You may discover something that could significantly alter your station or repair facility.

Do not try and take on the Trade Show in one time period. The Show is too big. Plan on making at least two trips. Because the Trade Show will be open only two days, you will have to be more judicious as to how you allocate your time. We will provide you with a directory of exhibitors, listing booth numbers and a floor plan. This should make it easier to map out two or three trips to the Trade Show floor.

Don't hesitate in asking for a demonstration of products being exhibited. Watch for reactions and responses of fellow members. Listen to the questions and conversations. Get involved! It's all part of the Trade Show experience.

You should collect product literature at relevant booths to refer back to after you leave the Show, but don't try to collect everything being offered. Almost all exhibitors will be more than willing to send any data requested to your station or facility following the Show. Make sure you supply your correct and complete address.

Members attending this year's Convention will have more opportunities to meet with oil company representatives, and more suppliers than at any previous convention, and will sample new service, techniques, and machinery.

You will have an opportunity to learn more than you probably ever wanted to know about existing, new and pending environmental regulations. Trade Show exhibitors may help you more easily cope with these new regulations, and may even take a potential burdensome regulation and turn it into a profit center.

You will hear about and see the latest in parts and suppliers, towing equipment, insurances, car wash equipment, maps, diagnostic equipment, lifts, alignment equipment, jobbers, pay phones, convenience store products, computers, uniforms, waste oil pick-up, nozzles, pumps, manuals, air machines, business forms, security equipment, vending machines, snacks, tobacco products, and more!

In short, you should be able to come out of the Trade Show with better ideas of ways to increase and improve your business.



A NATIONAL FORUM

Z

one Pricing. Rebates. Rack/DTW disparities. These issues evoke great emotions from the dealer community.

Are these practices legal? Are they moral? Can they be satisfactorily addressed through negotiations? Will they be resolved in courts of law? Or on Capitol Hill? Or in state capitals nationwide?

What is being done to address these concerns? What are dealers contemplating doing to try and level the playing field?

This special session has been added to give dealers nationwide an opportunity to meet, to define, and to set possible future actions and solutions.



Amoco Oil's Yorktown Refinery



Monticello



Williamsburg



TURN BACK THE CLOCK

I

f you remember the oldies, you'll love the theme party. Bringing together three of the top groups from that era, be prepared for a sentimental journey into the past.

Dance and sing late into the evening to Lou Christie ("Lightning Strikes," - "The Gypsy Cried," - Two Faces Have I," - "How Many Tears," - "You and I," - "I'm Gonna Make You Mine"), The Crystals ("Da-Doo Ron Ron," - "Uptown," - "He's a Rebel," - "Then He Kissed Me"), and the Tokens ("The Lion Sleeps Tonight," - "Tonight I Fell in Love," - La Bamba," - "A Portrait of My Love").

FOR THE FAMILY

U

irginia's capital is like no other in the world. Its chief architect was Thomas Jefferson. Its spokesman was Patrick Henry. Its chief justice, John Marshall. Its poet, Edgar Allan Poe. And its general, Robert E. Lee.

Conventioneers will tap into southern charm with trips to Monticello and Williamsburg. A special Richmond art studio tour has been planned. Children will have easy access to the Busch Gardens amusement park. Shoppers can go to the world famous Pottery Factory. And all can quench their thirst at the Anheuser-Busch brewery.

Amoco has graciously arranged a refinery tour and a luncheon at their nearby Yorktown refinery on the beautiful York River.

And there are sites galore in Richmond: "Bojangles" Statue, Hollywood Cemetery, James River and Kanawha Canal Locks, Richmond National Battlefield Park, and Shockoe Slip. If you can find the time, plan on taking an evening cruise on the historic James River.

RAIL

Amtrak provides service from the Metro Richmond Station at 7519 Staples Mill Road. Trains out of Richmond travel to many destinations along the eastern seaboard and serve 500 cities downtown to downtown and coast to coast. For fare and schedule information, call 804-264-9194 or toll-free 1-800-872-7245.

