

Arkansas Parks, Recreation and Travel Commission
Ed E. Falwell
Commissioner
151 Adams
Camden, Arkansas 71701
(501) 836-9358

Tert

*Mr. Larry Braden
Medical & Surgical Clinic
Phone - 836-5013*

Heath can TP

*This guy wants
to give up on
Heath can / test
reform - PG ~~and~~
have someone call
him — B*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-31-94

The New York Times Magazine

JANUARY 23, 1994 / SECTION 6

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1.31.94

IMPERIAL
CONGRESS
BY JOSEPH A.
CALIFANO JR.

DECONSTRUCTION,
UNRECONSTRUCTED

THE
ALL-ÉMIGRÉ
ORCHESTRA:
NIGHT AND DAY

*Bomb
stuck
facsimile
B.*

Meet the
Valmara 69,
eight inches high.

When tripped,
it leaps up
and explodes
over a 60-foot
kill zone.

In Angola alone,
land mines kill
or maim 120
people a month.

There are
more than 100 million
of them,
in 62 countries,
waiting.

It's the Little Bombs That Kill You

by Donovan Webster



*Original
NYT Magazine
sent to Tony
Jan 21/94*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1.31.94

94 JAN28 P7:04

January 28, 1994

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Representative Richard Gephardt

DATE: Monday, Jan. 31, 1994

RECOMMENDED BY: Pat Griffin

PRUPOSE: To wish Rep. Richard Gephardt a happy Birthday.

BACKGROUND: Monday is Rep. Gephardt's birthday.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: Wish the Majority Leader a happy birthday.

CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): Tom O'Donnell, Rep. Gephardt's Chief of Staff. 225-0100.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: January 28, 1994.

ACTION: _____

*See file
A*

Right on the Money

1.31.94

In speaking to Congress last week about health care reform, President Clinton was too polite to name the lawmakers who have been getting huge chunks of money from medical-industry political action committees.

But Mr. Clinton seemed to have this gold rush in mind when he paused midway in his State of the Union address to recall some history. For 60 years, going back to Franklin Roosevelt, Presidents have been trying to reform health care, only to be blocked by powerful special interests. "The work of change, frankly, will never get any easier," Mr. Clinton stated, "until we limit the influence of well-financed interests who profit from this current system."

Mr. Clinton has spoken often about the problem of big money in politics. But his 1993 track record on campaign reform was spotty. To win this fight in 1994, the President must be willing to start a renewed campaign of pressure on Congressional Democrats to accept the "tough" reform legislation that they fear and that he says he supports.

A strong campaign finance overhaul might already be law had the President insisted that Congress act a year ago, when the momentum for reform coming out of the election was still at its peak. But still new to the ways of Washington, Mr. Clinton allowed himself to be sidetracked by House Speaker Thomas Foley, who counseled delay in the name of protecting other important White House initiatives. The wait, of course, protected PAC-financed Democratic incumbents.

The predictable result is that the campaign finance measure passed by the House last Novem-

ber doesn't measure up to Mr. Clinton's promise of real reform. The PAC limits are too high and so are the spending limits. Soft money and bundling loopholes, which allow candidates and special interests to get around contribution and spending limits, are not effectively closed.

In a retreat from the reform bill vetoed two years ago by President Bush, House members would remain free to operate their own "leadership PAC's" — another avenue for wealthy interests to funnel money to lawmakers.

The Senate's campaign finance bill is much stronger. It contains tough PAC and spending limits, and firmly cracks down on soft money and bundling. But thanks to a Republican filibuster threat, the Senate measure omits free communication vouchers that would help challengers compete while reducing reliance on special interest money. The vouchers are the best feature of the House bill — though, in a major cop-out, the House doesn't say how the new public financing system will be funded.

These flaws are glaring. Still, together the two bills now create an opportunity to fashion a worthy piece of reform legislation in a House-Senate conference committee. Clearly, the public cannot depend on Congress to muster the requisite political will on its own; the situation calls for Presidential leadership.

At one point during his address last week, Mr. Clinton brandished his veto pen to show he means business about universal health care. It might help persuade Mr. Foley and his colleagues to consider strengthening their measure if the President made it clear he would use that same veto pen to send them back to work on a new campaign finance bill.

Washington's Secret Garden

Washington's secret war over secrecy has taken a predictable turn. A year ago, President Clinton asked an interagency working group to establish a less secretive system for classifying documents. The working group labored, and came up with a draft executive order last November, which (naturally) was kept secret. Fortunately, a copy was leaked to the Federation of American Scientists. And lo, the federation found that while suggesting a few modest reforms, the draft order would actually close the shutters tighter.

