

Israel's Best Secret Weapon

DAMASCUS—The bottom line of a 10-day trip to Israel, Palestine-to-be, Jordan and Syria is that peace can work, though whether it will is not so certain.

True, a bitter history hangs over the daily ebb and flow. It occurs to Palestinians as well as Israelis that the two-year American-sponsored regional peace process is conceivably just one Hamas school bus attack away from collapse—and 600 Israeli buses ply the West Bank every day. The issues arrayed for negotiation are hard. The curse of Arab-Israeli politics, which is the tendency to ascribe fundamental incapacitating cultural hostility to the other party, lingers.

Still, a countering tendency to move on into a new world is palpable. Israel aches to pick up the society-renewing burden of absorbing the Soviet immigration. Palestine—we all have to get used to that word—realizes it faces decades of difficult social catch-up. Jordan and even Syria are starting to ease their dependence on Arab-Israeli confrontation in their respective ways.

A region once organized to carry on post-colonial politics in a Cold War framework is edging its way into a fast-changing global economy and into a political setting increasingly distant from the old feudal and statist order. The Israeli mainstream remains committed to escaping dependence on Western patronage and on military strength alone and to seeking a fuller membership and acceptance in the region. Yitzhak Rabin has the toughness and insight for this transcendent mission.

But what of the PLO's Yasser Arafat, Jordan's King Hussein and Syria's Hafez Assad? Arafat maddens everyone, caught as he is between the roles of revolutionary and statesman. Hussein's hesitations make his moderation discreet to the point of virtual invisibility. On Mondays and Wednesdays, Assad is Israel's favorite can-do, can-deliver Arab leader, but on Tuesdays and Thursdays he is the powerful dictator unworthy of Israeli trust.

Israel has, however, a secret weapon. It is not the high technology by which it means to ensure itself against the military risks of settlement. It is its democracy. From their roles as Israel's adversaries, occupieds, prisoners and day laborers, Palestinians have sharpened their taste for democracy and for a better life too. The case of Hanan Ashrawi, who quit as PLO spokesman to become a human rights watchdog, is instructive. Hussein has chosen the fateful course of starting to bargain with, rather than repress, Jordan's diverse elements, including Islamic elements. Syria pursues the Chinese model of political closing and economic opening.

The conflict between Israel and the Arabs remains one of land, meaning real estate and water, and peace, meaning the quality of the resulting link. Israel, giving up tangible territory, needs a full set of intangibles in return. Palestine and Jordan are more or less ready for the land-for-peace exchange. Syria is skeptical but determined not to be left behind.

In a more immediate sense, the conflict is over time. This is how Israelis cushion risk: with time to see how well PLO police contain Hamas's anti-Palestinian as well as anti-Israeli terrorism. With time to find ways, in Israeli politics as well as on Palestinian ground, to muffle the explosive presence of 130,000 Jewish settlers. Of these, perhaps 10,000 are true fundamentalists and some hundreds are considered beyond the law.

For Palestinians the notion of an interim settlement embodied in the Israeli-Palestinian accord signed in Washington in September is vanishing fast. Palestinians look not only for immediate relief from Israeli occupation in Gaza and Jericho but for a rapid, seamless sweep on to full Israeli withdrawal and thence to full statehood.

Immense friction lies in the difference between Palestinian emotional urgency and Israeli caution. To ease it, Arafat will have to speak more frankly to his people and broaden his administration beyond the ranks of PLO functionaries. Rabin will have to quicken the tempo at which Israel hands over control of Palestinians' daily lives, and ensures economic improvements. The latter task is complicated by Arafat's evident economic priorities: political slush money first, development second.

Still, up close, desperate Palestine looks like a better immediate interlocutor for Israel than does wary Syria. Israel may doubt Assad's readiness for a full peace and for strenuous Israeli security guarantees, but Assad holds not unreasonable doubts about Israel's readiness to surrender Golan's settlements and strategic assets. The Syrian strongman, for all his distaste for Arafat and Arafat's secret deal at Oslo, perceives an interest in seeing Israeli-Palestinian autonomy through—if Syria's own concerns are met. Though his hands are full on the Palestinian side, Rabin knows he cannot take Syria for granted.

The United States as an "active intermediary" means to have the parties negotiate with each other. But it may not be too long before the parties, either facing or feigning deadlock, turn to Washington to break it. This is the moment for the United States to be thinking out these separate situations. The Americans may yet have the make-or-break role.

Charles Krauthammer

Russian Earthquake

The meaning of Zhirinovsky.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky, Russia's answer to Hitler, staggered the West by winning the popular vote in Russia's parliamentary elections. The West is staggered not because he will directly influence Russia's government. He will not. Boris Yeltsin's new constitution provides for a very strong presidency that can practically ignore parliament.

The West is staggered because of what Zhirinovsky's victory tells us about the Russian people. And if what it tells us is true, then the entire post-Cold War strategy of the West—gradually bringing Russia into the Western security system—is built on sand.

It is important to be clear who Zhirinovsky is. He is called far-right, ultra-nationalist, fascist. He is more a Nazi. He openly proclaims his ties with German neo-Nazis. He is frankly, crudely racist. He calls, for example, for Russian television to use only blond-haired, blue-eyed announcers.

He plays the same Nazi themes: virulent xenophobia, ethnic hatred and a contempt for democratic norms. He offers the same geopolitical cure: war for empire. He promises an *Anschluss*, forced union with neighboring lands where Russians live; and *Lebensraum*, expansion onto the Indian Ocean. In a burst of moderation, he is not now pressing his claim to Alaska.

Zhirinovsky lacks a militant party of brown-shirted thugs. But he may not need one. In the convulsed Russia of today, such elements already exist. On Oct. 3, Alexander Rutskoi mobilized them to storm Moscow city hall and the TV complex at Ostankino. They are still there, awaiting new orders.

Zhirinovsky may not have Hitler's intelligence or single-mindedness. Then again, in 1930 nobody thought Hitler did either. And Hitler did not have 27,000 nuclear warheads. Zhirinovsky has spoken openly of using Russia's. "If a German looks at Russia the wrong way when I'm in the Kremlin . . .," he has warned, "we will create new Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. I will not hesitate to deploy atomic weapons."

Consider, then, the message this election sends the world. The Russian people are offered their first free election since 1917, and they choose Zhirinovsky. He gets 24 percent of the popular vote in the nationwide party voting, almost twice that of his nearest rival. The communists and their allies total another 30 percent.

True, the democrats were cosmically inept—squabbling, feuding, dividing their vote among four parties. True, Zhirinovsky is great on TV. True, Zhirinovsky's may have been a protest vote. But there were plenty of other places to park a protest. Instead it went to a Nazi.

Will Zhirinovsky come to power? Presidential elections are due in 1996, and Zhirinovsky is already running. It is possible that this time the democrats will get their act together and unite behind an attractive candidate. It is

possible that the economy will pick up. It is possible that this election revealed not an ugly Russian mind, just an ugly Russian mood. Possible.

But even if the democrats manage to hang on to power now and through another presidential term, the message is clear. If in a free vote half of Russia chooses totalitarians, then over time, with the inevitable ebb and flow of political fortunes, democratic government cannot be secure. Russia will ever be only one economic downturn, one shift in popular mood, one badly managed election away from the abyss.

Which has grave implications for the West. The key to global pacification, to eliminating the threat of major war, is bringing Russia into the West. Russia's democratization would mean that every great power save China had entered into quasi-alliance. It would guarantee a generation or two of relative peace.

The administration's "Partnership for Peace," offering NATO cooperation to Eastern Europe and Russia on equal terms, is based entirely on this assumption. But with a Russia half inclined to totalitarianism, such a partnership cannot endure. If Russia proves to be fundamentally non-Western, then the grand strategy comes to nothing.

What to do? Firmly support Yeltsin's Russia and firmly prepare for the possibility of another kind of Russia:

1) Halt the wholesale dismantling of our military establishment undertaken in the euphoria of the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

2) Halt the mindless dismantling of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The Czechs have offered them a home; accept.

3) Offer eventual but definite NATO membership to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic now while the political costs are relatively low. Yeltsin will protest. We should explain: We are not protecting against you but against Zhirinovsky. Can you guarantee that the likes of him will not succeed you?

4) Stop badgering Russia's neighbors to disarm. In particular, we can stop hectoring Ukraine to dismantle its nukes. The Ukrainians would be defenseless against a revanchist Russia. Certainly, we will not defend them. We ought not be stripping them of their one deterrent and bargaining chip.

5) Redouble our economic support for Yeltsin. President Clinton called for that in his Wednesday press conference. Aides then told reporters that there is no money. Find it. And more important than aid is trade. Russia's private economy is being strangled in the crib by Western trade barriers. Eliminate them.

6) Make our support for Russian reform unequivocal but pointed. Make clear that so long as Russia follows a democratic path and pursues friendly relations with the West, we shall reciprocate. Make equally clear that we can reciprocate ill will too. We've had 40 years of practice.

Treacherous Transition

By Angela Stent

A week after the Russian elections, the results seem less apocalyptic than they did the morning after, when we awoke to predictions of a neo-fascist tide engulfing the continent. The pro-Yeltsin Russia's Choice Party will be the largest group in the Duma, the lower house of Parliament. But the final result — a Duma almost evenly balanced between reformers and anti-reformers, an upper house dominated by former Communist regional leaders, a population seething with resentment against the hardships of their post-Communist life — is no cause for complacency.

The unexpectedly strong showing of anti-reformers on the left and right warns us that things could still go very wrong. Creating a new society on the rubble of Communism is a challenge that has never been attempted, and one that will take a long time if it is to succeed at all.

The election forces us to develop a new policy toward Russia, on two tracks. First, we need to intensify our commitment to political and economic reforms, which today means redoubling support for President Boris Yeltsin. Second, we should prepare for the possibility of serious reversals. That means reviewing our military posture and offering to integrate Eastern Europe and some former Soviet republics more closely into the West.

It's important to understand why the opponents of reform did so well. The major reason for discontent is economic: most people are worse off than they were under Communism and they resent the small number of entrepreneurs and mafiosi who have

How the U.S. can help Yeltsin and the reformers.

thrived since its collapse. The quality of life has deteriorated with the spread of crime and the disappearance of the social safety net. And the fall of the Soviet empire led to a sense of humiliation and loss of identity, particularly among the military, many of whose members voted for the ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The United States has a major stake in assuring that Russia, still armed with a huge conventional and nuclear arsenal that could destabilize all of Europe, makes the transition to a democratic, market, post-imperial society. It is remarkable that Russia has got this far with relatively little violence, but we must accept that the transition will not be smooth and that it will take decades. We can only influence Russian developments, not shape them, but there are ways in which we can make a crucial difference.

There is a widespread perception in Russia that the West (particularly the International Monetary Fund) is the chief culprit in the country's economic woes. Even though this is a gross exaggeration of the power of Western institutions, such views have to be taken into account.

Over the weekend, the I.M.F. and the Russian Government announced they were easing economic "shock therapy." We should support that process; some subsidies will be needed for much longer than is palatable to many Western economists. And we should recognize the need to balance rapid economic transition with social needs.

The new Russian Parliament will

Angela Stent, who teaches government at Georgetown University, is writing a book on German-Russian-Ukrainian relations.

probably not be as hostile to the Yeltsin Government as the previous one was, but it will certainly not be compliant. The first democratic vote in Russia has brought a large number of anti-democrats to power. While we should continue to have extensive dealings with the new Yeltsin Government, we will also have to expand our contacts with Parliament, particularly with other reform groups and the next generation of democratic leaders — Yegor Gaidar, Grigory Yavlinsky, Anatoly Sobchak. We should increase U.S.-Russia exchange programs so reformers can experience a working democracy at first hand.

We should not exaggerate Mr. Zhirinovskiy's power. Unlike current Communists or past fascists, to whom he has been compared, he has no ideology. He is an opportunist, mercurial and flexible to the core. The best policy would be to ignore him rather than reinforce his self-importance by paying too much attention to him. But we and our Russian partners have to address more directly the sources of discontent that led to his successes.

While the Russian Government attends to its domestic problems, we cannot assume that its foreign policy will continue to be pro-Western. At a minimum, the nationalist and Communist rhetoric will cast a pall of uncertainty over relations with already jittery neighbors and with the West.

In the euphoria after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, people assumed that the end of the cold war meant the end of East-West confrontation. Certainly the ideological antagonism has van-

ished. Yet Russia, striving to be a great power, could become a serious rival to the United States. Its nuclear arsenal is still aimed at us. Precisely because the long transition from Communism will not proceed in a straight line, there could be times when Russian and American interests clash or when Russia and its neighbors become involved in hostilities.

So as Bobby Ray Inman takes over as Defense Secretary, we should reconsider the speed with which we reduce our military at home and in Europe. The Russian situation is too unpredictable to make far-reaching decisions now about our future national defense.

The election results have sent shock waves though Russia's former satellites and neighbors. Even putting aside the flamboyant revanchist oratory of Mr. Zhirinovskiy and his ilk, Ukrainians, Poles and the people of the Baltic states have reason to be concerned. At a minimum, the continuing uncertainty in Russia will reinforce Ukraine's reluctance to renounce its nuclear weapons. Ukraine is likely to keep them for many years, and we will have to live with this uncongenial fact of life.

The Russian elections will be a major topic at the NATO summit meeting in Brussels on Jan. 10 and 11. Until now, Russian sensitivities have made the United States wary of expanding the alliance to include former Warsaw Pact nations. But the outcome of the elections suggests taking another look at the compromise NATO has worked out for the summit meeting. The "Partnership for Peace" — in which former Communist countries will be offered closer ties to NATO but no security guarantees in the event of hostilities — is inadequate.

Short of full NATO membership, the nations furthest along the road to democracy and a free market — Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic — could surely be offered something more concrete, something that differentiates them from Russia and Ukraine. Otherwise, Central Europe would continue to be vulnerable to Russian power even as it continued to move away from Communism much more quickly than Russia. The Partnership for Peace could become a partnership for procrastination.

In short, we must develop a more realistic policy to support the Russian transition. The Russians must make up for centuries of history during which they missed the stages of development crucial to the growth of a democratic political culture and a market economy.

Russia already has pockets of extremely successful capitalism, a new breed of highly competent young entrepreneurs and a growing brigade of committed democratic reformers. But they are the exception. The vast majority of Russians remain suspended between Communism and a future that intrigues and terrifies them. We can help to fashion that future, but it will probably be very different from what anyone can imagine today. □

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Bony - This is a good piece
on our national policy
wow - B.

Theodore B. Olson

Clemency for Pollard ✓

The Dec. 13 op-ed piece ["Pollard Deserves to Be in Prison"] by David Geneson, a prosecutor in the Jonathan Pollard case, is drenched with the same kind of inaccuracy and hysterical exaggeration that Geneson and his government colleagues employed so effectively during Jonathan Pollard's sentencing.

The government's emotional and hyperbolic arguments succeeded in securing the harshest possible punishment of Jonathan Pollard—life imprisonment—even though the government had promised it would not seek such a sentence. Geneson professes not to object to a presidential commutation of Pollard's sentence to the eight years he has already served. Yet, he unleashes the same vituperation to oppose commutation of the sentence that he used to obtain it in the first place. However, that poison should not discourage President Clinton from responding favorably to the commutation plea by Pollard, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and so many others.

Geneson's most audacious and demonstrably false claim is his assertion that the government did not promise Pollard it would "restrain its prosecutorial rhetoric in connection with his sentencing." Geneson acknowledges the commitment "not to recommend the maximum penalty of life imprisonment." The government, however, promised much more than that, and Geneson knows it, for his handwritten signature appears on the government's written plea bargain with Pollard.

It explicitly promised to confine the government's sentencing argumentation to the "facts and circumstances" of the offense committed—a significant limitation on the general right of prosecutors to venture opinions and engage in bombastic rhetoric during sentencing. It also promised to inform the sentencing judge that Pollard's cooperation with investigating agencies had been "of considerable value to the enforcement of the espionage laws." Those two additional promises were central to the plea agreement.

As Geneson knows, the government breached all three of its promises, savagely attacking Pollard's motives and personality. It argued that his cooperation was so deficient and improperly motivated that it should be a factor for enhancing his sentence. It accused him of "treason," an offense he never committed. It did everything it could to secure a life sentence despite its promise.

All three federal judges who considered Pollard's appeal, including Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg and two prominent and highly respected conservative jurists, criticized the prosecutors' conduct as "hard-nosed," "troublesome" and "problematic." Judge Stephen Williams found that the government's sentencing "tirade" clearly exceeded the "substantial restraint" on the government's conduct contemplated by the plea bargain, constituted a "fundamental miscarriage of justice" and said he would have vacated Pollard's sentence if he could.

Public pronouncements by a former prose-

cutor beyond the official public record are, to say the least, highly questionable. Geneson is trying to persuade the public that Pollard should remain in prison for life based on his own revisionist, self-justifying interpretations of still-classified government damage assessments. But the fundamental point that he chooses to ignore is that the prosecutor was fully aware of the scope of Pollard's disclosures to Israel when he agreed *not* to seek a life sentence and decided *not* to charge Pollard with "knowing or having reason to believe" that his actions would harm the United States. Thus, Geneson's exhortation years later for the same life sentence that he did not think was necessary and promised not to seek at

Taking Exception

Pollard is the only person in U.S. history to receive such severe punishment for providing intelligence to an ally.

sentencing is, on its face, deceptive.

Geneson also defames Pollard by saying that he was motivated by money. The record is clear that Pollard believed it was necessary to help Israel defend itself from hostile aggressors because the United States was withholding information it owed to Israel under a treaty. Months after he had volunteered his services and begun cooperating with Israel, Israeli intelligence officials persuaded him to accept relatively paltry sums of money, a technique routinely utilized by intelligence professionals to corrupt, and therefore to enslave, an idealistic volunteer. Pollard was surely wrong to accept the money, but that was not the motive for his actions.

Jonathan Pollard knows he broke the law and had to be punished. Life imprisonment, however, is a grossly disproportionate sentence for Pollard's offense. Geneson simply has no answer for the fact that Pollard is the only person in United States history to receive such severe punishment for providing intelligence data to an ally. Aside from Pollard, those who received a life sentence committed espionage for a hostile nation; those who assisted allies received sentences comparable to the period Pollard has already served.