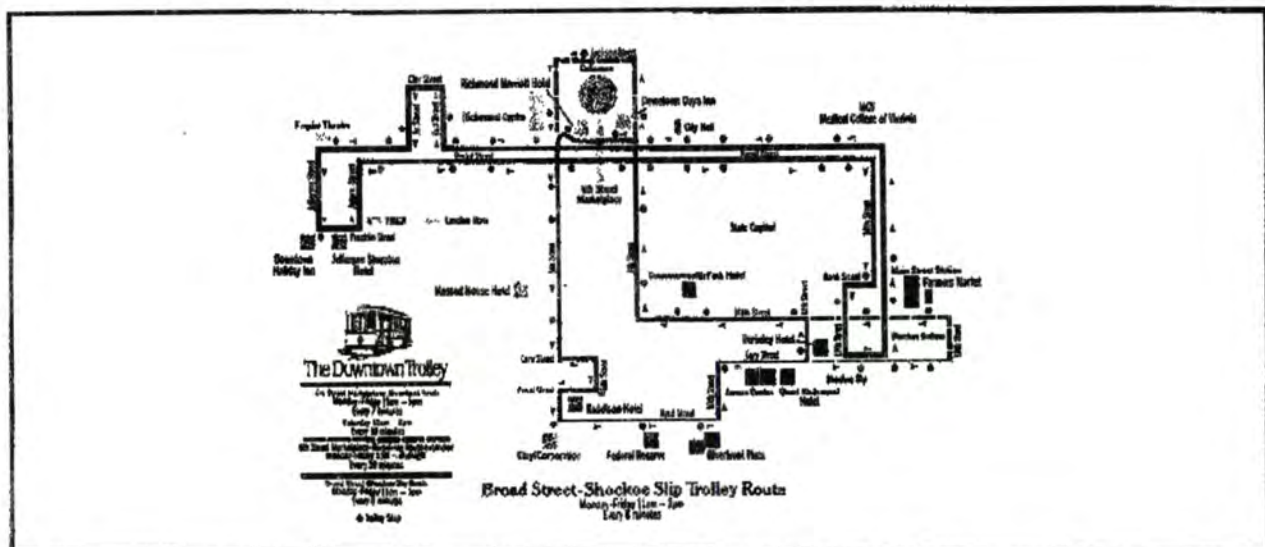


Richmond International Airport offers non-stop service to many destinations as well as connecting patterns that

can get you virtually anywhere in the United States. It's also tied into international gateways in Washington, New York, Atlanta, Charlotte, Cincinnati, Dallas-Forth Worth, Chicago, Baltimore, Raleigh and Pittsburgh.



Greyhound-Trailways Bus Lines are based at 2910 N. Boulevard at Exit 78 off I-95/I-64, near the Metro Richmond Visitors Center and The Diamond. For fare and schedule information, call 804-353-8903. Major credit cards, excluding American Express, are accepted.



CUT OFF DATE:
9/30/93

HOTEL RESERVATION FORMS

CUT OFF DATE:
9/30/93

MAIL TO: The Richmond Marriott • 500 E. Broad Street • Richmond, VA 23219 • (804) 613-3400

In making your reservation we request that you either: 1) Enclose a check or money order covering the first night's stay. - OR - 2) Send us the entire number of your credit card: AMERICAN EXPRESS, DINER'S CLUB, VISA/BANK AMERICARD, MASTERCARD OR CARTE BLANCHE. Don't forget the expiration date and your signature. The Richmond Marriott regrets that it cannot hold your reservation after 6:00 p.m. on the day of arrival without one of the above. Deposits will be refunded only if cancellation notification is given up to 24 hours prior to arrival.

SERVICE STATION AND AUTOMOTIVE REPAIR ASSOCIATION

Dates: 10/28 - 10/31 Rates: \$82 Single - \$82 Double Check out time is 1:00 p.m. Rooms may not be available for check-in until after 4:00 p.m.
PLEASE PRINT:

Name _____ Phone () _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For Arrival on _____ Depart on _____

(day) (date) (time) (day) (date)

Please reserve _____ No. of Rooms for _____ People Name(s) of person(s) sharing accommodations _____

☐ Check or money order enclosed ☐ American Express ☐ MasterCard ☐ Diners Club ☐ VISA ☐ Carte Blanche (please include interbank # directly next to card #)
I authorize the Richmond Marriott to charge my account for one night's deposit and all applicable taxes.

Signature _____ Phone () _____

RICHMOND MARRIOTT
* (HEADQUARTER HOTEL)

MAIL TO: The Omni Richmond Hotel • 100 South 12th Street • Richmond, VA 23219 • (804) 344-7000

In making your reservation we request that you either: 1) Enclose a check or money order covering the first night's stay. - OR - 2) Send us the entire number of your credit card: AMERICAN EXPRESS, DINER'S CLUB, VISA/BANK AMERICARD, MASTERCARD OR CARTE BLANCHE. Don't forget the expiration date and your signature. The Omni Richmond regrets that it cannot hold your reservation after 6:00 p.m. on the day of arrival without one of the above. Deposits will be refunded only if cancellation notification is given up to 24 hours prior to arrival.