The draft order proposes, with a few exceptions, a maximum classification lifetime of 40 years. As the federation's analysts point out, Richard Nixon set a maximum of 30 years for most classified documents, and Jimmy Carter fixed the limit at 20 years. This extended period outweighs the hypothetical benefit of a "balancing test" that would allow declassifiers to weigh the public interest against national security concerns.

The Acting Archivist of the United States, Trudy Peterson, made the necessary point in a recent letter to Vice President Al Gore: "In our experience, there is virtually no information over 30 years old that requires continued classification. Most documents of this age are so irrelevant to current security concerns that continued withholding seems inappropriate if not laughable."

Ms. Peterson is custodian of 325 million classified documents, including files dating to World War I. The secrecy establishment opposes en bloc de-

classification, and favors an arduous reviewing process that would take decades. Otherwise, it is said, the genuinely sensitive morsel might fall into the wrong hands. Granted, that is a risk. But how much greater the danger to democracy in excessive secrecy that denies Americans information essential to accountability.

A more direct approach to weeding out this secret garden is advocated by Representative Dan Glickman of Kansas, chairman of the House Intelligence Committee. Most documents are classified by executive order, without defined standards on who decides what to keep secret. Mr. Glickman would open the whole process to debate in public hearings and is drafting a bill that would establish clear rules and fix a 10-year or 6-year limit, wherever feasible, on classified security matters.

Those House hearings might also illuminate another murky front in the Administration's avowed war on secrecy. In 1993, for the third successive year, the Senate adopted a resolution urging disclosure of the now-secret budget of the Central Intelligence Agency. Yet Mr. Clinton only a few weeks ago refused again to divulge the aggregate intelligence budget. With the cold war over, this secrecy is hard to justify.

The case for sunlight was expressed long ago by James Madison: "A popular Government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or perhaps both."

TZ
Tonghale
fr. Rudy Löwe
B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

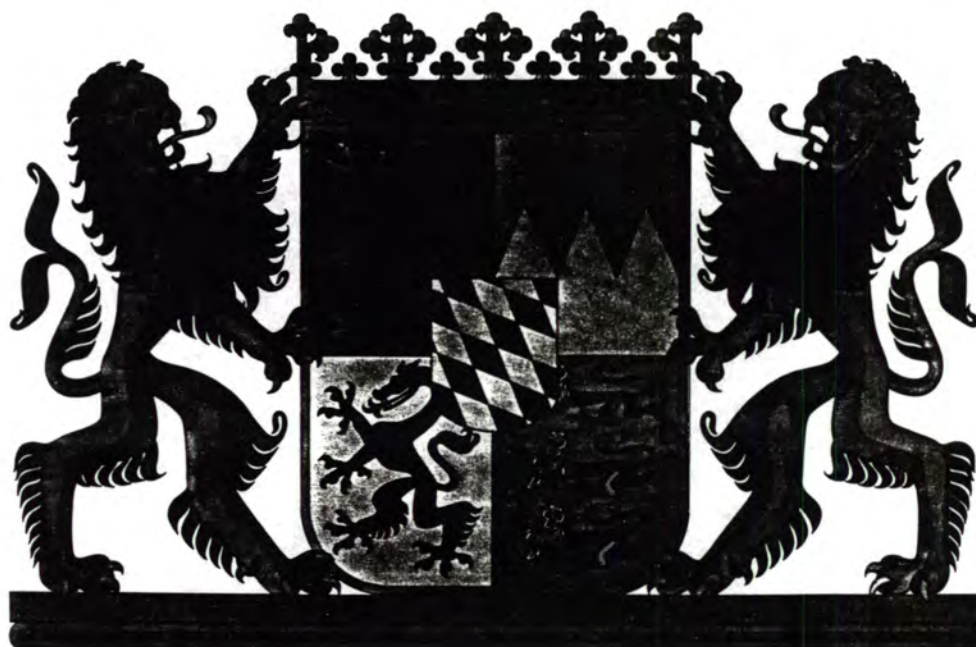
1-31-94

Book Jacket holder



Boo2

Bayern



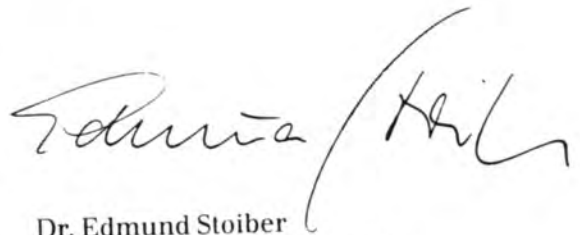
Foreword

In only a few years, Europe has experienced tremendous upheavals which have radically changed Bavaria's geopolitical position. Germany is reunited; the iron curtain that cut off the east from the west for forty years no longer exists. The countries of the former Eastern Bloc are on the road to democracy and constitutionality. In this Europe growing more and more closely knit, Bavaria is once again the heartland that it was for centuries.