Commutation of Jonathan Pollard's sentence would heal a deep wound in the U.S.-Israel relationship and allow both countries to look to the future in this promising season of peace.

The writer is the attorney for Jonathan Pollard.

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1993 THE WASHINGTON POST

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Mail OK

Open Up on Madison Guaranty ✓

Much as President Clinton might wish, the curious saga of his and his wife's dealings with the owner of a failed Arkansas savings and loan association just won't go away. It keeps popping up in Congressional inquiries and newspaper accounts, each time with a new and unsavory detail added to an already unflattering portrait of the cozy relationship between money and politics in Arkansas.

An important detail, disclosed by The Times's Jeff Gerth and Stephen Engelberg, is that the owner of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, James McDougal, helped Mr. and Mrs. Clinton repay a \$50,000 personal debt just when Mr. McDougal needed favorable treatment from state banking officials to stay in business. Mr. McDougal did stay in business, his problems got worse, and in 1989 the bank was taken over by the Federal Government, at a cost to taxpayers of \$60 million.

There is no irrefutable evidence of a quid pro quo. But the Arkansas savings and loan mess, and the Clintons' relationship to it, is not, as the White House keeps saying, an "old" story that has no relevance to Mr. Clinton or his present job. This is a man who rode into Washington on a pledge to end politics as usual, and every time the White House dodges inquiries about the old days in Arkansas, reasonable people begin to wonder about a cover-up and Mr. Clinton's sincerity.

The matter clearly needs ventilating, and if the White House won't do it, two other institutions can. One is the Justice Department, which is already looking into transactions at Madison. The Clintons are not targets of the probe.

The other is the House Banking Committee, whose ranking minority member, Jim Leach, believes that a full investigation of Madison could help the committee frame new rules to prevent future banking disasters. His request has been rebuffed by the committee chairman, Henry Gonzalez, a Democrat who until now has been a tiger on the savings and loan issue. Mr. Gonzalez accuses Mr. Leach of a Republican "fishing expedition."

Mr. Leach has also called Madison a "private piggy bank" for its owners and their influential Arkansas friends, and on this he is surely right. In addition to a string of dubious real estate investments, Madison made large unsecured loans to executives and other insiders.

Madison's practices attracted the attention of Federal auditors, whose 1984 review found "unsafe

and unsound lending practices" that could threaten to drive the bank under. Shortly thereafter, Governor Clinton named Beverly Bassett Schaffer as head of the Arkansas agency charged with overseeing state-chartered savings and loans. Ms. Schaffer had once done legal work for Madison. For the next 18 months, up to the point where Federal regulators moved in, she took no significant regulatory action.

Three months after her appointment, Mr. Clinton came to Mr. McDougal with a request to "knock out the deficit" — Mr. McDougal's words — left over from the Governor's 1984 campaign. It turns out that the deficit wasn't just an ordinary campaign debt, but \$50,000 Mr. and Mrs. Clinton had borrowed from another bank to finance the campaign. Mr. McDougal organized a fund-raiser and the debt was repaid. Federal auditors suspect that some of the donations assembled by Mr. McDougal may have been improperly diverted from the savings and loan.

Bruce Lindsey, the official wheeled out by the White House to answer questions, says the Clinton-McDougal relationship was entirely above board. Others, however, are more than mildly troubled by the fact that Mr. Clinton did not order his regulators to crack down on Mr. McDougal even after he was advised by his own banking commissioner in 1983 that the savings and loan operator was engaged in imprudent banking practices.

Suspensions that Mr. Clinton was excessively kind to his friend — at great cost, eventually, to the taxpayers — are further reinforced by the fact that Mr. McDougal had done other favors for the Clintons, including making them 50-50 partners in Whitewater Development, a real estate company for which Mr. McDougal put up most of the money. The venture ultimately failed, and the Clintons lost money. But that doesn't make their financial ties to Mr. McDougal seem any more savory.

Based on what's publicly known, there's probably not a crippling scandal here. But the White House is behaving as if there were. For example, Federal investigators say they have received little cooperation in a search for files they suspect were taken from the office of Vincent J. Foster, a White House aide who killed himself. Investigators want to know if one of those files dealt with Mr. McDougal and Whitewater.

This defensiveness isn't helping anyone. Mr. Clinton — and Mr. Gonzalez — owe it to the public to clear the air about Madison and its influential Arkansas friends.

A Smart Move by United ✓

The tentative agreement by United Airlines to sell a majority stake of the carrier to its employees is an attractive solution to a seemingly unsolvable financial problem. Indeed, it could spread to the other major carriers and beyond.

Over the last three years, as the economy has sagged, airline carriers have lost more than \$10 billion; United alone has lost more than \$1 billion. A major problem is that the large carriers, like United, Delta and American, carry huge debt and other fixed costs that don't go away when business falls off. No matter how few passengers United carries, it still must pay interest to creditors and run its gargantuan hub-and-spoke operations.

That makes the major carriers easy prey to strike threats. Management knows that if the pilots walked away from their jobs, the airlines would go bankrupt quickly. Desperate to stay afloat, the airlines have entered labor contracts they can't afford. The situation worsened when upstart carriers, like Southwest, relying on cheap labor and flexible work rules to fly only short-haul routes, began to siphon away United's customers.

The salvation of United lies in cutting its labor costs. That means lower pay. It also means looser work rules so that United can staff planes and airports with fewer workers. But the pilots and machinists, distrusting that they would ever see the benefit, were not about to offer massive wage cuts for nothing. That's why Stephen Wolf, the head of United, entered negotiations for a worker buyout. If it happens, United will become the largest worker-controlled company in the U.S.

Under the tentative agreement, the unions agree to sizable cuts in wages and fringe benefits.

The labor savings are expected to exceed \$5 billion over six years. In return, the unions will get 53 percent ownership of the airline. Worker control can scare investors who fear that worker-owners would rush to steer revenues into bloated wages rather than dividends or investment. So the unions wisely agreed to appoint only a minority of the board; they would, in effect, retain veto power over many important corporate decisions.

The United deal demonstrates that workers will absorb steep wage cuts only if they are guaranteed benefits down the road. Worker control provides that guarantee. Workers are given an immediate stake in the company's long-term future: wage concessions are immediately translated into stock shares, which stay in an employee stock ownership fund until the worker retires or otherwise leaves the company. And if further wage cuts are needed in the future, worker-owners are unlikely to resort to a bankrupting strike.

Worker-controlled companies have an uneven record of success in the U.S. But many of the failures were preordained, because the companies were at death's door before they were turned over to employees; despite recent losses, United's future isn't bleak. Besides, other worker-controlled companies were not designed to give workers a healthy incentive to watch the company's bank account as closely as their own.

If worker-ownership succeeds at United, it could also solve identical problems at American and Delta. Indeed, other industries forced to meet global competition by restructuring their work forces might gravitate toward the same solution.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1993

Handwritten note: The Clinton-McDougal relationship was entirely above board.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Rim

DATE: 12/27

NOTE FOR: MARK, Joan Baygett, Pat Griffin

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

Information ☐

Action ☒

RE: (P) NOTE; WILL YOU
FOLLOW UP ON POSSIBLE DNC
MAILING

Thank you.

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

cc: MARK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
DECEMBER 20, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK GEARAN *MG*
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

As Howard Paster noted, this year Congress worked extraordinarily hard, spending 35 percent more time in session than any in recent history. We have pointed out the tremendous activity of this session of Congress through several channels and will continue to do so. I thought you might be interested in a document that the Communications Department prepared and released in conjunction with Congress' adjournment. It is attached for your review; note that this administration's record of working with Congress is featured prominently. We will continue to work with communications staff of the Democratic congressional leadership in the coming year to drive home the point to the American people that gridlock is breaking up and that we are moving forward again.

This is very good - we've been asked this not to buy supporters of the US on DWC - also all papers up in staff of those who endorse - R

THE 1993 CONGRESSIONAL SESSION : A WRAP-UP

"If we work hard and if we work together, if we re-dedicate ourselves to creating jobs, to rewarding work, to strengthening our families, to reinventing our government, we can lift our country's fortunes again. Tonight I ask everyone in this chamber and every American to look simply into your own heart, to spark your own hopes, to fire your own imagination. There's so much good, so much possibility, so much excitement in this country now that if we act boldly and honestly as leaders should, our legacy will be one of prosperity and progress. This must be America's new direction. Let us summon the courage to seize it." -- President Clinton in his Joint Session Address on February 17, 1993.

- **ENDING GRIDLOCK.** From day one, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have worked with Congress to break the gridlock that paralyzed Washington, D.C. for years. In one year, they have accomplished many of the President's main priorities:

The Economic Package. Signed into law on August 10, 1993

National Service. Signed into law on September 21, 1993

Family and Medical Leave Act. Signed into law on February 5, 1993

NAFTA. Passed both Houses by November 20, 1993

Campaign Finance. Passed both Houses by November 22, 1993

Crime Bill. Passed both Houses by November 19, 1993

The Brady Bill. Passed both Houses by November 22, 1993

Health Care Reform. Introduced on October 22, 1993

- **LEGISLATIVE SUCCESS:** Even before the tough vote on the NAFTA, studies showed that the president had a remarkable legislative record. **Congressional Quarterly** found that legislation on which the president took a stand passed 88.6 percent of the time, the highest first-year success rate since Eisenhower in 1953. A Fordham University study found that the president won tough votes at a higher rate: 91.3 percent of the tough votes in the House and 92.6 percent in the Senate, better than the record of President Johnson in 1965.
- **BI-PARTISANSHIP, NO VETOES, MORE DEBATE, OPEN LINES OF COMMUNICATION.** Republicans have delivered crucial support for National Service, the NAFTA, the Family and Medical Leave Act and flood relief. For only the second time in 60 years, there has been no Presidential veto. Important legislation that had fallen to President Bush's vetoes -- the Family and Medical Leave Act, Motor-Voter -- was signed into law. Congress has spent 40 percent more time -- 1,920 hours -- considering legislation than during Reagan's first year. In the spirit of open communication, the president has made 15 trips to Capitol Hill this year.



November 23, 1993

REBUILDING THE ECONOMY

"Our nation needs a new direction. Tonight, I present to you a comprehensive plan to set our nation on that new course. I believe we will find our new direction in the basic old values that brought us here over the last two centuries, a commitment to opportunity, to individual responsibility, to community, to work, to family, and to faith. We must now break the habits of both political parties and say there can be no more something for nothing, and admit, frankly, that we are all in this together." -- President Clinton in his Joint Session Address on February 17, 1993.

- **HISTORIC DEFICIT REDUCTION.** Working with Congress, we have taken bold and serious steps to bring down the federal budget deficit. We passed a budget bill that will reduce the deficit by nearly \$500 billion over five years, the largest deficit cutting plan in history.
- **TARGETED INVESTMENTS.** Congress provided nearly 70 percent of the President's investment proposals for Fiscal Year 1994, including funding for new programs such as National Service, Goals 2000, and School to Work. These included a 66 percent increase for the Ryan White Act; a 12 percent increase for the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) feeding program; a 20 percent increase for Head Start, an 11 percent increase for highways; a 116 percent increase for dislocated worker assistance; and a 58 percent increase for immunization grants.
- **LARGE SPENDING CUTS AND A SPENDING FREEZE.** The deficit reduction package that Congress passed included \$255 billion in spending cuts and an unprecedented "hard freeze" -- a 12 percent real reduction -- on all discretionary spending. The House also passed the President's additional spending reduction bill that will cut \$37 billion in spending.
- **HELPING SMALL BUSINESS.** The economic package increases by 75 percent the maximum expensing of investment and provides a new targeted capital gains cut for long-term investments in small businesses -- tax incentives that will create hundreds of thousands of jobs in the next five years.
- **EXPANDING MARKETS FOR US EXPORTS.** The President has worked with Congress to expand markets for US exports, exports that support high-paying American jobs. The President has worked with Congress to relax export controls on \$37 billion worth of American goods.
- **MORE JOBS.** Job creation is up in the first year of the administration -- more than 1.2 million new private sector jobs, 200,000 more than were created during the entire four years of the Bush administration.
- **LOWER INTEREST RATES.** American consumers are benefitting from historically low interest and mortgage rates that make buying a home easier and easing the burden on those who already pay their mortgages.
- **UNEMPLOYMENT DROPPING.** Unemployment has dropped to just 6.8 percent in October, down from an average 7.4 percent last year.

November 23, 1993

SAFE STREETS

"I ask you to help to protect our families against the violent crime which terrorizes our people and which tears our communities apart. We must pass a tough crime bill. ... I support ... an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street -- to provide boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders, for more space for the hardened criminals in jail and I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. I will make you this bargain. If you'll pass the Brady Bill, I'll sure sign it." -- President Clinton in his Joint Session Address on February 17, 1993.

- **THE BRADY BILL.** The President is ready to sign the Brady Bill, which will make it more difficult for criminals to purchase handguns.
- **100,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS.** The President will sign Congress' tough, new crime bill that will help put 100,000 police officers on the street and give local and state officials the tools they need to stop crime.
- **MORE PRISONS.** The crime bill will fund the construction of new prisons to make sure that criminals stay behind bars.
- **SAFE SCHOOLS.** The President proposed and the Senate passed strong new measures as part of the crime bill to make our nation's schools safer.

HELPING FAMILIES

- **FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE.** The President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act. That law gives American workers job security by providing them with up to 13 weeks per year of unpaid leave for child-birth, adoption, a personal illness or an illness in the family. Thanks to Congress and the President, Americans no longer have to face the difficult choice between caring for their families or keeping their jobs.
- **MAKING STUDENT LOANS MORE AFFORDABLE.** Congress passed and the President signed the Student Loan Reform Act, which will make college more affordable, lower interest rates and save taxpayer money through direct federal lending.
- **NATIONAL SERVICE.** Congress passed and the President signed a National Service Act that will enable over 100,000 young Americans to serve their communities and to earn credit toward higher education.
- **TAX CUTS FOR WORKING FAMILIES WITH INCOMES BELOW \$27,000.** The tax plan Congress passed was fair. It asked wealthy Americans to pay their fair share, while giving more than 20 million American families a tax cut through the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC.)

November 23, 1993

REFORMING GOVERNMENT

"I think it is clear to every American including every member of Congress of both parties that the confidence of the people who pay our bills and our institutions in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups ... I believe lobby reform and campaign finance reform are a sure path to increased popularity for Republicans and Democrats alike because it says to the voters back home, 'This is your House, this is your Senate. We're your hired hands and every penny we draw is your money.'" -- President Clinton in his Joint Session Address on February 17, 1993.

- **REINVENTING GOVERNMENT.** The President and Vice President Gore have launched a major effort to reinvent government. The National Performance Review report was released on September 7, 1993, containing over 1200 recommendations to make government work better and cost less. These initiatives will trim the government's payroll by 250,000 jobs and streamline government operations. NPR will cut red tape, abandon the obsolete, eliminate duplications and end special privileges. The administration has introduced more than 40 of NPR's major proposals: eliminating special interests like the wool and mohair subsidies; moving forward on procurement reform; moving from a paper-based system to an automated-electronic one. The House incorporated some of those recommendations in a rescission bill the President is ready to sign.
- **MOTOR VOTER.** The President signed the National Voter Registration Act, which will make it easier for millions of Americans to register to vote.
- **CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM.** Both houses have passed a campaign finance reform bill that will reduce the influence of PACs and level the playing field between challengers and incumbents. The President will sign the toughest campaign finance reform bill Congress can pass.
- **LOBBYING REFORM.** As part of the President's budget package, Congress eliminated the tax deduction for lobbying expenses.

DEMOCRATIC INTERNATIONALISM

- **FREE TRADE.** Congress and the President have worked together to break down trade barriers and to pass the NAFTA, an historic agreement that will create jobs and markets for Americans and protect the environment on both sides of the border. The President looks forward to continued cooperation from Congress as he completes the GATT negotiations in Geneva and the initiatives he began in at the G-7 summit in Tokyo and the APEC conference in Seattle.
- **AID TO DEMOCRATIC STATES.** Congress has supported the President's package of \$2.5 billion in Russian aid to bolster democracy in the former Communist state and to lend stability to the new Russian free market economy.
- **MIDEAST PEACE.** The President appreciates the support Congress has given him as he brokers an agreement that will bring lasting peace to the Mideast.

November 23, 1993

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM

"I believe if there is any chance that Republicans and Democrats who disagree on taxes and spending ... could agree on one thing, surely we can all look at these numbers and go home and tell our people the truth. We cannot continue these spending patterns in public or private dollars for health care for less and less and less every year. We can do better." -- President Clinton in his Joint Session Address on February 17, 1993.

- **HEALTH CARE SECURITY.** The President is committed to passing comprehensive health care legislation in the 103rd Congress. For more than 60 years, Presidents and Congress have worked to enact a national health care plan. Next year, Congress and the President will deliver.
- **IMPROVING MEDICAL RESEARCH.** Congress passed and President Clinton signed a National Institutes of Health bill that will help keep America at the forefront of biomedical research in key areas like cancer, heart diseases, women's health, AIDS, and fetal tissue transplantation.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

"Backed by an effective national defense and a stronger economy, our nation will be prepared to lead a world challenged as it is everywhere by ethnic conflict, by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, by the global democratic revolution, and by challenges to the health of our global environment.

"This (economic) plan... provides the most ambitious environmental clean-up in partnership with state and local government of our time to put people to work and to preserve the environment for our future. " -- President Clinton in his Joint Session Address on February 17, 1993.

- **EPA CABINET STATUS.** The President is poised to sign into law legislation that would elevate the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet status. This law will strengthen the agency's effectiveness and enhance its ability to execute national and international environmental policy.
- **FOREST PLAN.** After a break-through Forest Conference in Portland, Oregon with groups on both sides of the issue, the President announced a Forest Plan, ending contradictory policies from feuding agencies concerning legislation banning the export of unprocessed timber.

November 23, 1993

SWIFT REACTION TO EMERGENCIES

The President and Congress have moved swiftly this year to address emergencies that affected the lives of millions of Americans.