SERVICE STATION AND AUTOMOTIVE REPAIR ASSOCIATION

Dates: 10/28 - 10/31 Rates: \$82 Single - \$82 Double Check out time is 1:00 p.m. Rooms may not be available for check-in until after 3:00 p.m.
PLEASE PRINT:

Name _____ Phone () _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For Arrival on _____ Depart on _____

(day) (date) (day) (date)

Please reserve _____ No. of Rooms for _____ People ☐ Smoking ☐ Non-Smoking Name(s) of person(s) sharing accommodations _____

☐ Check or money order enclosed ☐ American Express ☐ MasterCard ☐ Diners Club ☐ VISA ☐ Carte Blanche (please include interbank # directly next to card #)
I authorize The Omni Richmond to charge my account for one night's deposit and all applicable taxes.

Signature _____ Phone () _____

OMNI RICHMOND HOTEL

MAIL TO: The Jefferson Hotel • Franklin and Adams Street • Richmond, VA 23220 • (804) 788-8000

In making your reservation we request that you either: 1) Enclose a check or money order covering the first night's stay. - OR - 2) Send us the entire number of your credit card: AMERICAN EXPRESS, DINER'S CLUB, VISA/BANK AMERICARD, MASTERCARD OR CARTE BLANCHE. Don't forget the expiration date and your signature. The Jefferson Hotel regrets that it cannot hold your reservation after 6:00 p.m. on the day of arrival without one of the above. Deposits will be refunded only if cancellation notification is given up to 24 hours prior to arrival.

SERVICE STATION AND AUTOMOTIVE REPAIR ASSOCIATION

Dates: 10/28-10/31 Rates: \$75 Single or Double - \$85 Double/Double Check out time is 1:00 p.m. Rooms may not be available for check-in until after 3:00 p.m.
PLEASE PRINT:

Name _____ Phone () _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For Arrival on _____ Depart on _____

(day) (date) (day) (date)

Please reserve _____ No. of Rooms for _____ People Name(s) of person(s) sharing accommodations _____

☐ Check or money order enclosed ☐ American Express ☐ MasterCard ☐ Diners Club ☐ VISA ☐ Carte Blanche (please include interbank # directly next to card #)
I authorize The Jefferson Hotel to charge my account for one night's deposit and all applicable taxes.

Signature _____ Phone () _____

JEFFERSON HOTEL

Reservations requested before the cut off date are subject to availability of rooms within your group's contracted room block. Rooms may still be available after the cut off date but not necessarily at the group rate. Please apply 9.5% sales tax to the rates listed above.

REGISTRATION FORM**SERVICE STATION AND AUTOMOTIVE REPAIR ASSOCIATIONS****OCTOBER 28 - 31, 1993****RICHMOND MARRIOTT • RICHMOND OMNI • JEFFERSON HOTEL
RICHMOND CONVENTION CENTRE**

Name _____

Business _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Guest/Employee(s) Name _____

Phone Number () _____

☆ **COMPLETE REGISTRATION PACKET** ☆**REGISTRATION FEE - \$195 PER/PERSON**

This plan allows you to pay one fee (per person) and attend ALL Convention and Trade Show activities for the entire weekend.

PACKAGE INCLUDES:

Registration Fee
Amoco Refinery Tour
Art Studio Tour
National Legal Review Breakfast
Family Program to Williamsburg
GWMSSARA Awards Luncheon
Trade Show
Family Program to Monticello
Industry Session
Theme Party
SSDA Awards Brunch

**REGISTRATION POLICIES
AND PROCEDURES**

- All GWMSSARA, SSDA, VGMC, NCSSA, SCSSDA registration forms should be mailed to:

GWMSSARA
9420 Annapolis Road, Suite 307
Lanham, MD 20706

Make checks payable to GWMSSARA.

- Cancellations received before October 15, 1993 entitle the registrant to a full refund. **THERE WILL BE NO REFUNDS MADE AFTER OCTOBER 15, 1993**