What makes Bavaria what it is, what sets it aside from other countries, what provides Bavaria with the self-confidence and strength to help design the future of Germany and Europe in the areas of politics, commerce, culture and society: all this is meant to be depicted here in a condensed form. Land and people are presented to connoisseurs and friends of Bavaria in a deliberately sketch-like way.

This land is famous for its natural beauty and its art treasures, for its powerful economy and its exuberant lifestyle. Yet Bavaria also wants to see the impulses arising from these advantages work in favour of those values it considers inalienable through its Christian tradition and its sense of responsibility for mankind: the right to a life in peace, both inward and outward, in self-determined freedom, with social justice and dignity for all.

I cordially invite the reader to make his or her acquaintance with this fascinating land and its people.



Dr. Edmund Stoiber
Bavarian Minister-President

MR. PRES.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1/31/94

ADAMS ISSUING PRESS RELEASE SAYING:

Copy to [illegible]
"I unreservedly condemn the incident in San Diego as I do all attacks on innocent civilians anywhere. It is absurd to even associate Irish Republicans with these incidents. It appears to be the work of elements who seek to sabotage efforts to rally support in the U.S. for the peace process in Ireland."
(over)

Tony or I am available to discuss this evening or tomorrow.

I have given this wording to Chris

Stacy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1/31

Ref
When we were
in, R. E. E. C. 1
B

MAJORITY MEMBERS:
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 1/31

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

518 HOUSE ANNEX I

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6107

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

September 27, 1993

Mr. Bruce Lindsey
Assistant to the President
Office of Personnel
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Lindsey:

I write to express my strongest support for Mr. Joseph M. Sellers to serve as Chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. As the Chairman of the House Subcommittee with jurisdiction over the EEOC, I have a great deal of interest in the appointment of this critical position. I firmly believe that Mr. Sellers is the best candidate to bring much needed leadership to this troubled agency and restore public confidence in the equal employment laws of our Nation.

I know Mr. Sellers personally from his assistance rendered to this Subcommittee on legislation before it and from his appearance as a witness before this Subcommittee. During the summer, this Subcommittee began a series of hearings to systematically reexamine the EEOC, its operations and the services it delivers. Mr. Sellers delivered comprehensive testimony about the Commission that showed real insight into the agency's strengths and weaknesses and charted an invaluable course for its future. He demonstrated vision and an important appreciation of the many contributions that EEOC can make in a fiscally-frugal environment. He greatly impressed me as well as my colleagues on both sides of the aisle.

In addition, he has demonstrated strong leadership and stature within the civil rights community. He is the principal strategist for, and leader of, a coalition of 15 national civil rights and labor organizations which are advancing legislation in both chambers of Congress, including this Subcommittee, which would bring long-needed reform to protection against discrimination for federal workers. He has also served as consultant to

Mr. President
In a very pivotal civil rights position we have a vacuum and the chaos is escalating. Joe Sellers' long term experience makes him a perfect fit for the job. There are no other fit alternatives available. SOS, Mr. President, your staff is not listening.
Mary Jo News

Mr. Bruce Lindsey
September 27, 1993
Page 2

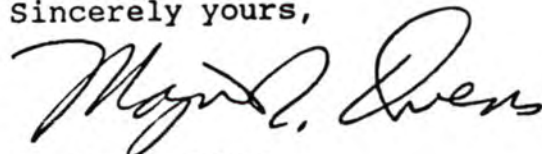
various Congressional committees on civil rights legislation, ranging from the Americans with Disabilities Act to the Civil Rights Act of 1991 to the Statehood for the District of Columbia Act. In short, he has rendered invaluable service to this Subcommittee as well as other Committees of the Congress and commands great respect within the civil rights and labor communities.