- **HELPING THE UNEMPLOYED.** Last March, Congress approved and the President signed extended unemployment benefits for up to 26 weeks for victims of the recession. Quick action on the unemployment benefits bill kept 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Americans from falling through the safety net each week.
- **NATURAL DISASTERS.** Congress and the President moved quickly to provide \$6.3 billion in emergency assistance to victims of the flooding in the Midwest and \$207 million to people affected by hurricanes. The President and Congress also moved quickly to put federal resources in the hands of those fighting the fires in southern California.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

93 DEC 13 PM 8:09

December 13, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Howard Paster *HP*

SUBJECT: Congressional activity

*Burgu (Gowan) GS
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to let - B*

When talking about the magnitude of what was accomplished legislatively in 1993 it may be interesting to note that up until Congress adjourned at Thanksgiving the combined House and Senate hours in session was more than 50 percent greater than during the comparable period in 1981, the first Reagan year. Even when adding in the post-Thanksgiving session in 1981, the total hours in session in 1993 was up more than 35 percent. One way to use this is to pay tribute to the hard-working Congress that enacted so much major legislation and brought other legislation -- campaign finance, crime -- through both bodies and ready for conference.

CC UP
MALIK
Gowan
Gergen
George

CONGRESSIONAL ACTIVITY UNDER DIFFERENT PRESIDENTS
PRESIDENTS CLINTON, BUSH AND REAGAN'S FIRST SESSIONS: 1993, 1989, 1981

	Jan. 5 -- Nov. 26, 1993	Jan. 3 -- Nov. 26, 1989	Jan. 5 -- Nov. 26, 1981
Days in Session, House	142	147	154
Days in Session, Senate	153	136	152
Days in Session, Total	295	283	306
Hours in Session, House	982 hrs 55'	748 hrs 54'	593 hrs 20'
Hours in Session, Senate	1,269 hrs 42'	1,003 hrs 19'	965 hrs 39'
Hours in Session, Total	2,352 hrs 37'	1,752 hrs 13'	1,558 hrs 59'

Source: Resume of Congressional Activity, The Congressional Record: 11/26/93, 11/21/89, 12/1/81.

CONGRESS WORKED 34% MORE IN 1993 THAN IN 1989.

CONGRESS WORKED 51% MORE IN 1993 THAN IN 1981.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/20/93

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Carter Wilkie, Speechwriting

SUBJECT: "A Christmas Memory," by Truman Capote

You most likely know this short story, but if not, it's about a boy and his cousin, who bake fruitcakes every year, send one to the White House and then wonder if Mrs. Roosevelt will serve it at dinner.

*Carter
I wonder
if I had ever read
it before - Truman
Capote*

A CHRISTMAS
MEMORY

Truman Capote

RANDOM HOUSE



NEW YORK



12.23.93

515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
FAX 202 544-7020

Man/BC
Ryl

December 13, 1993

Dear President Clinton:

I read the New York Times on our polling with great horror, knowing it would cause you pain. It has probably been buried in your mind by more pressing matters, but it nags at me. I am working my heart out in this role to help make for a successful presidency. Neither one of us needs stories that diminish your work.

I apologize for the misjudgment that produced it. And I make no excuses.

Believe me, I was not looking for news. And as far as I know, only the New York Times thought my comments newsworthy. I said nothing that I had not said publicly in the past. There was no bravado -- which is implied in the article. Indeed, every one of my quotes in the article was diminishing my role and the role of polling. I asserted over and over again that the Clinton agenda and direction are set by your principles, not by polling.

This story was created by the occasion, which I should have anticipated and declined. The American Enterprise Institute sponsored a forum on presidential polling with all the presidential pollsters -- from Louis Harris (Kennedy) and Pat Caddell (Carter), to Richard Wirthlin (Reagan) and myself. Comments that were quite unexceptional on their own became noteworthy by contrast with the more rudimentary techniques of earlier presidencies. Harris, for example, went to the Washington Post rather than the White House after the campaign. The contrast was further underlined when Pat Caddell of all people attacked you for running a campaign instead of a presidency. (He has never forgiven you for defeating Brown and Perot -- his candidates.) As I sat there and listened to the moralizing press questions, I could see the story being written -- overpolling by the White House. It was too easy and tempting. At that moment, I wished I had declined the invitation.

The Richard Berke story was replete with distortions and exaggerations -- on the frequency of our meetings, but more importantly, on your ability to recite poll numbers. That assertion is a complete fabrication and, you should note, is based on no quote from me.

You should know that I spend two, sometimes three hours, every day talking to the press -- presenting our case for your standing and for the state of the various administration initiatives, particularly health care. This is a battle to define reality in a period of great cynicism, when the press is always looking for weakness and vulnerability. It is sometimes



a difficult balance -- trying to share and acknowledge enough to be credible but not enough to compromise our efforts. I have not slipped very often, excepting the most recent story. Sometimes the credibility and candor pay off at important moments -- e.g., when CNN put the presidential race in jeopardy in the last week or when CNN reported, wrongly, that your support declined after the Oval Office address on the budget.

You should be reassured that I have maintained absolute confidentiality on the substance of our conversations -- no comment, no background, no off-the-record.

I do want to say something about polling and attentiveness to public sentiment. I believe this is honorable work. It serves democracy and the kind of change you want to bring to the country. I have enormous respect for your intuitive understanding of public sentiment which, when combined with other virtues, will help you achieve greatness. Obviously, we must pay heed to the press's determination to paint you as "too political," but that should not make us apologetic about our respect for the American people and their beliefs.

Thank you for taking the time to read this. Please feel free to share it with the First Lady.

Warm regards,

Stanley B. Greenberg



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

By

12 23 93

FAX TRANSMITTAL

*135 pages**(told you about)*DATE: December 2, 1993

TO: Nancy Harnreich

FIRM: _____

FROM: Stanley K. Sheinbaum

COMMENTS: For the President

NO. OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 9

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Stanley K. Sheinbaum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton

MARKING INITIALS: DB DATE: 5/11/18

SUBJECT: Visits with President Asad of Syria (11/25/93) and with King Hussein of Jordan (11/26,27/93)

DATE: December 2, 1993

You will remember that in the week following the signing on the lawn I told you that the Syrian Ambassador, Walid Al-Moualem, seemed to have been courting me for the previous six or eight months. I had kept declining his invitation to visit President Asad; unless there was a specific reason I am not interested in that kind of a contact. When I told you about the Ambassador's overtures it was a moment when the question of an Israeli/Syrian settlement was very much in all our minds. You responded by urging me to stay on the Syrian track--however ill-defined that may have been.

I then contacted Al-Moualem and told him that I would indeed be interested in a Damascus trip. He had already told me of President Asad's intense disappointment that what had seemed like an Israeli/Syrian deal had been aborted by the events on the lawn on September 13th. As a result Al-Moualem felt strongly that in order to overcome Asad's anger/irritation you should arrange a meeting with him, possibly in Geneva. I relayed that to you several times and you said without committing yourself that you and your advisors were giving that serious consideration.

Because of a nastily persistent flu I lost several weeks before I could arrange to go to Damascus which I then set for November 20th. In the meantime you and I had one conversation in which I wanted to make certain that you still wanted me "to stay on that Syrian track". We both agreed that I was unofficial, merely a friend and personal advisor who could not make any commitments. Finally around the 19th of November I took off with a quick interim stop to see Yossi Beilin, the Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister in Montreal, who had asked to meet with me. (More about that in a moment.) I also stopped in Washington on Monday, the 22nd, with the hope of seeing you because a new angle had arisen.

By this time Ambassador Al-Moualem was playing up the idea of a secret channel and that I should discuss it with President Asad. Interestingly, that was exactly the subject matter that Yossi Beilin raised with me, he having been the guru of the Oslo talks in Norway, and was now thinking that a somewhat similar approach could be

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton
December 2, 1993
Page 2

used with the Syrians. If you remember, you did not object to pursuing that possibility, but I also requested that you keep that tightly confidential. Beilin had been convinced--with reason, I think--that the secrecy surrounding their effort in Norway was a critical component of its success.

So in Damascus at 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, the 25th, I met with President Asad. Only his interpreter was present, and to my amazement the conversation lasted four and three quarter hours. Also to my amazement was how fast the time went by, the reason being that this is an enormously intelligent man--despite very obvious rigidities--and who was always directly responsive to whatever might have arisen in the course of the exchange. Further to my surprise he has a seeking mind and was always anxious to press for more on a particular subject. And still again to my surprise--he turned out to be a man of great humor, so the time did pass--at least for the first four hours very rapidly and to that extent seemed productive.

The first hour and a half was almost an intellectual exchange on the nature of governments and democracy which then shifted over into a description by me of the American political system (which I claim to know). To repeat, his questions were good, and I could readily understand Dennis Ross' seven hours and James Baker's nine hours with him.

One strong misconception he has is the extent to which the American Jewish lobby has an overwhelmingly powerful voice in the formulation of our Middle East policies. At the same time and seemingly obversely he is convinced that the Israelis do our bidding at every turn. Much as I tried to disabuse him of that--although my personal thinking is that there is some evidence to both of those perceptions--it was clear that that is a major guidepost in his thinking and planning for any possible Israeli/Syrian settlement that may lie ahead.

Indeed, one of his rigidities has to do with his inability to distinguish Likud/Shamir Israelis from Labor/Rabin Israelis from Peres Israelis and then from the likes of Yossi Beilin, the Deputy Foreign Minister, and Uri Savir, the Director General of the Foreign Ministry who is involved in much the same way as is Beilin. His view of Israelis is very monolithic, indeed, very analogous to American single mindedness about Communism and the Soviets during the worst of the Cold War.

When I said that to Asad he laughed and said that in the early 80's despite all the talk of his being in the pocket of the Soviets, both the Soviets and the U.S. were opposed to his own Lebanon policy. My main point, of course, was to get him for his own purposes to figure out which Israeli camp he could deal more successfully with. But his disdain for Israelis was clear. However, it would be too much for me to describe that disdain as an antipathy and certainly not as a hatred.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton

December 2, 1993

Page 3

On the other hand that disdain was intensified for him by the recent Israeli/Palestinian settlement which resulted in a seeming quick net gain for Israel, but came primarily from the weak position of Arafat and the PLO who had nothing to bargain with. In the years ahead, according to Asad, both the Palestinians and the Israelis would find themselves without much to show for their efforts. However, the point here is that Asad thought the Israelis were foolish to forgo a Syrian deal for a settlement that "only" gave Israel the advantage of getting out of Gaza.

To get to the main point and while he never said so explicitly he does want a settlement with Israel, but there were any number of hints that this could only come about by dealing with the United States, and that goes back to his judgment that Israel will always do the U.S. bidding.

Then an interesting thing happened. When the subject of secret channels arose the nature and the quality of the conversation changed from a conversation to a monologue lasting for the last hour. Because Ambassador Al-Moualem had raised secret channels with me I was going to raise it with Asad, but he brought it up. He reiterated at least a dozen times that secret negotiations are not in the interest or the nature of the Syrian people. These are a sophisticated people, he said, who because they live in a democracy (yes, he said that) would distrust any settlement that was the result of a secret negotiation. To repeat, he repeated that any number of times. I chose not to get into an exchange with him on the nature of democracy in Syria.

Then at one point when I said that there had recently been an example of a successful secret negotiation, that is, what went on in Oslo, he just laughed and said that because that settlement is basically a failure (per the description of his thinking above) it could hardly be held up as an example of a successful methodology. I tried to argue--with much resistance from him--that even though he may not have approved of the outcome, the procedure clearly worked well. He just was not interested and kept raising the subject of not only democracy in Syria, but the sophistication of the Syrian people generally--who are far ahead in terms of literacy and culture and education of almost all other Arab peoples.

I should mention here that given Yossi Beilin's request for confidentiality except with you I never raised with him the notion of a secret channel that would include Beilin's Israeli team and probably me.

What was clear in the final analysis is that he does want a settlement, but he wants to negotiate it only with you, and thus the desire for a meeting with you. He did want to know if Chris was coming to Damascus with the promise of such a meeting and all I could say to him was that you had said that you and your advisors were seriously considering it and if anything it was for the Secretary of State to give you that message.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton

December 2, 1993

Page 4

On the subject of a meeting with you it would clearly assuage him, but my own thinking is that unless there is substance leading to forward movement toward an Israeli/Syrian agreement I am not certain myself that a meeting between the two of you is a good idea. (See my proposal in the addendum at the end.)

After I left him I drove the next morning to Amman (not without incident) where the King had his plane waiting to take me to Aqaba at the southern tip of Jordan. However I would prefer at the moment to jump ahead to my discussions with Ambassador Al-Moualem when I got back to Washington on my return only last Sunday night, the 28th. This was about four days after my session with Asad, and as you might imagine he had a report by that time of my session with Asad, and was very enthusiastic about it. Whether that was a diplomatic nicety or not I do not know. In any event, and without covering too much of the same ground he seemed fully cognizant of Asad's disposition against any sort of a secret channel operation although he then said that any movement should be the work of people like Dennis Ross, Sam Lewis, Aaron Miller, and Dan Kurtzer. I could not tell if the omission of Martin Indyk's name was meaningful or not although I have since learned that the Washington Institute, his old operation within the American Jewish lobby, seems--emphasis on "seems"--to be disposed against all due speed on the Syrian track. I do not pretend to know what that is all about. It may merely be that some of the pre-September 13th habits are still alive and kicking.

On the other hand, as in Jordan and with Beilin in Jerusalem, they can see no real progress without your active involvement meaning, of course, a substantive meeting between you and Asad after Chris' visit there. Nevertheless, and it was nearly unanimous that even though all were hoping for that kind of meeting to have substantive import, that is, involving questions of the nature of peace including trade, water, diplomatic exchanges, Iran, Turkey, etc., etc..

At the end of my meeting with Al-Moualem he said one thing that interested me a lot, and that was that despite what he had said about Ross, Miller, Lewis, and Kurtzer having to be involved in the preparations, any meeting between Asad and the Israelis had to be with no one less than Rabin. This, of course, goes back to Asad's having been so dismayed that the Israeli/Palestinian track came to fruition before the one with Syria, and now could only himself deal at the very top level, Rabin. Ego.

When I left Damascus early on Friday, the 26th, I drove to Amman with a few minor but interesting incidents that I will save for the time you next buy me a drink. I have known Queen Noor for about five years and she has been insisting that I should meet the King, and I decided to do so on this trip. In Amman they had a plane waiting to take me to Aqaba where they have a country palace on the serene

CONFIDENTIAL MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton
December 2, 1993
Page 5

shore of the Gulf of Aqaba and where amazingly enough one is about a mile from Eilat in Israel, within eyesight of Taba in Egypt approximately ten miles to the southwest, and the shores of Saudi Arabia similarly placed about ten miles to the southeast. It is a historical and geographic convergence not unlike--but without the import of Jerusalem which is so symbolically critical to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

I stayed with the Royal Family for about 30 hours. They are a particularly attractive, intelligent, and articulate group of people. Among them was the King's nephew Prince Talal and his wife Ghida, both of whom live in Washington about fifty percent of the time, and seem to serve there as informal representatives in D.C. for the King. Everybody expressed concern that it took until two weeks ago before the U.S. appointed an Ambassador to Jordan. They all felt they had no one to talk with. Prince Talal seems to have developed a relationship with Martin Indyk, but they feel the communications base should be much broader than that. They had a sense they were being punished for their role during the Gulf War and while they understood that they also felt that things are at a moment where the relationship should be strengthened. While the King seems most anxious for a Jordan-Israel settlement, and although he never quite said it, he could not move ahead, *a la* the Palestinians, because the Asad factor was high in his mind. In other words he did not want to move ahead of the curve. All the more reason to get the Syrian track going with all due speed.

On that score the King was of the strong opinion that only you were in a position to move Asad along. He therefore welcomed the possibility of a meeting between you and Asad but shared the concern that it should not be merely a meeting just for the appearance just to satisfy Asad's ego, his having not been on the lawn on September 13th. It was also very clear--and this got repeated several times--that the King's main interest was in moving along so that economic cooperation with both Israel and the Palestinians, especially with the former and especially in the Dead Sea area could get going.

At the end of my Aqaba visit the King himself flew me in his Tristar 111 back to Amman. When I expressed some apprehension about his ability as a pilot he offered to take me on his motorcycle instead. At night, yet.

The next morning they had me driven to the Allenby Bridge where Beilin had a car waiting to take me into Jerusalem.

I found Beilin, unsurprisingly very high on moving along the Syrians. And as with almost everyone else I talked with he felt that you were critical to that happening. He was the only one in Israel I saw. I left for Paris late that afternoon, and flew on Monday to Washington.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMO TO: President Bill Clinton

December 2, 1993

Page 6

By the time I reached Washington Secretary Christopher had already left on his trip. I do not like to give the appearance of working around Chris but I did brief Aaron Miller for about a half hour, and then here in Los Angeles where he was on a two day exhausting media blitz I met with Assistant Secretary Ed Djerejian. I literally went from the airport to his hotel and despite one of the worst jet lags I can remember I spent an hour with him. I like very much that he will be the new Ambassador to Israel.

Nancy tells me there is a shot at seeing you here in Los Angeles this weekend, and I would welcome that occasion to get into further detail. I hope all this has helped and obviously I am available for questions.

If this is rambling and unnecessarily long forgive me, but this is the worst jet lag I can remember and I was in a hurry to get a copy to Chris.

Respectfully--and proudly,



SKS/kc
clinton.26

cc: Secretary of State Warren Christopher

ADDENDUM

Subject: Suggested Approach for Proceeding on the Syrian Track

1. The Clinton Administration faces today an historic challenge of great magnitude: to create peace and stability for the Middle East. The key factor in this endeavor will be to convince President Asad of Syria to take the road to peace.
2. A four stage approach should be adopted:
 - a. The First Stage: Confidence Building
There should be an American-Syrian dialogue (fully coordinated with the Israelis) in preparation of a Clinton-Asad meeting.
 - b. The Second Stage: Policy Planning
In this stage a simultaneous and confidential US-Syrian and US-Israeli dialogue related to the preparation of a Clinton-Plan for a Syrian-Israeli Peace will be held.
 - c. The Third Stage: Consensus Finding
A confidential US-Syrian-Israeli dialogue will be held (preferably) in the USA.
 - d. The Fourth Stage: Breakthrough
After a US-Syrian-Israeli confidential agreement: Announcement and implementation of the Clinton-Plan leading to the signing of an Israeli-Syrian Peace Agreement.
3. This Four Stage Approach will have elaborate political and historical benefits accruing to the Clinton Administration and will:
 - a. Serve to stabilize the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement;
 - b. Will enable King Hussein to sign and implement an Israeli-Jordanian peace agreement; and
 - c. Will lead the way to the signing of an Israeli-Lebanese Treaty of Peace.