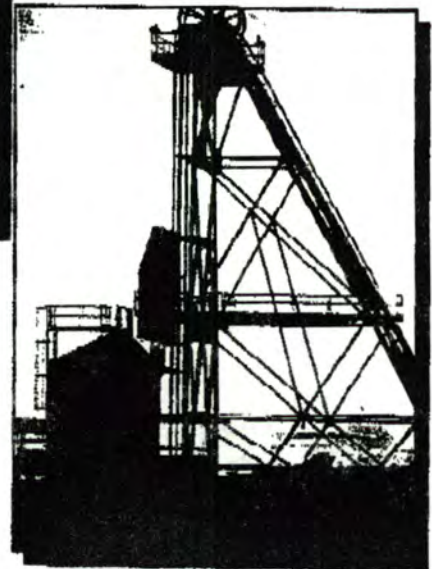
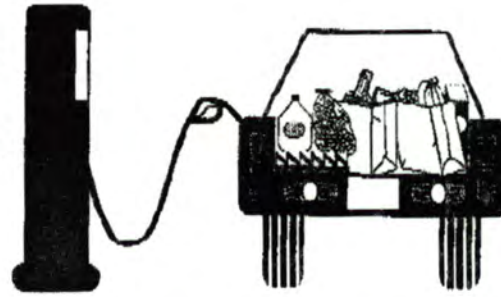
- Hotel reservations are to be made directly with the Hotels and a separate form is provided for that purpose.

PLEASE CALL 301-577-2875 or 1-800-492-0329 (within MD only) AND ASK FOR PAT OR KATHLEEN IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS.

- ☐ **Participating Association Members/Family/Guests**
Rate \$195
- ☐ **Non-Member Rate** \$295
- ☐ **Children (under 12) Rate** \$125

- ☐ Check enclosed for the amount of \$ _____
- ☐ Please bill my Visa/MasterCard account ☐ Please bill my American Express account
- Account # _____ Expiration date: _____
- Signature _____

Industry Leaders are Motoring to Richmond!



Host Associations:

Greater Washington/Maryland Service Station and Automotive Repair Association; Service Station Dealers of America (and its State Affiliates Nationwide); Virginia Gasoline Marketers Council; North Carolina Service Station Association; South Carolina Service Station Dealers Association.



You and your children are cordially invited to attend a Halloween Party

Saturday, October 30, 1993

two to four o'clock

at The Vice President's House

34th Street and Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest

Washington, DC

R.s.v.p. 202-456-7077



SERVICE STATION AND AUTOMOTIVE REPAIR ASSOCIATION

9420 Annapolis Road, Suite 307
Lanham, Maryland 20706
(301) 577-2875
WATS: 1-800-492-0329
FAX: (301) 306-0523

CHARLES E. WARNS, II, *President*
JAMES JACKSON, *First Vice President*
TOM REIDY, *Second Vice President*
MIKE INOLE, *Secretary*
LUTHER GRIFFIN, *Treasurer*
MELVIN SHERBERT, *Immediate Past President*
ROY E. LITTLEFIELD, *Executive Director*

NEWS RELEASE

For Immediate Release
August 19, 1993

Contact: Dr. Roy Littlefield
(301) 577-2875

OLIVER NORTH TO SPEAK AT SSDA CONVENTION

Retired Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North will keynote an industry session considering research and development under the Clean Air Act at the Service Station Dealers of America's annual convention on Saturday, October 30 at 10:00 a.m. in the Richmond Marriott Hotel, in Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. North is Chairman and co-founder of Guardian Technologies International, Inc., a Virginia based manufacturer of protective equipment for law enforcement. President of Freedom Alliance, a non-profit foundation dedicated to promoting the principles of individual liberty, a strong defense, and traditional values in national policy, writer of a weekly syndicated newspaper column, and broadcaster of a daily radio commentary, Mr. North will consider current issues on the national agenda.

Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North rounds out a confirmed panel of industry leaders.

Mr. William Tell, Senior Vice President, Texaco Inc. will speak on "Seeking Quality Transportation: Fuel, Traffic Management, and Environmental Regulations."

Mr. Stephen Pryor, Vice President of U.S. Fuels Marketing, Mobil Oil Corporation will assess, "The Proper Balance: Energy, the Economy, and the Environment."

Mr. James Johnston, Vice President of Government Affairs for General Motors Corporation will address: "Transportation: Products and Services of the Future."

Mr. Elliott Hall, Vice President of Washington Affairs for Ford Motor Company will discuss: "Transportation: Past, Present and Future."

(more)

Some 4,000 industry professionals will gather in Richmond, Virginia between October 28-31, 1993 for the largest educational and marketing forum and the largest trade show sponsored by service station and automotive repair facility associations in the world.

State and local legislators and regulators from the mid-Atlantic states will be invited. Major companies will line the Industry Session room with displays and examples of ongoing research and development.

Host associations include the Service Station Dealers of America (representing 60,000 small businesses), the Greater Washington/Maryland Service Station and Automotive Repair Association, the Virginia Gasoline Marketers Council, the North Carolina Service Station Association, and the South Carolina Service Station Dealers Association.

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For further information please contact Dr. Roy Littlefield, Service Station and Automotive Repair Association, at (301) 577-2875. Media coverage will be allowed and encouraged. A press conference will follow the session.