Finally, Mr. Sellers would bring to the Commission an important depth and breadth of experience and a demonstrated commitment to justice. For more than a decade, he has represented people with equal employment claims as with disability, national origin, religious and age discrimination claims. He has litigated more than 100 cases and has seen first hand the hardship that victims of discrimination face and the possibilities and limitations of the federal enforcement system. He has also trained and counseled employers about how to operate in accordance with the employment laws and has advised state human right agencies too.

Accordingly, Mr. Sellers is personally familiar with every aspect of our nations's equal employment laws and the federal and state agencies charged with their enforcement. He would bring great credibility to the EEOC as its steward and, I believe, he would enjoy strong bipartisan support in the Congress.

I urge his nomination.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Major R. Owens", written in a cursive style.

MAJOR R. OWENS
Chairperson

cc: Mr. John Emerson
Deputy Director
Office of Presidential Personnel

CHANGES TO D.D. BILL

In SEC. 101 (a) FINDINGS:

In (a)(1), after "individuals" add "from many racial and ethnic groups".

In (a)(2), after "experience and" delete "in no way diminishes" and insert "does not necessarily diminish".

In (a)(3), after "recreation" delete "institutionalization".

In (a)(6), after "assistance delete " provided in a coordinated and culturally competent manner by many agencies, professionals, advocates, community representatives, and others" and insert "delivered in a coordinated manner by a diverse workforce representing many agencies, professionals, advocates, and other members of the community"

In (a)(8), before "family members" add "informed".

After (a)(8), insert:

- (9) Ethnic and racial minorities tend to have a disproportionately high rate of infants with developmental disabilities, which is often associated with poverty and low-income.
- (10) Recent national surveys (such as The 1990 Reports: Forging a New Era) indicate that members of racial and ethnic minority groups remain underserved in every region of the Nation.
- (11) There is a conspicuous absence of racial and ethnic minority groups at all levels of decision-making in the field of developmental disabilities. Therefore, recruitment efforts at the level of pre-service, graduate education, continuing education and practice must focus on addressing the changing demography of the Nation and of the field.

Renumber (a)(9) as (a)(13). In (13)(B), after "homes" delete "and"; after "communities" insert "and other settings,".

The Washington Post Writers Group

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^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Monday, January 31, 1994, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-31-94

WASHINGTON--A ray of the purest comedy occasionally breaks through Russia's gloomy struggle to throw off, overnight, the bad habits of a thousand years of autocracy. Sometimes it is black comedy.

ABC News recently reported from Moscow that Russian prosecutors are preparing charges of criminal "warmongering" against Vladimir Zhirinovsky, loudmouthed sachem of the misnamed Liberal Democrats and, as unofficial leader of the opposition, the keenest thorn in Boris Yeltsin's side. Among other sources, the prosecutors are investigating Zhirinovsky's recent autobiography, where he says that Russian soldiers will "wash their boots in the Indian Ocean"--not, presumably, as tourists.

The apparently buffoonish Zhirinovsky won eight million votes against Yeltsin in Russia's presidential election. His party gained heavily in the recent parliamentary elections. He has made a specialty of threats, now amplified by political success, against Russia's neighbors--Ukraine, Poland, the Baltic republics, Germany. He has also called for the reconquest of Finland and Alaska--a worry about as remote as the possibility that Mexico may someday demand the return of Texas and California.

The tendency here, in short, has been to greet Zhirinovsky's chauvinistic muttering with laughter, although in the strictest sense of the term he is indeed a warmonger. The question is whether the new democratic Russia will make the mistake of dignifying this bluster with a criminal prosecution that has every potential for transforming Zhirinovsky into a political martyr.

Aside from Stalin's murders, which consumed Russian lives in the millions, the worst feature of the old Soviet Union was the Communist

(more)

Party's stifling regulation of opinion. Until Mikhail Gorbachev instituted "glasnost" in the mid-1980s, official repression invaded with a smothering hand every avenue of life, public and private--not only politics but art, literature, science, music, even sport. Dissent could get you sent to Siberia, or worse. Throughout the more than seven decades of Communist rule, the contrast between Russia and the democratic West widened, as mature democracies grew increasingly disinclined to prosecute opinion, however "subversive."

Most democracies today take something like the Holmes-Brandeis view: The expression of views, however noxious, must pose a "clear and present danger" to law and order itself to be criminalized.

If Russian prosecutors arraign Zhirinovsky for "warmongering," it will be of a piece with the tendency of Russian democrats to lapse, under stress, into anti-democratic habits--to rule by decree, to make up self-serving rules, even to call out the army to disband an unruly parliament.