ADDENDUM**Page 2**

4. For the First Stage of Confidence building the following measures should be envisaged:
 - a. In preparation of a Clinton-Asad meeting, Asad will be asked to agree to the three following conditions:
 - i. Assad will announce the need to put an end to terror activities in Lebanon.
 - ii. Asad will be asked to make public his private statement to you, namely that in return for full Israeli withdrawal Syria will establish full diplomatic and trade relations with Israel and a program of normalization of relations in all spheres of life will be implemented;
 - iii. Asad will be asked to agree confidentially to the proposed Four Stage Approach (which should be presented to him as an American concession to him).
 - b. Following the Clinton-Asad meeting the Lebanese and Syrian armies will take practical and effective measures to disarm the Hizbollah in Lebanon; in return the American Government will say publicly that Syria is playing a constructive role in Lebanon.



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12 23 93

FAX TRANSMITTALDATE: 7 December 1993

TO: Nancy Hernreich

FIRM: _____

FROM: Stanley K. Sheinbaum

COMMENTS: For the President

NO. OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 5

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



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

December 7, 1993

12/7

cc: Jerry
Laker
The President

VIA FAX

President Bill Clinton
The White House-West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

SUBJECT: NUTSHELL

My December 2nd memo re my trip to Syria and Jordan was too long. I was in jet lag. In a nutshell its import is this. It has become a commonplace that unless an Israeli/Syrian settlement is forthcoming quickly the Israeli/Palestinian settlement will fall apart. In that event you will lose the major achievement that took place on the lawn. There is also a consensus that you and only you can move the Syrian thing along.

Nevertheless, to the extent that your inventory of other challenges is increasingly keeping you from turning to foreign policy, time and energy spent by you at this moment on the Syrian problem has only an upside for you and no downside. The downside will only occur, to repeat, if the moment slips by.

What do I mean by the moment? We know--and all of us talked about it on and after September 13th--that the fundamentalists, the rejectionists, and many others, (some supported by Syria) will up the street and settler violence and motivate even centrists to let the Israeli/Palestinian accord revert back to nothingness. Indeed, that violence is exactly why in addition to the Israeli/Palestinian accord, there should be a Israeli/Syrian accord, a Israeli/Jordanian accord, and a Israeli/Lebanese accord. If not Israel will be left in jeopardy into perpetuity--and you will have lost the gains from September 13th.

President Assad is a master at stirring the pot. With the loss of Soviet sponsorship he in the final analysis has no place to go. We know that he did not make it to the lawn and that riles him, leaving him perfectly capable of pulling something that is in his own worst interest. If he perceives an inattentiveness by you at this moment he could stir the pot. He is that mercurial, and he is clearly positioned to stir up all the malevolents.

President Bill Clinton
December 7, 1993
Page 2

You know--as I do not know--what Chris is bringing to Damascus. I had been hoping that you would agree to a meeting with Assad. But the meeting must be one of substance that clearly would be a step toward a settlement between him and Rabin. I am re-enclosing from my earlier December 2nd memo a suggested way of creating the dynamic that would keep a Clinton/Assad meeting from being a vacuous waste.

An alert and something to watch for: As with just about every policy you are trying to push there are those in the wings--some even on front stage--who try to undermine you. As you well know Oslo and September 13th caused a 180 degree sea change that almost everybody including the pro-Israeli hard liners had to go along with. There are still the diehards who fully understand that Syria could stall to provide enough time for the street and settlement violence to unravel the Israeli/Palestinian accord. While these types to the greater extent do not dare to publicly go against that accord they will achieve that same aim by standing in the way of movement with Syria. It is a danger to watch for.

As for myself, I think I have been helpful, and I want to continue to be so. However, and as I have said before, I do not want to get in the way of anything your apparatchiks are trying to do. On the other hand, and by both sheer analysis and hunch (I have no specific information)--there are those who for bureaucratic reasons of competitiveness or whatever--don't like to see a non-professional butting in. So until you call me off I am keeping on the Syrian track. Along these lines the attached memo proposal is on my mind as a direction, and I am uniquely positioned now to try. That's what the Syrian Ambassador's overture months ago was all about.

What the hell, it's a better line of work than dealing with Riordan.



SKS/
clinton.28
enclosure

ADDENDUM

Subject: Suggested Approach for Proceeding on the Syrian Track

1. The Clinton Administration faces today an historic challenge of great magnitude: to create peace and stability for the Middle East. The key factor in this endeavor will be to convince President Asad of Syria to take the road to peace.
2. A four stage approach should be adopted:
 - a. The First Stage: Confidence Building
There should be an American-Syrian dialogue (fully coordinated with the Israelis) in preparation of a Clinton-Asad meeting.
 - b. The Second Stage: Policy Planning
In this stage a simultaneous and confidential US-Syrian and US-Israeli dialogue related to the preparation of a Clinton-Plan for a Syrian-Israeli Peace will be held.
 - c. The Third Stage: Consensus Finding
A confidential US-Syrian-Israeli dialogue will be held (preferably) in the USA.
 - d. The Fourth Stage: Breakthrough
After a US-Syrian-Israeli confidential agreement: Announcement and implementation of the Clinton-Plan leading to the signing of an Israeli-Syrian Peace Agreement.
3. This Four Stage Approach will have elaborate political and historical benefits accruing to the Clinton Administration and will:
 - a. Serve to stabilize the Israeli-Palestinian Agreement;
 - b. Will enable King Hussein to sign and implement an Israeli-Jordanian peace agreement; and
 - c. Will lead the way to the signing of an Israeli-Lebanese Treaty of Peace.

ADDENDUM**Page 2**

4. For the First Stage of Confidence building the following measures should be envisaged:
 - a. In preparation of a Clinton-Asad meeting, Asad will be asked to agree to the three following conditions:
 - i. Assad will announce the need to put an end to terror activities in Lebanon.
 - ii. Asad will be asked to make public his private statement to you, namely that in return for full Israeli withdrawal Syria will establish full diplomatic and trade relations with Israel and a program of normalization of relations in all spheres of life will be implemented;
 - iii. Asad will be asked to agree confidentially to the proposed Four Stage Approach (which should be presented to him as an American concession to him).
 - b. Following the Clinton-Asad meeting the Lebanese and Syrian armies will take practical and effective measures to disarm the Hizbollah in Lebanon; in return the American Government will say publicly that Syria is playing a constructive role in Lebanon.

*Mandy
new screen*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.23.93

December 22, 1993 5:18 PM

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bowman Cutter *Bowman Cutter*
SUBJECT: Response to Bill Alexander's Proposal Regarding Methanol Plant Ships

Nancy Hernreich asked for a brief memo regarding Bill Alexander and the Yankee Energy project.

Bill represents the Yankee Energy Corporation, which is seeking to build methanol plant ships. The ship--a production plant mounted on a barge--would be used to convert off-shore natural gas to liquid methanol fuel. The current methanol market would justify the construction of 1 plant ship and 3 cargo ships to carry the fuel back to the United States. The firm is currently seeking funds to complete the final engineering design.

In report language (not in the appropriations bill itself), Congress earmarked \$3 million for Yankee Energy from ARPA's 1994 TRP budget. Statutory language, however, requires that TRP funds be awarded competitively, so ARPA cannot honor such earmarks.

In addition, Yankee Energy has applied directly to the TRP program for funding. It did not receive an award in the 1993 competition. Whether or not it receives an award in 1994 would depend on the relative merits of its proposal.

Bill's project is interesting and probably bankable. When I asked Bill why his clients did not attempt to obtain venture capital, he said that they did not want to dilute their equity. While I did not say so, I did not regard this as the best argument for federal funding.

In sum, Bill has an interesting project, and we have met with him numerous times to discuss it. I do not think there is anything you should do.

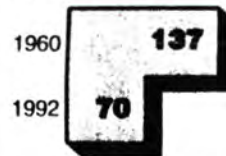
Alexander wants to talk to you -

THE WORLD

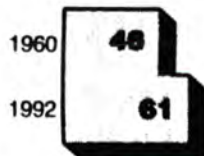
Progress in children's welfare

A United Nations report on the state of the world's children shows that progress has been made in health and education. Strides being made in developing nations:

Infant mortality rate
Deaths per 1,000 live births:

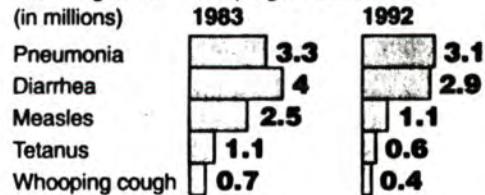


Life expectancy
In years at birth:



Fewer disease deaths

Deaths from major diseases for children under age 5 in developing countries:



High dropout rates

Percentage of students entering 1st grade and reaching 5th grade in various developing regions:

	Entering 1st grade	Reaching 5th grade
Sub-Saharan Africa	71%	48%
Mideast/North Africa	89%	81%
South Asia	96%	50%
East Asia/Pacific	99%	83%
South America	98%	48%
Central America	96%	66%

Population explosion

Current and projected populations:

	Now (in billions)	Year 2100 (in billions)
Africa	0.6	2.9
China	1.1	1.4
India	0.9	1.9
Other Asia	1.1	2.7
Industrialized nations	1.0	1.2
Latin America	0.5	1.1

How the USA ranks

Comparisons with other industrialized nations:

Infant mortality rate (deaths per 1,000 live births)	Under age 5 mortality rate (deaths per 1,000 live births)	Polio immunization (under age 1)	Measles immunization (under age 1)	DPT ¹ immunization (under age 1)
USA 9	USA 10	Germany 95%	Germany 95%	Germany 95%
Germany 7	Germany 8	Japan 90%	Japan 90%	Japan 87%
Canada 7	Canada 8	USA 74%	USA 74%	Canada 85%
Japan 4	Japan 6	Canada 70%	Canada 70%	USA 58%

Source: United Nations Children's Fund 1 - Diphtheria-pertussis (whooping cough)-tetanus By Stephen Conley, USA TODAY

'Rare bargain' for children

UNICEF urges \$25B investment

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Kids around the world are living longer and are healthier than ever, yet they face a future plagued by poverty, overpopulation and environmental ruin, UNICEF reports today.

"There's never been as much hope for children," says UNICEF director James Grant. "But unless there's continued progress, we can have disastrous consequences."

Recommended: Investing \$25 billion a year — one-tenth of 1% of the world's annual economy — in health programs, family planning and women's education.

"It's a rare bargain. And one that the world cannot afford to miss," says the report, *The State of the World's Children 1994*, out today.

The annual report, which has been influencing international policies since its first release in 1980, outlines achievements, and challenges ahead.

President and Mrs. Clinton will receive the report in an afternoon White House ceremony and honor six "children's health champions."

The UNICEF report comes at a crucial time for the presi-



BOSNIA WAR: Paramedics help Fakro Hasani, 8, who suffered a broken leg when a house collapsed Monday. Two children died.

By Chris Helgren, Reuters

dent's foreign aid planning, and could influence final aid budgeting decisions.

Clinton has declared he wants aid to focus on such issues as preserving the environment, promoting democracy, encouraging economic growth — with recipients eventually gaining independence from outside help.

But his budget office has sent out word that most federal programs — including aid — will be cut as part of the drive to reduce the federal deficit. Development programs stand

to take hits of up to 60% under that plan.

The UNICEF report says that while the world easily has the resources to meet the basic needs of all its people, 1 billion of the world's poorest lack those basics. That is "the most glaring deficiency in human civilization," it says.

Examples: While immunization and basic health measures are loosening the grip of fatal childhood diseases, millions still die from easily preventable ailments:

► Measles still kills 1 million

children a year — more than all the world's wars and famines combined — but the number is down from 2.5 million in 1980, and dropping fast.

► Polio is nearly under control, and should be eradicated from most countries by 1995.

► Baby deaths from tetanus are down from 1 million to half that, in 10 years.

► Oral rehydration is saving 1 million children from death from diarrhea every year, although 2 million still die.

But the report sees trouble ahead, in the "PPE Spiral," a cycle of poverty, population growth and environmental degradation, which cripples efforts to climb out of despair.

► A fifth of the world's families live in absolute poverty, and that number will quadruple in a lifetime.

► In central Africa, the population will grow over the next 40 years from 600 million to 1.6 billion without population control.

► Industrialized nations threaten the Earth's ozone layer with damage beyond repair by spewing two-thirds of the greenhouse gases and 90% of the chlorofluorocarbons released into the atmosphere.

► Wars and ethnic conflicts — which in the past decade have killed 1.5 million children and maimed an additional 4 million — have made 5 million refugees and have turned children into rape victims, murderers and sufferers of post-traumatic stress disorders.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.23.93

Maui - Fyl - 83.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12.23.93

December 12, 1993.

Dear Mr. President -

Thanks so much for hosting the Bolls.
We all love and respect you and are so
honored by your hospitality.
Your first year as President is
just a "warm-up." You became the President
of a restless, angry, divided, but hopeful
country, which is still moody and edgy.
It is as if Americans have become like
those from Missouri - Show Me!!!

Mr. President, this challenge is your
visa to become the President of the Century.
It is much harder, and more noteworthy,
to heal deep divisions, not shallow ones and
tackle hard issues others feared. Your
vision and energy will turn anger to
hope and restlessness to satisfaction.

Keep focused on the hard issues that
will make a real difference by the year
2000. By then, you will have "shown"

those Missouri mules and rejoined
us into a "can do" nation, once
again. If I can be of help, please
call. Thanks again -

Capell

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/24/93

TO: DAVID GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
BRUCE LINDSEY

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

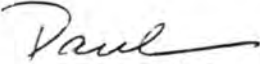
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1993

MR. PRESIDENT:

The enclosed memo from Cliff Sloan discusses the current status of Steffan case. The consensus of your advisors is to file a petition for rehearing en banc, limited to the issue of the court's order to grant Steffan his commission as an ensign.

You asked to be consulted before a final decision is reached. **Unless Counsel's office is notified to the contrary, DOJ will proceed according the agreement outlined in the memo on Thursday, December 30.**


R. Paul Richard

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 23, 1993 93 DEC 23 P4:22

04 8172

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CLIFFORD M. SLOAN ^{CS}
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Steffan gays-in-the-military case

Overview

As you know, DOJ and DOD have been considering whether to file a petition for rehearing en banc to the full U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. (A copy of a prior memo on Steffan is attached). Until yesterday, DOD had been vigorously favoring a full appeal on all grounds, and DOJ had been resisting. At a DOD/DOJ/White House meeting yesterday, a tentative agreement was reached. Unless you disagree or have concerns, we will proceed based on this agreement.

The agreement

The meeting yesterday included DOD (Secretary Aspin, Shali, and the other Chiefs); DOJ (Webb Hubbell and Drew Days); and the White House (Tony Lake, George, Bruce, Joel Klein, and me). After considerable discussion, the following tentative agreement was reached:

First, DOJ will file a very limited petition for rehearing en banc, addressing only a narrow remedy issue regarding Steffan's commission. (The court ordered that Steffan receive his commission, along with his diploma and reinstatement. A commission, however, requires Presidential nomination and Senate confirmation. A court has no power to do away with these requirements or to order the President and the Senate to comply. The rehearing petition thus will ask the court to vacate the part of its decision ordering that Steffan be awarded his commission.)

Second, DOJ will not seek rehearing en banc on the fundamental point that the action taken against Steffan was unconstitutional, and will not seek to set aside the other relief awarded him. Instead, DOJ will explain that, although the government disagrees with the court of appeals' decision that the action under the old policy was unconstitutional, we have decided not to seek relief on anything besides the commission because the new policy is in place and the old policy has been formally superseded.

Both DOD and DOJ are satisfied with this approach. George, Bruce, Joel, and I agree that it is a sound strategy. The current

plan is to file the limited rehearing petition on Thursday, December 30. Let us know if you have any comments or concerns.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 17, 1993

*I want to be
consulted before
final decision
on what to do
is made -*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CLIFFORD M. SLOAN *CS*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: New gays-in-the-military decision

Overview

As you know, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit yesterday issued a major gays-in-the-military decision. In a decision by Chief Judge Mikva, the court held that adverse actions taken against a standout midshipman, on the basis of his statements of homosexuality, are unconstitutional.

The Steffan Decision

Joseph Steffan was an exceptional midshipman at the United States Naval Academy -- a recipient of numerous honors, a Battalion Commander (one of the Academy's ten highest ranking midshipmen), and a soloist singing the National Anthem at the Army-Navy game in his junior and senior years. In February 1987, during Steffan's senior year, the Naval Intelligence Service (NIS) received a report that Steffan had stated to another student that he was gay. Steffan was subsequently asked if he was a homosexual and twice answered, "Yes, sir." On the basis of these statements, academy officials instituted discharge proceedings, changed Steffan's ratings, and advised him to resign. Six weeks before his scheduled graduation from the Academy, he resigned.

Steffan filed suit, claiming that his constitutional right to equal protection had been violated. The D.C. Circuit agreed. It found that the military regulations in effect at the time were "not rationally related to any legitimate goal" and rejected each of the military's stated reasons for the former policy. The court concluded:

(1) the military's former policy addresses status, not conduct;

(2) it is unreasonable to use status as a basis for predictions about conduct or a "propensity" to conduct;

(3) the perceived effect on morale, discipline, and recruitment of heterosexuals cannot be accepted because "[t]he Constitution does not allow Government to subordinate a class of persons simply because others do not like them";

and

*This is in
President
Standard*

(4) the "privacy" concerns are invalid -- the concerns represent either an untenable assumption that homosexuals will "stare" or an impermissible deference to "the irrational fears and stereotypes of third parties."

It should be noted that the court's panel in this case -- Mikva, Patricia Wald, and Harry Edwards -- is quite liberal and may not reflect the views of the entire D.C. Circuit.

Effect of the Steffan decision on the new policy

The court's opinion explicitly states that the new policy is "not at issue" in Steffan and that the decision applies only to the old policy. The court's view of the impermissibility of using statements of homosexuality as a ground for discharge under the old policy, however, may well have implications for the new policy. One difference, of course, is that the new policy contains the explicit rebuttable presumption. (DOJ has argued that there was an opportunity to rebut under the old policy). But it is far from clear whether the rebuttable presumption would be sufficient to overcome the decision and reasoning in Steffan.

Next steps

In consultation with DOD and DOJ, Bruce, George, and the Counsel's office will be reviewing various options. Among the possible choices are: (1) an appeal to the Supreme Court in the Steffan case; (2) a request for en banc review by the entire D.C. Circuit in the Steffan case; (3) an announcement that we will not appeal the Steffan decision because we want to focus on the new policy; and (4) possible actions to expedite judicial review of the new policy (so that the issue can be put to rest).

Talking points

Comments on the Steffan decision should be as limited as possible. It would be appropriate simply to say that we are reviewing the Steffan decision and that we have no further comment on it at this time. You may also wish to say that, in our system of government, courts are always the ultimate judges of constitutional challenges to government policies.

Buy
an old friend of
min - any good idea?

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12 23 93

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4902 Smith Road
Plano, TX 75094
214/705-3697 (W)
214/422-4234 (H)

November 18, 1993

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

Dear Bill:

Well, the vote is in on NAFTA - CONGRATULATIONS!

It was interesting watching all the political maneuvering by everyone. I got really fed up with both supporters and opposers as they constantly bickered about you agreeing to various compromises/concessions - as if any major position today can be viewed as a black or white case. Oh well, at least you continue to demonstrate the ability to stay on track on economic issues.

I attended a NAFTA rally at Texas Instruments in Dallas with Lloyd Bentsen. That was the first time I had heard him speak in person, and I was very impressed. He was not one of my initial Cabinet favorites, but I think I was wrong. Good speaker, good crowd control, solid command of the facts.

A couple of comments relative to the defense business. Defense contractors are frustrated with Aspin, but Perry and Deutsch continue to get high marks. More specifically, although no one in industry truly likes a declining budget, everyone agrees it is necessary, and I believe you and Aspin did an outstanding job resetting the budget watermark to something the country can handle; now on to acquisition reform! Specific comments of mine:

1. Aspin took heat on the Bottom Up Review mainly because it was a little slow; also he seemed to not work the Hill or the Pentagon very well. The results were basically good, however. Mainly he just doesn't seem to be running a very tight ship, almost trying to be an academic, instead of using his excellent staff.
2. It's good the way Perry and Deutsch are really focusing on the acquisition reform issues and the push to use more commercial products in the military. Keep moving out hard and fast.

President Bill Clinton
Page two
18 November 1993

3. The recently-completed Joint Conference Authorization Committee tended to screw up some of your weapon/system positions:
 - Should have let Deutsch kill FEWS and force a redesign with a smaller, lighter satellite. DSP can be modified to do the job until we get a viable replacement. Good choice on Brilliant Eyes as a technology program. Milstar is far enough along so continuing it is a good thing. I think Gen. Horner blew his cool on this one -- I still like the guy, however.
 - People are finally realizing the strategic threat is almost gone, but on the other hand as long as we have subs and bombers we need to keep some assured communication capability. The Committee killed a few minor programs that will seriously degrade that.
 - I think you should have retained buying more F-16's in the future. The F-22 replaces the F-15, but we won't get a JAST for lots of years. Also, you do need to upgrade the B-1's; it's a good bomber and the B-52's are falling apart.
4. Aspin really needs to push a better Roles and Missions review. Without it, everyone will continue just hacking away at RDT&E without addressing the major budget issues (in my opinion!). Don't let Congress do it. I suggest:
 - Get rid of the depots. Industry needs the work and the Government needs to reduce manpower without diluting the warfighting force any further.
 - Totally revamp or close most of the service laboratories. They are fighting to insert technology in systems that we shouldn't even have, e.g. military satellites.
 - Shut down the acquisition centers and let a central organization do the general buying and the user commands do the few system developments left and P/I upgrades.
 - I still believe you need to consolidate the services even more in order to prevent redundancies. Do away with the Navy air force, let the Army do all land warfare (no Marine Corps), give Space to the Air Force, abolish BMDO except for a technology office, cut Intel significantly and force Intel into the warfighters hands.

President Bill Clinton
Page three
18 November 1993

A couple of kudos for you. The TRP program with ARPA is great. It is really stimulating the defense industry to think of other things to do with all our great technology plus our inventiveness. Triple the budget, it's peanuts anyway.

Gore is doing a great job trying to focus on government bureaucratic waste. Remember I said you could do away with all Government audit functions and save 30% of the R&D budget. No good reason to have dual sourcing or two contractor shoot-offs in demonstration/validation phases either. Pick a winner early and go for it.

Hillary has really moved out on Health Care reform, plus Gore did a good job with getting the Space Station turned around and getting Russian participation. I was disappointed with the Supercollider debacle, but they really mismanaged the whole affair - such a waste and a national shame.

Finally on a lighter note, Nan and I spent a wonderful October weekend in Hot Springs at the Arlington. The town looks great, neat and clean, with a lot of people just out strolling and looking in the galleries. It's such a pretty town. I'll be in Washington for a couple of days after Thanksgiving (December 1 and 2) and will try again to get on your calendar with Nancy Hernreicht. Last time I tried to visit, you flew off to see the Pope in Denver.

Take a little break Thanksgiving and keep working for World Peace by Christmas!

Sincerely,



Mike Hardgrave

P.S. Had dinner with Andy Card (the Bush Secretary of Transportation) and his wife, Kathy, while I was in Boston recently at a USO function. They are neat people, and even though he's a staunch Republican, he and Kathy both had good words to say about you and your administration.



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12.23.93

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 23 NOVEMBER 1993

TO:

Nancy Harnreich

FIRM:

The White House

FROM:

Marti Maniates for Stanley Sheinbaum

COMMENTS:

Stanley asked me to fax this to be
given to The President. Thank you.

5

NO. OF PAGES (including cover sheet)

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FAX: (310) 476-9853

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

The Absent-Minded Miracle Worker

Yair Hirschfeld Quietly
Taught History in Israel,
And Very Quietly
Made It in Oslo

By Laura Blumenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

HRAMAT ISRAEL, Israel
e bumbles in late, sweating and
barefoot, his pants ripped at the
knees and cuffs. Even his hair—
dark crowns, white sideburns,
red beard, gray curls in the V of
his open shirt—defies organization.

"Sorry," says Yair Hirschfeld, lumbering
through his front door. "I'm not very ele-
gant."

Though rumpled and frizzed, this obscure
history professor triumphed where all the
shellacked diplomats of the world had failed.
He initiated successful negotiations between
Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organi-
zation. It was Hirschfeld, 49, who first met a
senior PLO official for coffee in a London hot-
tel, prompting nine months of secret talks.

Those meetings culminated in Norway on
Aug. 20, when a handful of teary-eyed Israel-
i and Palestinian leaders rendezvoused in a
salon at 1:30 a.m. to initial a declaration of
principles, their first agreement ever. The
official peace talks in Washington were as
still as they were barren. Yet the back-chan-
nel informality, as personified by Hirschfeld,
bore fruit.

"Can I have something to drink?" he asks
his daughter Mical. Tea bags apparently suf-
fice him.

It is early morning, the beginning of the
week, and Mical, 21, is in a khaki uniform.



BY LARA BLUMENFELD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

to the army base. Hirschfeld has just returned to Ramat Ishai, a rural town of a few hundred families near Haifa, after driving another daughter to her army unit.

The house, like Hirschfeld, is large, bright and in happy disarray. The rug is raggedy, roses wilt in a vase, laundry mounds dominate the living room, a "Peace Now" T-shirt ad top.

"So," says Hirschfeld. He drops into a chair, crushing someone's baseball bat. "The story..."

For half an hour, he paced the lobby of the

St. James Hotel, watching the London rain, grinning over the realization that he was about to break Israeli law, flustering with the hope it would be worth it.

The crime: contact with a member of a declared terrorist organization. It was December 1992, and Hirschfeld was waiting for Ahmed Sulaiman Khoury, known as Abu Alaa, the official in charge of PLO finances.

He was thinking about the Order of Maria Theresa, a commendation he had learned about as a child in Vienna. It was the Austrian army's highest honor, Hirschfeld recalls,

awarded to an officer whose defiance brought military success.

"If you disobeyed, there were two choices," he explains. "Get the Maria Theresa or be hanged."

At 10 a.m., a small, balding man, whose white hair aged him beyond his years, pushed through the lobby door. Abu Alaa had arrived; no more time for agonizing. And in a moment their hands were touching, a brief, tense shake.

He had always been fascinated with the other side. When he was 9, his mother took him from Austria on a trip to Israel. They

visited Jerusalem, then divided by a wall separating Israelis from Jordanians. Hirschfeld scooted out of the taxi and climbed the wall for a better look, ambuling into the cross hairs of Jordanian guns. The taxi driver grabbed him and, with a nod from Hirschfeld's mother, slapped the boy's face. No matter that he smarted; at least now he knew.

Hirschfeld grew up in a left-wing Zionist youth movement and at 23 moved to Israel. He wanted to study political science but settled for Middle East history when he missed

the application deadline. Later he was tentured at Haifa University.

Academia left him restless, though. He remembered his mother's motto, while growing up in post-Holocaust Austria: "If you don't care about politics, politics will care about you." As early as 1982, Hirschfeld began swimming the back channels. He organized get-togethers between prominent non-PLO Palestinians and Israeli Labor Party members, including Israel's current deputy foreign minister, Yossi Beilin, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. For years,

See HIRSCHFELD, C3, C4, 1

Instigator of Peace

HIRSCHFELD, From C1

Hirschfeld focused on these meetings, neglecting his research, prompting a warning, he says, from the university director: "Leave it, and write some articles." In 1989, following Yasser Arafat's renunciation of terrorism, Hirschfeld befriended Faisal Husseini and Hanan Ashrawi, West Bank Palestinian with ties to the PLO.

Ashrawi would entertain Hirschfeld and his family at her home in the occupied West Bank, piling traditional Palestinian food onto their plates. Then during a visit in the summer of 1992, Ashrawi surprised them with Viennese schitzel. While eating the favorite dish of European Jews, Ashrawi first suggested the concept of a joint declaration of principles, a framework for peace.

Around the same time, Beilin was getting friendly with Terje Rod Larsen, the politically connected head of FAFO, the Norwegian Institute for Applied Social Science, which was documenting living conditions in the Israeli-occupied territories. The Labor Party had just been voted into power. Larsen offered to put Beilin in touch with high-ranking Palestinians. Beilin recommended that Larsen speak with his old friend Hirschfeld.

The professor agreed to see the FAFO director in London. Ashrawi suggested that Hirschfeld look up Abu Alaa while he was in town, he says. The Israelis had just deported hundreds of Palestinian activists to Lebanon, kicking over official talks in Washington. Yet an hour after Hirschfeld had landed in England, he was invited to meet Abu Alaa at the hotel the PLO frequented. Hirschfeld declined, afraid he'd be recognized. He would meet Abu Alaa the next morning instead, after his 7 o'clock breakfast with Larsen.

Thirty minutes later, the academic sat rattling across from Abu Alaa, unable to drink his cup of coffee. Though the encounter was strained, Hirschfeld says, "It struck me that he was sincere."

He spent the afternoon making furtive phone calls to Beilin and others, and then collapsed into bed. At 8 p.m., he met Abu Alaa once again, this time at the Ritz Hotel. By the end of the evening, they had agreed to continue their unofficial, bilateral talks. Norwegian diplomats had offered to host them and Beilin had flashed a green light. The road to Oslo was open.

Intrigue in Norway

For the next nine months, their oxygen was secrecy. Although in January the Israeli parliament repealed the law forbidding contact with the PLO, it remained taboo. If the public found out, the talks would die. The negotiating circle was kept tight. There was Hirschfeld and his research associate, Ron Pundak. Abu Alaa and two assistants; and, later, two Israeli Foreign Ministry officials. They held 14 sessions in Norway, several days each—in country estates, a farmhouse, a labor union hall and the Oslo Plaza Hotel—and yet only some two dozen people became aware of them.

One of the Israelis, for laughs, would dial Hirschfeld at home, whisper, "Hello, this is Tunia," PLO headquarters, and then propose something outrageous.

Others squeezed creative juices to concoct cover stories. Norwegian facilitators informed the house's staff that Hirschfeld and Abu Alaa were two eccentric professors working on a book. Hirschfeld's wife and four children knew the truth, but he told university colleagues he had forged a research relationship with FAFO. Pundak, 38, explained to his 8-year-old girl that Daddy was taking lots of trips because he was a "peace doctor."

One of Larsen's researchers, a trainer of the Norwegian women's speed skating team, masterminded the travel arrangements. To avoid suspicion, Israelis and Palestinians arrived in Oslo on separate flights, via different European cities. They drove in rental cars or taxis, not official limousines.

Sometimes they shut down entire hotels. While the teams were staying at the Halvorsen conference center, a German couple walked in and requested a room. Sorry, they were told, we're fully booked. The couple insisted. Surely they had one—look at all the keys hanging behind the reception desk. When they demanded to speak to the owner, a member of the Norwegian secret police stepped forward. He said they were about to be swarmed by busloads of tourists.

To avoid the risk of leaks by secretaries, Hirschfeld and Pundak did all their own typing. Hirschfeld locked documents in his office. Pundak carried their computer disks everywhere. When his family took a vacation in early August, he hired around Tuscany totting a bagful of software.

It wasn't easy for Hirschfeld, who is, literally, an absent-minded professor. He's the kind of guy who's always leaving papers behind, who goes for walks and discovers he's lost, who induced momentary panic at a hotel pool in Oslo by accidentally turning on the wave machine.

And there were some near collisions. At the Zurich airport, Hirschfeld and Pundak bumped into Israel's ambassador to the United States, Itamar Rabinovich, then heading a delegation to the official peace talks. Rabinovich recognized them; he had taught them both. The former pupils duped him, declaring they were heading to an academic conference.

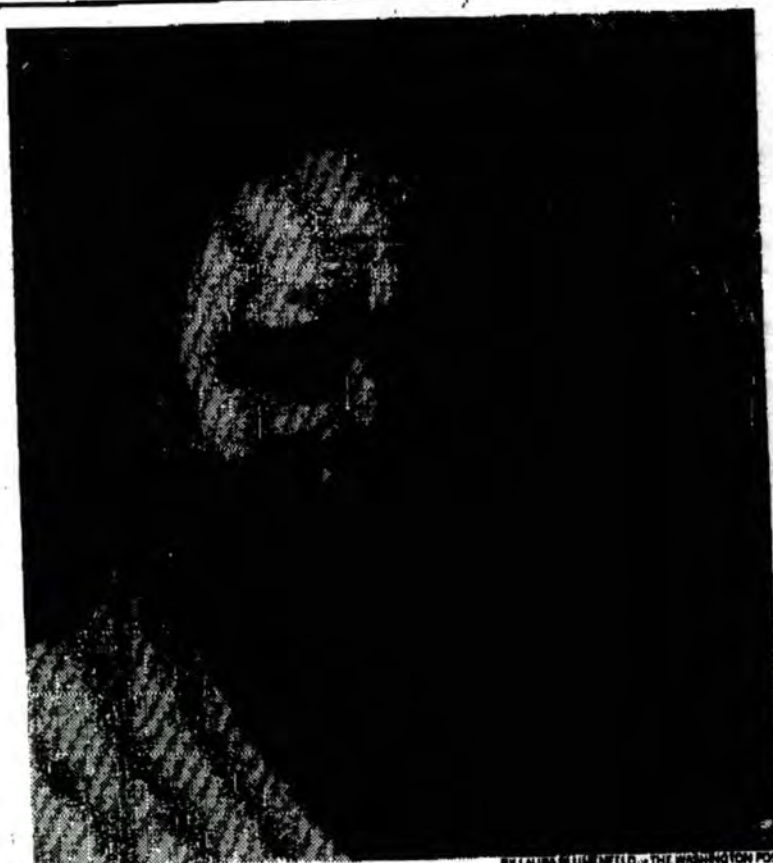
Then there was the WordPerfect leak. Typically, the negotiators had no problems using in-house computers. At one farmhouse, though, after staying up all night, thrashing out a near agreement, they were unable to print out the results. They discovered that the WordPerfect software commands were in Norwegian. Reluctantly, they enlisted the farmer's help, hoping he would keep his eyes, or at least his mouth, shut.

Prelude to a Handshake

At first, hardly anyone laughed. The men fidgeted in a conference room, thieving quick looks at each

THE WASHINGTON POST

... WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1993 C9



Yair Hirschfeld remembers this advice from his mother after the Holocaust: "If you don't care about politics, politics will care about you."

other. But at their initial meeting on Jan. 20, 1993, the Israelis and the Palestinians set Ground Rule No. 1: no diving back into history; always think forward.

The rule proved golden. By the second session, both sides had submitted papers, the first of many draft proposals. After the third encounter, they hugged. Later, Abu Alaa gave Hirschfeld a coral necklace from Tunisia, for his daughter. Hirschfeld met Abu Alaa's son.

The dial turned toward casual. They started off in January wearing suits and ties, and ended with a Palestinian negotiating in his pajamas. In the background, nudging both sides, was FAFO director Larsen and his wife, Mona Juul, a foreign ministry official, and Norway's new foreign minister, Johan Jorgen Holst, and his wife, Marianne Heiberg, a Middle East ex-

pert. They kept the men's palates wet, with fresh strawberries, Chilean wine and streams of coffee during 24- and 36-hour exchanges.

Here Hirschfeld's informality was not only endearing, but an asset. It helped make this channel work, while parallel attempts in other countries dried up. He was realistic, even skeptical, often uncertain if they would meet again. Yet his good-natured growl and rumbling laugh projected optimism.

He haggled with Palestinians by the fireside over such points as the interim autonomy period and control of the bridge to Jordan. He trekked with them through the woods, down to a lake at 3 a.m., trailed by Norwegian security agents. He peppered the air with jokes; his favorite: the one about the gigolo, a pair of boots and Catherine the Great.

They all began to joke. They did imitations, of their leaders and of each other. They nicknamed Arafat and Rabin the grandfathers, Peres and Holst the fathers, Beilin the son. They coded the United States "the big country" and Israel "the little country." When the Israeli delegation was upgraded to an official level in May to include Uri Savir, director general of the foreign ministry, and Yoel Zinger, a legal expert, Larsen introduced Savir to Abu Alaa, deadpanning. "This is your enemy number one."

By June, both Rabin and Arafat were closely monitoring the Oslo channel. In July, while Israeli warplanes were giving Lebanon its worst pounding in a decade, Savir and Abu Alaa were hammering out clauses in the agreement. Still, the link remained tentative. During the same month, Abu Alaa resigned and stormed out, the Israelis sulked back to their rooms and members figured the Oslo connection had been severed.

The stress got to Hirschfeld. He drank Coke constantly to stay awake, and stuffed himself with shrimp and Norwegian salmon, plumping on 25 additional pounds. His wife, an occupational therapist, missed him, and his youngest son complained that he had cut short their rafting trip and canceled others altogether. It was impossible to make social plans. Once Hirschfeld was told he had to catch an international flight within the hour. He often had to fly standby and nearly institutionalized his travel agent with double and triple bookings to cities all over Europe. (At least it was on the Norwegians' credit card.)

At last, in August, after countless revisions, the two sides agreed on mutual recognition and Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, ending 26 years of occupation there. Early on Aug. 20, Hirschfeld and the others sneaked into a government guest house where Peres and his entourage were lodged for an official visit to Norway. Peres was waiting up for them, alone. They gulped through emotional speeches, uncorked some champagne and videotaped the initialing of the historic document.

After the ceremony, Hirschfeld flew to Vienna, to visit his mother. He had held back the secret for so long, he couldn't resist dropping a hint. There's going to be a breakthrough in

the Middle East soon, he told her. "Yair," his mother sighed. "You don't understand. Those things take far more time."

Sudden Fame

Hirschfeld tugs a mouthful of grapes from the vine. He pads across his lawn, at home among his lemon and grapefruit trees. A rooster crows.

The hour is sunny for the once-anonymous professor who has achieved "Nightline" fame, hopes to write a book (possibly titled "Pulling the Strings") and is being sent on a world media tour by Haifa University. He got a card from the university director who had told him to quit courting Arabs and produce more articles: "You had your priorities right." So far, Hirschfeld says, knock-knocking his sunburned bald spot, no negative responses.

More important, he says, maybe when his 16-year-old son is conscripted in two years, he won't have to fight. "He won't go to Gaza," Hirschfeld says, "and hit little children and be killed." That's how he first sold the Oslo concept to his wife.

"What time is it?" he asks his daughter Mical, as if suddenly coming to.

Uh-oh. He has a meeting with his negotiating partner Pundak in Tel Aviv and he's late. Ten minutes and a shower later, the arch-negotiator is thundering down the stairs, his belt flapping behind him, a riot of indecision.

"Which shoes should I wear?" "Do I have a watch?" "Do I look okay? I hate ties."

Mical delivers orders, and her father grudgingly yanks on black loafers, rolls up his sleeves and pops two pens into his shirt pocket from the Halvorsen conference center. Hurting out the door, Hirschfeld thrusts a stick of deodorant into a stranger's hand. "Can you carry this?" He'll deal with it later.

He climbs into his car, the one with the sticker "Peace Is My Security." Dust confuses the air as Hirschfeld takes off, to plot with Pundak, to drop off his daughter at the army. He drives away, past the gnarled tree trunks, his windows brushing against olive branches.

The Washington Post Writers Group

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^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Wednesday, December 22, 1993, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/23

WASHINGTON--According to much of the commentary about the recent Russian parliamentary elections, American policy is largely to blame for the sour result. How's that again?

Susan Eisenhower, director of the Center for Post-Soviet Studies, writes that the Clinton administration's vigorous backing of Russian President Boris Yeltsin in his showdown with the old parliament was "flawed" and the recent endorsement of the new Russian constitution is "dangerous." Eisenhower's critique echoes that of the Russian emigre pundit, Dimitri Simes, who even more explicitly traces the strong showing of the neo-fascists in Russia to Washington policy initiatives and calls for "a major reassessment of President Clinton's policy."

Even my colleague David Broder gets into the act, labeling Clinton administration policy "delusional" in its high hopes for democracy in Russia and suggesting that we bet too many chips on Yeltsin. "It is past time we got over our penchant for giving bear hugs to the man in the Kremlin," writes Broder, "and got on with helping those struggling to build the real foundations of democracy in Russia."

Those with long memories of post-World War II American disappointments in foreign policy will have the feeling, reading these confident indictments, that we've heard it all before; and we have.

The Clinton administration and its critics--especially the critics--need to refresh their memory of an early Cold War classic, D.W. Brogan's justly famous 1949 essay, "The Illusion of American Omnipotence."

No better piece has been written on the immodesty of the strange view that, because we are powerful and influential, we are the master puppeteers

(more)

of the world and therefore answerable for the way great struggles for power abroad play out.

Brogan wrote his piece for Harper's magazine amid the ferocious attack by Republican partisans on the Truman administration for the alleged blunder of "losing China." In 1949, the American favorite Chiang Kai-shek and his friends fled to Formosa, leaving control of China to the victorious Communist forces of Mao-Tse Tung. There had been just enough U.S. intervention and mediation in the lengthy course of the Chinese civil war (a two-decade affair that had begun in 1927) to lend superficial plausibility to the charge that the Communists had benefited from blundering and double-dealing in Washington.

It was historical nonsense. Yet the epic furor over the "loss" of China had bizarre and bloody consequences, deferring diplomatic relations with the Maoists for more than two decades and, by postponing clear communication, very possibly costing American lives in Korea and Indochina.

Governments, for better or worse, relate to other governments. Whether one happens to like them or not is often irrelevant. Democracy may well come to Russia as a grass-roots product. But it would be speculative and dangerous to try to pick winners and losers in advance amid the bewildering array of factions jockeying for power there today.

Brogan, who knew his history, got the diagnosis right: The underlying problem is "the illusion of American omnipotence," the notion that this or any other great power controls the political destiny of another nation.

The illusion of American omnipotence has been reborn today, fostered by conspiracy theorists abroad (the Islamic mullahs, for instance, who accuse us of manipulating their destiny) and triumphalists in Washington, who encourage the view that the United States is running the world.

Admirers of Ronald Reagan trumpeted the idea that the United States had "won" the Cold War, although its abrupt end was primarily the result of decisions taken in the Kremlin by Mikhail Gorbachev and his colleagues. They abandoned the repressive policies which had divided Europe and maintained communism in the satellite nations, but might have chosen to do otherwise. American "containment" policy helped produce that result. But

(more)

even so, Russia is no more our ward today than China was half a century ago.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/23

*For Review
Adrian*

93 DEC 22 P6:28

JIMMY CARTER

cc: VP
Mack McLarty
Tony Lake

December 22, 1993

✓ To, President Bill Clinton

I am writing to express my hope that you will propose to the Congress an enlarged, rather than reduced, program of World Bank and other development assistance.

A reduction in the present program, as proposed by OMB, would prevent the World Bank from carrying out the many additional programs which have recently been assigned to it, especially for helping smaller countries now struggling from the most abject poverty. It could cripple U.S. bilateral development assistance for all in these countries and especially for those who are suffering most. We need to do more, not less, in these areas, if we are to avoid a dangerous and damaging gap between rhetoric and action.

The Bretton Woods committee, of which I am honorary co-chairman, would be glad to use its full resources to help generate public support for such a program, and I would do my full part in such an effort.

I understand fully the serious budgetary problems that you now face. The amounts involved in foreign aid are not so large as to determine the success or failure of your courageous efforts, which I strongly support, to overcome these problems.

Please let me know how I can help.

My best wishes are with you.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-20003

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ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3103

Handwritten: Rabin's future is in the hands of the people

Memo to the President

FROM: Bill Richardson

Date: December 22, 1993

Subject: Some thoughts on the Middle East (for your eyes or the garbage can)

I just returned (December 10 - 20) from the Middle East (Egypt, Israel, Syria, and Jordan) with several members of the Senate Intelligence Committee. We met with Rabin, Arafat, Crown Prince Hassan, and Assad. Additionally we visited Gaza and Jericho and spoke with many Palestinians.

The following are brief impressions from our trip and some suggestions you might consider:

1. Rabin is depressed, hurting inside, and feeling a lot of heat. Shamir and Netanyahu are being downright obstructionist and negative. At one point Rabin told us that Israeli children were calling him a traitor over his peace initiative.

Handwritten: V You need to call Rabin, tell him you're behind him and wish him the best for 1994. Not a "pressure" call, but one that acknowledges your appreciation for the enormous risks he is taking. He likes you a lot. Try to do this before the New Year.

2. Christopher has the confidence of every leader in the Middle East and is doing a helluva job in his own quiet steady way. Despite the fact that your administration is one of the most pro-Israeli in years, Christopher has managed to convince the Arabs that the U.S. is responsive and even-handed. I believe his frequent visits and quiet diplomacy (hand holding) are key factors in advancing the peace process. Pat him on the back for a job well done.

3. Although unpredictable, inconsistent, autocratic, egomaniacal, and a management disaster, Arafat is clearly our best hope and the only

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Palestinian capable of pulling it off. His support among Palestinians is razor-thin but will grow if he reaches a decent agreement for his people. Eighty percent of what he says and does is b.s. If he fails to cut a deal with Rabin in the near future, he is history. Stick with Arafat and let Christopher handle him as he has done so successfully thus far.

4. Assad is clearly anxious to improve Syria's ties with us because he has no other place to go. He plays the dumb cop on the terrorism issue and claims that he wants an Israel deal on the Golan. Our delegation had an unprecedented three hour meeting with him - his way of signalling that he wants a good Geneva meeting with you in January. Syria is changing and clearly becoming more Western. But like when you talk to Bruce King, watch your wallet with Assad.
5. Mubarak's political standing in Egypt is shaky. He is insulated and isolated from his own people. Islamic fundamentalism is a bigger problem for him than he thinks it is. Don't use him as a mediator because my impression is that he is not the key player we all think he is.
6. Dennis DeConcini, Bob Graham, Chuck Grassley, and Arlen Specter were part of this delegation. You may want to get their impressions.

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Cc: Mr. Bush
Perkins

Send - 12/23

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

December 10, 1993

Dear Bill,

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed memo I wrote for Hillary, which followed from our brief discussion in New Haven at the Law School reunion. Let me take it one step further. It is no hyperbole to say that if the House of Representatives does not develop a tough, coordinated way to frame the Clinton health reform plan and bring a version to the floor that makes political sense in a timely fashion, the whole health plan could fall apart next year. The danger is real.

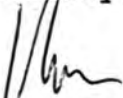
Right now, the whole plan has been referred to three committees, Ways and Means, Energy and Commerce, and Education and Labor, with nearly every other committee having a piece. There are no deadlines. What will follow, in the absence of a tough plan, is three separate committee plans emerging late, with each committee trying to one-up the others. Ways and Means, potentially beheaded, will be dominated by Pete Stark, who will not miss an opportunity to slam you, yours and your plan, and whose increased prominence will give him more and more media attention. Commerce and Education will move in very different directions from your plan and each other.

The Rules Committee would be left to sort out the differences; the result would be five or six plans-- the three committees, a "pure" version of the Clinton plan, a single-payer plan, and a Cooper/Grandy plan, and a GOP plan-- each available for a vote, under a "King of the Hill" rule which would give your plan an edge, but not a big one. The pure Clinton plan does not have the votes to pass; there would be a real danger, under those circumstances, of the leaders losing control, and a coalition of Republicans, Southern Democrats and freshmen giving a victory to Cooper or another alternative. That would take away your leverage with the Senate, and be a devastating blow politically. Even if you prevailed, the whole process would look-- and be-- chaotic. This process also creates a real possibility of a third alternative outcome-- no plan achieving majority support.

A different route is imperative. You need an ad hoc committee in the House, that can craft a reasonable plan with majority support that is still, despite amendments, clearly seen as the Clinton plan, reducing the alternatives on the House floor and building a broad base of support early. It would be tough to do this now, but it can be done. If not, the fallback is to create such a panel as soon as the three main committees report out their alternatives-- but with a firm and early deadline for their reports. The ad hoc panel can be created by the Speaker; it should be chaired by Dick Gephardt. The membership can be crafted to include the principals from the various committees, but to keep any one from dominating, and to pit their disagreements with one another and you inside the panel, rather than leave them outside, on the House floor. And such a panel could be structured to approximate the House as a whole, maximizing the chances of success on the floor.

The Speaker is extremely reluctant to do this-- in large measure because the various chairmen will go ballistic, and because he would be opportuned by 434 members to include them on the panel. To make it work will probably require your direct intervention, persuading the Speaker to do so. This issue is something, along with the broader legislative strategy surrounding health care, that you should turn your attention to as soon as you possibly can. Incidentally, I have shared my concerns in conversations with Mack and George.

Sincerely,


Norm Ornstein

P.S. Thanks for being so nice to my son Matthew when he visited the White House with Donna Shalala. He was thrilled.

Memo to: HRC
From: Norm Ornstein
Re: Congress and Health Care

November 27, 1993

At the Yale Law School reunion, you asked me about Congress; I promised you a memo. Here it is. I thought I would give some observations about the House, and then the Senate, followed by a few general comments. I will be brief, and candid. Details can follow if you want them. My goal here is to give some insights into how to get a health bill through Congress-- not what kind of health bill we should have.

First, the House. I get a headache-- a migraine-- when I think about the hurdles posed by the committee referral process in the House. I hope it's covered under the plan. I have no doubt that you are frustrated by the process too. To make this plan work politically is going to take strong and tough leadership in the House, and that will not be easy to come by. I know you have tried. As I said to you in New Haven, I worked hard on Speaker Foley to try to get him to create an ad hoc committee for the health reform bill, but to no avail. Now we have to deal with a huge dilemma: three prime committees, each with a claim on a major piece of the bill, each poised to turn the plan into a pretzel, with your task being to take three pretzels, merge them, and straighten them into something both coherent and passable.

I have one major suggestion. It is probably too late to create an ad hoc committee now, but not too late to use an unorthodox procedure for crafting a coherent bill after the pieces emerge from the various panels. You need to lean on the Speaker, and soon, to make it happen. He will resist, but I would use any and every bit of leverage you have, including involving the President. First, the Speaker needs to announce a tight and tough process under a joint and

sequential referral-- strict limits on what jurisdiction goes where, times certain for reporting out their pieces of the bill. The Speaker will say that the committees won't be able to meet the deadlines, and then you'll be needlessly embarrassed-- but the only way to make this work in 1994 is to *force* the committees to meet deadlines. Maybe the best way is to try to round up the other members of the leadership team, including Gephardt, Bonior, Hoyer and Fazio, get them on board, and then try to work on the Speaker in a joint setting.

Now comes the unorthodox part. The Speaker should create a *post hoc*, ad hoc committee-- a panel to take the pieces that emerge from Ways and Means, Energy and Commerce, Education and Labor, and the various minor committees, and merge them into one coherent package. This could be done by an existing committee, making it the primary referral, but each of the three possibilities poses its own problems. You would be far better off with an ad hoc panel that contains a representative membership and leaders with whom you can deal. I would think that putting Gephardt in charge of the ad hoc panel would be a good way to go. You are going to need an effective advocate in the leadership, putting deals together and representing you in the clinches. He is the logical one, and this is the logical spot for him to do so.

This type of ad hoc panel may not fit within the existing rules allowing ad hoc panels. But it should be possible to change the rules, if necessary, in February or March, when congressional reforms hit the House floor. If this idea doesn't work for you, or if you can't convince the House leaders to do it, find *some* way to pull the pieces together before the bill hits the Rules Committee. You must be in command, dealing from strength, by the time you get to the floor. It will be awfully difficult to do so unless you can find a way around the dilemma of committee referrals.

By the way, speaking of reform, be aware that the reforms reported by the Joint

Committee on the Organization of Congress will be up in February or March. Right now, they do little that will affect the organization or jurisdictions of committees, but that could easily change. If the leadership isn't careful, there may be a revolt on the floor, and it could have serious implications for committees like Ways and Means and Commerce. Far more members are not on those power panels than serve on them, and the jealousy level is high. This could have a serious impact on you and your priorities, so have someone keeping track.

A few words about Ways and Means. It would be the logical center for the bill. But it is a huge problem. Perhaps the year will go by with the chairmanship staying in Rostenkowski's able hands; then the problem will not be so large, because he will try to find a formula for a winnable and reasonable bill. But the odds are substantial that we will end up instead with Acting Chairman Gibbons. He is weak, carrying little weight with his colleagues on health issues, and the committee will immediately decentralize. The role of Stark obviously increases under those circumstances. I needn't tell you what a problem that is, especially since Bill Thomas, as ranking member, cannot get along with Stark, and himself carries no weight with his GOP colleagues. It is one of the many frustrations of this process that Bill Gradison, who found ways to mellow out Stark and was a consummate mediator, left the ranking position on health on Ways and Means to move to the HIAA-- moving from a key potential ally to a major adversary.

Without Rostenkowski as a major force (he will still be on the committee, fortunately), the top tier of Ways and Means is exceptionally thin. You almost have to go down to Matsui to find a stable, moderate, reasonable member. You need to find some allies and opinion leaders. Matsui has grown through his role in NAFTA, and may be ready to play a more significant role than he has in the past on health, as a bridge to the moderates in the House; Levin and Hoagland, who

span the ideological spectrum on the Democratic side of the committee, are additional good places to start. But the weakness of Ways and Means makes it imperative that a reasonable process for crafting a total bill be created before any package hits the floor.

On to the Senate: here you have a struggle for supremacy between two committees, Finance and Labor and Human Resources. I know you have some preference for Labor, especially given your experience with Finance over the budget. But I would caution you to tread carefully here. Labor is likely to take a bill to the left, when your ultimate compromise in the Senate will have to be to the center. The House, with fewer potential Republican allies, will probably end up to the left of the Senate, so it is important to create a different balance in the Senate if you are to ensure ultimate successful passage. The central GOP players for compromise are on Finance, especially Dole, Chafee and Durenberger. Dole is the key. If you can work out any kind of compromise with him, you are golden. (The more Gramm is virulent and hardline in opposition, the more Dole will be motivated to show him up and take the reins as the GOP's leader on this issue.) Chafee will probably be the most open and reasonable, but the frank reality is that he will carry very few members along with him. Work with him and cultivate him, but recognize his limitations.

Durenberger is a more interesting case. He was the GOP expert on health before Chafee, but was obviously discredited by his ethics case and indictment. But he will remain a player, and may have more weight because he is leaving the Senate. It would be a wise investment of time to work with him, appealing to his pride: this could be his final legacy as he departs public life.

In any event, Senate rules are such that you cannot avoid a major role for Finance. My

preference would be to make it the lead committee, because it more closely resembles the ideological coalition you will face on the floor. But that may be out of your control at this point anyhow. Mitchell *has* to play an aggressive leadership role here as well-- he has substantial referral power, and he must use it, forcing the panels to agree to dates certain for reporting out the bill and creating a tough joint and perhaps sequential referral schedule, something that should be done soon after the start of the session next year. I would think the best way is to make Finance the lead committee, but give Labor full sequential referral first, reporting back to Finance by sometime early in the spring.

One additional comment about the two houses: remember that nearly everything else the Administration wants next year will have to go through Ways and Means and Finance. Be careful about having your priorities timed so that they don't step on one another! Welfare reform is a key case in point. Don't let it be introduced, and pushed, without carefully thinking through how it will affect the time pressures, resources and internal dynamics of the committees, and what that will do to health reform. The same is true of taxes and GATT-- and, by the way, of environmental matters on Energy and Commerce. This is true in general. Every issue that emerges next year, from the Senate equivalent of Penny/Kasich to the Danforth Kerrey commission, will affect the timing and prospects for health reform. You must be constantly sensitive to the impact of each issue on all others.

Incidentally, although slightly off the subject, I would also recommend pushing the Speaker to create an ad hoc committee on welfare reform. There is a precedent for it; there is no way for Ways and Means to do it while also dealing with its other responsibilities; and, perhaps most important, Harold Ford is not going to be able to produce a welfare reform bill that meets

your goals and needs.

Now a general comment: This is not going to be easy (there's a brilliant insight for you.). It will be very hard to maintain momentum for a year. Most Americans will grow more nervous about losing what they've got, and more skeptical about what they will gain-- assisted in their doubts, of course, by all the health care interests. Congress will grow more nervous, remembering the catastrophic debacle of 1988. You will be pushed and pulled by all the forces inside the Administration, not to mention inside Congress. But passage of a meaningful bill is definitely doable.

You need to focus on one main strategic goal. In the end, the options for Congress have to be limited to two: passing the Clinton health reform plan, or doing nothing. Your model is tax reform in 1986. All the interests were opposed, the parties were weak, it couldn't be done-- but it was. Just before the 1986 congressional elections, with members of both parties nervous as hell about the mood of the electorate, they were faced with two choices: pass tax reform, no matter how tough the vote and how controversial the plan, or fail, and go home to the voters' judgment with gridlock being your basic message. The same thing has to happen next August, September or October. If the choices are two, Congress will opt for passage; even if the bill were to end up a repeat of catastrophic, the consequences won't come until after the election, and can be dealt with in the next Congress. But to opt for gridlock, with United We Stand and Perot fomenting voter discontent, is a recipe for suicide.

That means that the *only* plan defined as health reform is the Clinton plan. You must coopt the other alternatives along the way next year. It means you must make some

accommodations with the Republicans, and form your own centrist coalition-- and prevent an *independent* centrist coalition from forming and posing a potent third way-- an alternative, also widely accepted as health reform, that is more modest and limited and can attract a raft of nervous Democrats to join Republicans eager to pass reform but hand you defeat. Penny/Kasich shows how potent such a coalition can be-- it is frankly even more potent if led by Cooper and Breaux. Even as you try to develop your channels of communication and cooperation with Chafee and Dole, they will talk and work with Cooper and Breaux. You need to find a way to coopt all of them, declaring victory along the way. Don't wait to game through how you can do so; now is the time to figure out which parts of Cooper, Chafee and the other possible alternatives you can accept or modify to make a coalition that works. Don't get to August with one or more serious alternative plans out there opposing your own, if you can possibly avoid it. Compromises that occur on the floor, or very late in the game, leave you with less leverage, and with less credit, than those made early from a position of relative strength.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1993

93 DEC 23 09:22

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SM*

SUBJECT: LETTERS FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Attached are letters from members that I thought you would like to see.

- 1) Pat Schroeder (D-CO),
- 2) Martin Lancaster (D-NC);
- 3) Bill Bradley (D-NJ),
- 4) Romano Mazzoli (D-KY).

*Give copy of this to Oulán
and follow up*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

PATRICIA SCHROEDER
FIRST DISTRICT, COLORADO

Mr President,

While meeting with Unions in Denver
post NAFTA (iii) - They felt if they could
get the Senate to pass striker
replacement, they'd be very happy.
They thought Arkansas' two Senators
wouldn't vote to stop the filibuster.
So

Also I met with the New York
Stock Exchange. They were very
excited about helping fund
conversion. I think we could
do a great event there if
you are interested. Let's hit
those capitalists with patriotism!

What a great year - Here's
to many more! Cheers (C)

35 DISTRICT, NEW MEXICO
WASHINGTON:
2349 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-6190
WHIP OFFICE:
5115B U.S. CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

BILL RICHARDSON
CHIEF DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP



CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
NATIVE AMERICAN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
NATURAL RESOURCES
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
HOLLENKAMP COMMISSION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3103

Memo to the President

FROM: Bill Richardson *BR*

Date: December 22, 1993

Subject: Some thoughts on the Middle East (for your eyes or the garbage can)

I just returned (December 10 - 20) from the Middle East (Egypt, Israel, Syria, and Jordan) with several members of the Senate Intelligence Committee. We met with Rabin, Arafat, Crown Prince Hassan, and Assad. Additionally we visited Gaza and Jericho and spoke with many Palestinians.

The following are brief impressions from our trip and some suggestions you might consider:

1. Rabin is depressed, hurting inside, and feeling a lot of heat. Shamir and Netanyahu are being downright obstructionist and negative. At one point Rabin told us that Israeli children were calling him a traitor over his peace initiative.

You need to call Rabin, tell him you're behind him and wish him the best for 1994. Not a "pressure" call, but one that acknowledges your appreciation for the enormous risks he is taking. He likes you a lot. Try to do this before the New Year.

2. Christopher has the confidence of every leader in the Middle East and is doing a helluva job in his own quiet steady way. Despite the fact that your administration is one of the most pro-Israeli in years, Christopher has managed to convince the Arabs that the U.S. is responsive and even-handed. I believe his frequent visits and quiet diplomacy (hand holding) are key factors in advancing the peace process. Pat him on the back for a job well done.
3. Although unpredictable, inconsistent, autocratic, egomaniacal, and a management disaster, Arafat is clearly our best hope and the only

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LAS VEGAS, NM 87701
(505) 425-7270

CLOVIS:
602 MITCHELL STREET
CLOVIS, NM 88101
(505) 766-3380

Palestinian capable of pulling it off. His support among Palestinians is razor-thin but will grow if he reaches a decent agreement for his people. Eighty percent of what he says and does is b.s. If he fails to cut a deal with Rabin in the near future, he is history. Stick with Arafat and let Christopher handle him as he has done so successfully thus far.

4. Assad is clearly anxious to improve Syria's ties with us because he has no other place to go. He plays the dumb cop on the terrorism issue and claims that he wants an Israel deal on the Golan. Our delegation had an unprecedented three hour meeting with him - his way of signalling that he wants a good Geneva meeting with you in January. Syria is changing and clearly becoming more Western. But like when you talk to Bruce King, watch your wallet with Assad.
5. Mubarak's political standing in Egypt is shaky. He is insulated and isolated from his own people. Islamic fundamentalism is a bigger problem for him than he thinks it is. Don't use him as a mediator because my impression is that he is not the key player we all think he is,
6. Dennis DeConcini, Bob Graham, Chuck Grassley, and Arlen Specter were part of this delegation. You may want to get their impressions.



93 DEC 22 P6:28

JIMMY CARTER

cc: VP
Mack McLarty
Tony Lake

December 22, 1993

To President Bill Clinton

I am writing to express my hope that you will propose to the Congress an enlarged, rather than reduced, program of World Bank and other development assistance.

A reduction in the present program, as proposed by OMB, would prevent the World Bank from carrying out the many additional programs which have recently been assigned to it, especially for helping smaller countries now struggling from the most abject poverty. It could cripple U.S. bilateral development assistance for all in these countries and especially for those who are suffering most. We need to do more, not less, in these areas, if we are to avoid a dangerous and damaging gap between rhetoric and action.

The Bretton Woods committee, of which I am honorary co-chairman, would be glad to use its full resources to help generate public support for such a program, and I would do my full part in such an effort.

I understand fully the serious budgetary problems that you now face. The amounts involved in foreign aid are not so large as to determine the success or failure of your courageous efforts, which I strongly support, to overcome these problems.

Please let me know how I can help.

My best wishes are with you.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-20003

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1993

93 DEC 22 P4:02

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATIE MCGINTY
CC: THOMAS MCLARTY
SUBJECT: OEP WEEKLY REPORT



HAZARDOUS WASTE

On December 24, EPA will file suit against a hazardous merchandise distribution operation run by an itinerant philanthropist who fills childrens' stockings with unknown and potentially dangerous materials. The business employs hundreds of elves in a facility called the "Workshop." However, one of the animals kept on site has been observed with a rare disorder - a huge red nose that some say actually glows -- evidence of serious contamination.

STRATOSPHERIC OZONE DEPLETION

While the yuletide holiday has been enjoyed for centuries, only recently have the severe environmental costs been recognized. Scientists now believe that the sleigh ride from the North Pole disrupts the ozone layer, pointing to a huge arctic ozone hole that occurs every December 24. The Vice President is especially alarmed by the new data, and has aimed the telescope of the Naval Observatory toward the North Pole in order to monitor the situation.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Although the sleigh in question is pulled by only eight reindeer, scientists are concerned that animals capable of hypersonic flight may emit large quantities of methane gas and disrupt the delicate climate system. NASA proposes to test these hypotheses by strapping solid rocket boosters to deer carcasses and launching them into the arctic region, causing what they call the "rain deer effect." Critics of the program assert that the NASA team -- lead by Dr. M.L.E. Latella -- misunderstood the problem when they designed the experiment.

FORESTRY

Devotees of the yuletide celebration also cause significant deforestation each December. OEP recommends that you convene another timber summit, er, I mean, forest conference, to break the logjam, uh, I mean the gridlock, on this issue.

ENFORCEMENT

EPA is seeking an injunction to ground this flagrant violator on December 24 in order to protect health and safety. OEP believes that adverse political fallout may occur (the so-called "Grinch factor"). We are negotiating an acceptable compromise, whereby Mr. Claus skips "naughty" children but still delivers presents to those who have been "nice." He apparently keeps extensive data on "lists" which are checked twice for accuracy. We believe that this compromise will achieve political support.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 22, 1993 93 DEC 22 P5:18

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bowman Cutter *Bowman Cutter*

SUBJECT: Response to Bill Alexander's Proposal Regarding Methanol Plant Ships

Nancy Hernreich asked for a brief memo regarding Bill Alexander and the Yankee Energy project.

Bill represents the Yankee Energy Corporation, which is seeking to build methanol plant ships. The ship--a production plant mounted on a barge--would be used to convert off-shore natural gas to liquid methanol fuel. The current methanol market would justify the construction of 1 plant ship and 3 cargo ships to carry the fuel back to the United States. The firm is currently seeking funds to complete the final engineering design.

In report language (not in the appropriations bill itself), Congress earmarked \$3 million for Yankee Energy from ARPA's 1994 TRP budget. Statutory language, however, requires that TRP funds be awarded competitively, so ARPA cannot honor such earmarks.

In addition, Yankee Energy has applied directly to the TRP program for funding. It did not receive an award in the 1993 competition. Whether or not it receives an award in 1994 would depend on the relative merits of its proposal.

Bill's project is interesting and probably bankable. When I asked Bill why his clients did not attempt to obtain venture capital, he said that they did not want to dilute their equity. While I did not say so, I did not regard this as the best argument for federal funding.

In sum, Bill has an interesting project, and we have met with him numerous times to discuss it. I do not think there is anything you should do.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/22/93

NOTE FOR:

DAVID DREYER
GENE SPERLING
WENDY SMITH

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

Information	☒
Action	☐

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1993

Mary Hill
Unit 413
203 Loudon Road
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

Dear Mary:

Thank you for your letter. Your kind words of encouragement mean a great deal to me.

I also deeply appreciate your advice about the State of the Union Address, and I will carefully consider your suggestions.

Please accept my warmest wishes for a wonderful holiday season.

Sincerely,

Bill

Your letter was
wonderful

Dear President Clinton,

I feel blessed that you stepped into my life before you became President. I feel even more blessed that you are now leading our country. You have taken giant steps to not only face our many domestic problems, but you have also dealt with the complex problems of the post cold war era.

I would like to suggest that you challenge us when you deliver the State of the Union address in 1994.-

Challenge us to stop feeling like victims.

Challenge us to stop blaming others for our shortcomings.

Challenge us to raise and nurture our children to be productive and law abiding adults.

Challenge us to vote and expect more of our leaders.

Challenge us not to polarize ourselves into our own self interest groups.

Challenge us to have more respect for others.

Challenge us to actively participate in creating a healthy and clean environment.

Challenge us not to judge one another but to understand one another.

Challenge us to listen.

Challenge us to celebrate life.

Challenge us to love - not hate.

Challenge us to realize that our ultimate goals are more alike than different.

President Clinton, I

challenge you to continue
on your steady goal-oriented
path of leadership. I

challenge you to continue to
have faith in your desires for
the future.

A single good judgement
is a blessing to the
whole earth.

Thomas Jefferson

Happy holidays to you
and your family. Take time
out to relax and enjoy
yourself.

~~Best wishes~~
- Mary J. L.

NNA NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION

Since 1895

December 14, 1993

Ms. Ricki Seidman
Assistant to the President
Director of Scheduling and Ad
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Seidman:

Permit me to introduce myself to you on behalf of the community newspapers of the United States. Our 4,200 member trade association represents most of the weekly and small daily newspapers in the country. We are 108 years old and have a long tradition of representing publishers on public policy matters in Washington.

The National Newspaper Association will host its 33rd consecutive Government Affairs Conference in Washington, DC, March 9-12, 1994. We expect more than 400 publishers, editors, and their spouses from across the United States to attend this three-day series of briefings. NNA's conference provides people in Washington with a unique opportunity to inform and influence "hometown" America. Our members will return from the conference to publish articles in their hometown newspapers about their experiences in Washington.

We would be honored if President and Mrs. Clinton would host a reception in the White House of our newspaper men and women on either Thursday afternoon, March 10, 1994 or Friday afternoon, March 11, 1994. The welcome extended by the Clintons during the White House reception last year was the highlight of the conference, and we are hoping that it will be possible for an invitation to be extended to the group again in 1994.

I have enclosed a copy of last year's Conference program, a registrant list as well as some general information about the National Newspaper Association to update you on our members and organization. The White House Reception was held last year on March 12, 1993 from 4:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. We hope to hear good news from you soon.

Sincerely,

Tonda F. Rush
Tonda F. Rush
President & CEO

Enc.

*Mr. President:
We would greatly appreciate
it if you could meet with us again.
We'll bring a large Arkansas delegation
again, too.*

*Joan's Schick
Arkansas Press
Association*

1525 Wilson Boulevard □ Suite 550 □ Arlington, VA 22209-2432 □ (800) 829-4NNA □ (703) 907-7900 □ FAX (703) 907-7901

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Morristown, TN 37814

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National Newspaper Association
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Arlington, VA 22209-2432

NNA NATIONAL NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATION

Since 1885

December 14, 1993

Ms. Ricki Seidman
Assistant to the President
Director of Scheduling and Advance
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

*Gregory/Graham
S. O. O. R. R.*

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Enc.

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again, too.*

*Tonda F. Rush
Arkansas Press
Association*

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Morristown, TN 37814

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Tonda F. Rush
National Newspaper Association
1525 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 550
Arlington, VA 22209-2432

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

21-Dec-1993 11:00pm

TO: 1=US@*RFC-822\publications-comments

FROM: Tyrre Bohannon

SUBJECT: comments

Dear: Mr. Horn

I have just received the index I requestd and am over whelmed at how much info is available. I find it a great asset to my work in the Navy over here in Okinawa as the Pacific Stars and Stripes newspaper is rather limited. These messages will keep up to date on happenings.

I am curious as to whether these are the only publications offeredor does your agency have the capabilty to provide an index in other areas such as law enforcement or computer science? Can one request any info in your archives via the comment address?

Again I am very satisfied with the Clinton administration's efforts to propel the U.S. forward in Technology where we belong

Sincerely,

Tyrre Z. Bohannon
CTO2 USN

MARK Gearan
Fuj
John



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

cc Tony LAKB

12 22 93

v. 02

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 12.21.93

TO:

NANCY HERNREICH

FIRM:

WHITE HOUSE

FROM:

S.K.S.

COMMENTS:

PLEASE PASS ON TO THE PRESIDENT -

GOOD HOLIDAYS TO YOU ALL

NO. OF PAGES (including cover sheet)

#7

DESTINATION FAX NO.

202 456 6703

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

FAX: (310) 476-9853



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

December 21, 1993

**President Bill Clinton
The White House-West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000**

Dear Bill:

Ever since we spoke less than a day ago and even before I learned of this morning's news from several sources, both Palestinian and Israeli, that there is suddenly optimism about getting compromises in place to pick up on the December 13th "deadline", I had some second thoughts about what service I might provide for the *general effort*.

To repeat, my history with Arafat and the PLO has been such that I do believe that I have as much capital with them as any American, and I would want to utilize it if possible. Being non-official can help; having your backing, however informally, can have a strengthening effect as I felt it did in the Syrian case.

In our conversation I did not distinguish enough between two problems that in the broad sweep of things need to be confronted. The first has to do with achieving the compromises that at this very minute possibly are on their way to resolution in Paris. Our discussion for some reason and despite its brevity veered toward what ideas I might come up with in that context. That, however, was really not what I felt was the area for my particular usefulness.

Upon rethinking our conversation it became clearer to me that my relationship with Arafat and with Nabeel Shaath (who has been taking the lead in their negotiations since September 13th) has been such that I could tackle the problem more generally and not get into what has the flavor of negotiating--which I am not equipped for--things like the specifics of compromises, e.g. exactly how large Jericho should be.

The other problem is, and I am sure you are very sensitive to it, that Arafat is being very stubborn and worse, very autocratic. The autocratic nature of his mindset is doing a lot of damage among his key supporters--as well as to the peace process.

As you know I wrote him last week cautioning him that his very rigidity might lead to the fall of the Rabin government quite possibly leaving him--and us--to face Netanyahu and Likud, and thus the collapse of the Palestinian/Israeli settlement. An authoritative friend recently said the problem is an attitudinal one in the sense that

President Bill Clinton
December 21, 1993
Page 2

Arafat has never functioned in other than an autocratic manner. And it is exactly in that context that I think he might be responsive to me. I have nothing to lose. I recognize that is a big bite but well worth the try. And I will try. I have been deep into this issue for a long time at considerable cost--including dead pigs in my driveway--so I want to help wherever possible with the one proviso that I not get in the way, to repeat, of you and your team.

Then, of course, if there is anything you and or your advisors think I can still do on the Syrian front I am always ready.

I am leaving for the Middle East right after New Year's to attend one of the multi-lateral meetings, this one on arms control, in Greece. I'll try to check in with you before I go.

AND THEN TO TUNIS.

Godspeed,

SKS/kc
clinton.30

cc: SEC. CHRISTOPHER

P.S. SINCE DICTATING AND SIGNING THE ABOVE
I RECEIVED THE ENCLOSED RESPONSE
FROM ARAFAT TO MY 14 DEC. LETTER
TO HIM.

STATE OF PALESTINE
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
Office of the President



دولة فلسطين
منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية
مكتب الرئيس

الرقم :

التاريخ :

Mr. Stanley K. Sheinbaum
345 North Rockingham Avenue
Los Angeles California 90049
U.S.A
Fax: 001 (310) 476-9853

Greetings,

Thank you for your letter on your assessment of the meeting between me and Mr. Yitzhak Rabin. I would like to explain the following:

1- We went to this meeting with Rabin with good intention to find a solution to the pending issues which hamper the progress of negotiations on implementing the declaration of principles on the ground.

2- Mr. Rabin came to the meeting after he has already declared that the implementation will not take place in the date fixed by the agreement on 13 December.

3- The agreement stipulates that the Israeli forces withdraw from the Gaza Strip and the Area of Jericho. Instead of sticking to the text of the agreement the Israeli side offered only to redeploy the Israeli forces in these two areas.

4- Hence the conflict ensued with the Israeli side and with Mr. Rabin on, first, who

STATE OF PALESTINE
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION
Office of the President



دولة فلسطين
نظمت التحرير الفلسطينية
مكتب الرئيس

الرقم :

التاريخ :

controls the passages and the bridges and secondly, on the size the area of Jericho.

5- The agreement stipulates that on the passages and bridges there will be Palestinian supervision, international presence and Israeli coordination. This was rejected by the Israeli side who claimed the supervision for itself. We have rejected this Israeli demand because it violates the agreement and means the transformation of the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area into a Bantustan or an "Indian reservation" whose keys for entry and departure would be in the hands of the Israeli side. We consider this to be an insult to us and to the struggle of our Palestinian people to realize just peace and historical reconciliation with the people of Israel. No one will accept this grave violation of an international agreement that was made under the auspices of the USA and Federal Russia, and under the eyes of the world.

6- There is another disagreement between us on the meaning of outside security. We have accepted that outside security to be under Israeli supervision. However, we have not accepted that Israeli soldiers would be stationed on our borders because that, then, will transform us into an Israeli suzerainty. Outside security in our view and according to international Law means that Israel will provide for the security of our borders if these were threatened by a

STATE OF PALESTINE
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Office of the President



دولة فلسطين
نظمت التحرير الفلسطينية
مكتب الرئيس

الرقم :

التاريخ :

danger from any party because that threatens its own security as well. This does not give Israel the right to deploy its forces on our borders, as the Israeli side demands. We have proposed to have tripartite Israeli, international and Palestinian patrols.

7- The disagreement on the size of the area of Jericho shows really how intransigent Israel is. The size of the area of Jericho under the Israeli administration was 720 sq km. We have accepted that its size should be around 340 sq. km. on the basis of drawing a line 32 km long on the Jordan River and 10 km in depth into the Jericho area. On the longitude line are the three bridges which are the passages to it from Jordan. The Israeli side offered only 27 sq. km. for the size of Jericho. This is not acceptable for us because it means that they are giving us only a ghetto. Who can accept a ghetto?

8- We told the Israeli side that we are ready to coordinate with them on security matters to alleviate their fears. They can use the most advanced technology of observation. Both of us can agree to bring in international forces or from any foreign country which they trust like the USA or Canada or Norway or any other European country.

9- In our meeting in Cairo we agreed with Mr. Rabin not to make statements on the issues we discussed. No sooner we left that the officials

STATE OF PALESTINE
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دولة فلسطين
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مكتب الرئيس

الرقم :

التاريخ : 18/12/1993

in Israel escalated their statements which are not in the interest of finding an acceptable settlement to these issues.

10- If Mr. Rabin thinks he has to accommodate his public, then we have also to take into consideration the legitimate needs of the Palestinian, Arab, Islamic and Christian public opinions.

11- We want to find a quick solution to these problems and implement the declaration of principals on the ground so that to be able to establish just peace for our people, the Israeli people and the peoples of the area, and to put an end to the Israeli occupation of our land and people.

Thank you for your interest.

Tunis: 18 December 1993

Yasser Arafat
President of the State of Palestine
Chairman of the Executive Committee of the
Palestine Liberation Organization

Bad Story, Good Timing

The holidays are a great time of the year for a new political scandal. But not because families will have something good to argue about over Christmas Dinner or because people who don't like football will have something interesting to watch on TV.

It's because traditionally, the weeks before and after Christmas are filled with the slowest "news days" of the year. With rare exceptions (like the fall of the Berlin Wall in late December of 1989), reporters seldom have big stories to chase during the holiday season. It makes sense: Government offices are generally closed, people are getting ready for vacations and no one wants to work too hard around Christmas and New Year's Day.

However, for all those same reasons, the winter holiday makes for an efficient time to release some really sleazy and scandalous story about public figures and celebrities and get a whole lot of free publicity. For those who are good at managing the news, there's no better time than Christmas to let loose with such a story because the news media, free from the usual daily grind, can focus all its attention on it.

Witness the latest controversy surrounding President Bill Clinton and his private life. According to various news accounts, four former members of the Arkansas State Police security team which guards the governor claim they helped facilitate romantic trysts for Clinton while he served in that office. Only two of the troopers would allow their names to be linked to the story, which apparently originated in a right-wing newsletter called *The American Spectator*.

For long-time Arkansas residents, this kind of story is really nothing new. Rumors about Clinton's private life have circulated for years around here. They even made real news about four years ago when a disgruntled former state employee named Larry Nicholas accused Clinton in a lawsuit of having affairs with several prominent Arkansas women. Clinton and all of the women denied the allegations at the time, the lawsuit was eventually dropped, and little more was said about it until Clinton ran for president.

Then in January 1992 (right after Christmas) one of the women who previously denied an affair changed her story, accepted a large fee from a supermarket tabloid to tell it and got her Warholian 15 minutes of fame. The woman, Gennifer Flowers, has since posed nude for a girlie magazine, had her story of the alleged 12-year affair with Clinton picked apart (she claimed to have had several trysts with Clinton in a certain hotel at a time when it was still under construction) and disappeared from the scene.

While Clinton specifically has denied a 12-year affair with Flowers, he has consistently refused to answer further questions about his private life, saying only that he and his wife have had problems through the years, but that his marriage is solid now.

The new story, helped along by one of Clinton's long-time enemies, Little Rock attorney Cliff Jackson, is more of the same kind of thing, only with a few more dicey details (the troopers claim they snuck a woman dressed in a trench coat past the Secret Service and into the governor's mansion after last year's election) and a few less names (they refuse to name the women allegedly involved).

Like Flowers, the troopers quoted for this story have come forward only after there were financial gains to be made (there is open talk of a book deal). And, like Nicholas, both profess they have a score to settle with Clinton (neither were appointed to federal jobs after Clinton became president).

Add to that the credibility, or lack thereof, of *The American Spectator*, a radically partisan publication which fills its pages with criticisms and jibes directed at all things not conservative. All told, it is not a convincing tale, but a tale with good timing.

Either by design or luck, these sleazy allegations about Clinton's private life are getting more publicity than they deserve because of the approaching holiday. The good news is that like all other unpleasant fixtures of the holiday season, this story will go the way of that ghastly tie from Aunt Clara — most people will forget about it.

Sadly, the Clinton family will not have that luxury this Christmas.

"IT WORKED FOR A



Yeltsin's Possible S

President Clinton should urgently add a new official to his national security staff — a clergyman whose full-time job would be to pray for the health of Boris Yeltsin.

It now appears that Yeltsin — 62, overweight and with a drinking problem — is all that stands between Russia and rule by a fascist dictator.

Under Russia's new constitution, adopted by referendum Dec. 12, if Yeltsin were to die a presidential election would be held within three months.

Few experts in Russia doubt that the powerful office would be captured by the ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, whose extremist party came in first, winning one in four votes in parliamentary elections held alongside the referendum.

Also, Communists and their allies did well in the balloting. When final results are known, they will show that less than half the electorate backed Yeltsin and the reformists who are trying to implant democracy and a market economy.

B.J. Cutler

Scripts Howa

In an effort to improving image, Zhirinovskiy news conference (in a tuxedo) and a fascist."

Oh? By his own copious novsky is a racist, big Slavophile, militarist, paranoid. If he tech fascist, as Yeltsin's a still a menace.

Among those he de skinned people, Jev Americans, Balts an Those he speaks wel neo-Nazis, Iraq's Sa Libya's Moammar C Serbs ("our Ortho rampaging through

His recent autobio of Adolf Hitler's Me reveal sick minds and ambitions. Zhirinovskiy

Letters

of Yiddish humorist. of them you may a Attorney's unde briefs. Debate forfeiter r

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1993

93 DEC 20 A7:44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BERNARD NUSSBAUM
CHERYL MILLS *for*

SUBJECT: Denial of Pardon Request

We have received the Deputy Attorney General's recommendation against pardons for the petitioners identified below. After a review of the memorandum summarizing the circumstances in each case, we have concluded that denial of each pardon application is appropriate.

We will transmit your denial of petitioners' requests for pardon in the following 23 cases on December 31, 1993, unless you reach an earlier decision or indicate that you would like further information on the cases of any of the following individuals:

Peter Vladimir Alexander	Virginia
William Linford Butler, III	Washington
Thomas Chavez	Texas
William S. Clark	Georgia
Michael Garry Copeland	Wisconsin
Roger Alan Cox	Georgia
Joseph Farber	Pennsylvania
Jack Hugh Handford	Louisiana
Minus Ray Helton	Indiana
Joseph Valles Herrera	New Mexico
Robert Lee Johnson	Louisiana
Robert Angus Allan Ladd (aka Lee Angus Davis)	California
Vendel Julius Matis	California
Thomas Lee McLaughlin	Idaho
Brent Edward Merritt	Indiana
Hollis Riggins, Jr.	Illinois
Charles Douglas Robinson	Texas
David Charles Rowlands	New Jersey
Wade Clovis Singleton	Arkansas
Jesse Eugene Stokely	Texas

Harvey A. Traino
John Eldrige Tucker
Roger William Woodall

Texas
New Jersey
Tennessee

DECISION:

☒] Approve ☐] Disapprove ☐] More Information

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1993

93 DEC 20 A7:44

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BERNARD NUSSBAUM
CHERYL MILLS *CM*

SUBJECT: Denial of Request for Commutation of Sentence

We have received the Deputy Attorney General's recommendation against commuting the sentences of the petitioners identified below. After a review of the memorandum summarizing the circumstances in each case, we have concluded that denial of commutation is appropriate.

We will transmit your denial of petitioners' requests for commutation of sentence in the following 7 cases on December 31, 1993, unless you reach an earlier decision or indicate that you would like further information on the cases of any of the following individuals:

Jerry Canty	Texas
Melvin Cooper	New York
Sue Ann Crane	Connecticut
James Frederick Kelly	North Carolina
Elwyn Mosley Miller	Alabama
Silvio D. Satelli	Pennsylvania
Christopher Allen Wallace	Alabama

DECISION:

☒ Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ More Information

GREENBERG
RESEARCH
INC515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
FAX 202 544-7020FAX TRANSMITTAL FORMDATE: 12/20NUMBER OF PAGES (excluding cover page): 3

TO:

NAME: Hester

Phone Number: _____

FAX Number: 456-6703 249 (project #)

FROM:

NAME: CrisGreenberg Research Fax # (202) 544-7020NOTES

*Thank you letter and a list of attendees
at 11/5 dinner. Finally! - thanks for
your patience.*

Please call (202) 547-5200 if you do not receive entire transmission or have any problems with receiving this transmittal.

This message is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

December 20, 1993

- 20 12:05

Dr. XXX
XXX University
XXXX

Dear Dr. XXXX,

I wanted to thank you for joining Hillary and I for dinner last month. As you can imagine, we do not often get the opportunity to step back from the press of events to reflect on the presidency itself and the historical forces at work. With the help of your good judgement and unique perspective, I hope our Administration will be able to make wiser decisions for the nation.

I understand that the discussion on Saturday was lively, wide-ranging and frank. Please be assured that your ideas and the exchange are important to me, and I hope you will continue to press your special insights on us.

Thank you again for sharing your ideas and this occasion at the White House. I wish you and your family a wonderful New Year.

Regards, etc.

List of attendees for November 5 dinner and November 6 meeting.

Dr. Richard Neustadt
Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University
79 JFK Street
Cambridge MA 02138
617-495-1196.

Dr. John Mollenkopf
Political Science Program
CUNY Graduate Center
33 West 42nd Street
New York, NY 10036
212-642-2365

Dr. Theda Skocpol
Department of Sociology
William James Hall, 470
Harvard University
33 Kirkland Street
Cambridge, MA 02139
617-495-3851.

Dr. Samuel Huntington
Olin Institute of Strategic Studies
1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-495-4432.

Dr. William Julius Wilson
Center for the Study of Urban Inequality
1313 East 60th Street
Chicago, IL 60637
312-702-8689

Dr. David Mayhew
Department of Political Science
Yale University
New Haven, CT 06520
203-432-5237.

Dr. Charles Hamilton
55 Barnard Road
New Rochelle, NY 10801
914-636-1437.

Dr. Michael Sandel
Department of Government
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-495-2097.

Dr. Alan Brinkley
Department of History
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027
212-854-5220.

Dr. Kristin Luker
Department of Sociology
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544
609-497-1258.

Dr. Roger Noll
Department of Economics
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305
415-723-2297.

Robert Kuttner
61 Dean Road
Brookline MA 02146
617-731-8881.

Dr. Samuel Popkin
5441 Soledad Road
La Jolla, CA 92037.
619-272-0739.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/21

TO: Phil Lader / TAN Piercy

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

Have you cleared a
spot for Dan Gross at ACDA.
He's a good guy (currently
with the NSC) who did a
lot in the campaign (as
Nancy Soderberg can attest). Hope
this one will work out.
John

City of Lynn, Massachusetts

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR



Patrick J. McManus
Mayor

Michael J. Marks
Special Counsel to the Mayor

J.J. Imperial
Administrative Assistant

*Copy to
Ricki
Marcia
orig to RM*

City Hall
01901

Tel: (617) 598-4000
Fax: (617) 599-8875
(617) 599-1441

December 9, 1993

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

Dear President Clinton:

I would like to thank you for the opportunity you presented today in meeting with members of the United States Conference of Mayors Task Force on Violent Crime and other mayors. I would like to follow up on a comment you made which the Task Force had discussed in great detail, but did not have the opportunity to present today. I feel it is the single most important conclusion the Task Force reached, for it leads to the capacity of all of us to design and implement an action plan to prevent violence and crime.

You noted in your comments that you needed the help of the mayors and the police chiefs with Congress in designing and working through a program. In our discussions on the Task Force we had agreed that it was critical that a next step be taken which includes you or your designee, the mayors and police chiefs, and the leadership of both parties in Congress. However, we had also agreed that it was somewhat inappropriate for mayors and police chiefs to tell the President of the United States what his next step should be. We had specifically avoided asking for a Summit, or a Commission, or a Task Force, to continue working on a realistic action plan because we were not certain of the direction in which you wanted to proceed.

We did all agree that it was critical that the mayors and chiefs be included in an active process that would include the leadership of both parties in Congress. While some steps can be taken by you administratively, the great majority of our recommendations and, ultimately, any plan, will require legislation. Our thoughts were if we could include the leadership of both parties in the House and Senate, or their

designees, in designing the actual action plan in conjunction with you and the mayors and chiefs, it would help all of us in presenting to Congress and the American people a bipartisan plan that could be passed without significant partisan rhetoric. If we could include both parties of Congress in that planning process, I believe it would lead to a successful partisan effort very similar to your tremendous victory on NAFTA.

Mr. President, we would very much like to work with you at the next level on a program, and we feel very strongly that including Congress is a critical step. We are prepared to help you in any fashion that you feel is appropriate, and most certainly, in working with Congress.

Please do not hesitate to call on me or any other members of the U. S. Conference of Mayors in moving this critical issue forward. We are prepared to assist you in any fashion you feel appropriate. We certainly are prepared to help you in moving this program through the Congress.

Again, Mr. President, thank you very much for joining us today, and I look forward to working with you.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Patrick J. McManus", is written over a horizontal line.

PATRICK J. MCMANUS
Member, USCM, Task Force on
Violent Crime

PJM/m