The danger is that these vestiges of authoritarianism will become institutionalized. In a recent analysis of the new Russian constitution (which was ratified in the recent parliamentary election) Professor Dick Howard of the University of Virginia School of Law notes the new constitution's affirmation of "ideological diversity" and a multiparty system. So far, so good. He also notes that Article 29, purporting to protect free expression, makes an exception of "propaganda or agitation exciting social, racial, national or religious hatred and enmity." That is a loophole big enough for any number of prosecutions of dissident opinion, including Zhirinovsky's "warmongering."

In this and other ways, Russia's floundering democrats seem remarkably slow to study and heed our hard experience. The study of example and historical experience is important, for there is nothing instinctively appealing about the self-denying rules of liberal democracy. Even in the West, we came very gradually to accept political opposition as a valuable contribution to the processes of government rather than as a threat.

(more)

The prosecutors' case against Zhirinovsky for ``warmongering`` will bear watching, not only as a bizarre amusement but also as a test of democratic seriousness. Warmonger he may be, but if his mere opinions may be prosecuted whose may not be?

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 01/31/94

NOTE FOR: MARCIA HALE
KATIE MCGINTY

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

Information ☒

Action ☒

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TD S*
SUBJECT: Clean Water Act Reauthorization

The attached is a decision memo from Katie McGinty on Administration policy for reauthorization of the Clean Water Act.

The Senate Environmental and Public Works Committee is planning to begin marking up a clean water bill Wednesday. Accordingly, Katie would like EPA to be able to publicly announce our policy tomorrow.

There are two major features of the proposed plan: (i) to confirm the Administration's commitment to continue financial assistance to state and local governments for Clean Water Act requirements; and (ii) to strengthen existing programs to reduce pollution from surface runoff. This second feature involves both making changes to 1987 amendments that dealt with stormwater runoff in urban areas and properly addressing runoff in agricultural and rural areas for the first time.

Katie anticipates that the plan -- which reflects a consensus among relevant agencies, OMB and White House offices -- will be well received on the Hill and by the States and municipalities. The NEC is a little less sanguine about the reaction of municipalities. The plan will cost them much less than the 1987 amendments on stormwater runoff would have, but those amendments are so onerous that they have never been implemented. The new plan will be far better than the 1987 amendments, but it will force them to spend some real money.

The agriculture and business communities are likely to be split, appreciating some aspects of the plan but unhappy with others. USDA is supportive of the general approach, but concerned about its ability to deliver necessary technical assistance to farmers in a timely manner.

We have circulated the memo to relevant White House staff. CEA and NEC both concur, but emphasize their views that the response to the plan may be a bit more tempered than the memo might suggest. No one else has raised any objections.

Approve
announcement of plan

Disapprove

Discuss

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 JAN 31 P4:18

January 29, 1994

DECISION MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATIE MCGINTY *WKS FOR KLM*
SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATION POLICY FOR THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE
CLEAN WATER ACT

This memorandum seeks your approval of a set of Administration recommendations for the reauthorization of the Clean Water Act (CWA). These recommendations reflect a consensus among the agencies, OMB and the relevant White House offices. I would note that EPA has done a good job in drafting an original proposal, and the other agencies have cooperated very well throughout the process.

We would like to secure your approval of these recommendations in order to announce them publicly on Tuesday February 1st if at all possible. The Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works is planning to mark up a clean water bill the next day, and the Committee leadership is very anxious to receive them.

These recommendations tackle the largest remaining water quality problem -- agricultural and urban runoff -- while increasing program and regulatory flexibility, reducing existing mandates on state and local governments, and instituting user fees to help finance program costs.

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENTS

The State Clean Water Revolving Fund (SRF) authorization will expire this year, and both House and Senate Committees regard the CWA reauthorization as their top environmental priority and are moving rapidly on it. Senate mark-ups are scheduled to begin next week. The states, the cities and all the associated constituencies (environmentalists, contractors and labor) are anxious to renew the authorization this year.

II. BACKGROUND

Water pollution problems stem from two basic sources: discrete discharges from industry and municipal sewage treatment plants and runoff from urban and rural areas. Since its enactment in 1972, the Clean Water Act has done much to control water pollution from discrete sources. It is regarded as one of

the most successful of the major pollution control programs, and it enjoys strong public support. It has also been a costly program that has relied on across-the-board national standards for industrial and municipal sources and a sustained level of public and private investments which are now estimated at \$64 billion annually.

Nevertheless, forty percent of our lakes and rivers are still not suitable for fishing or swimming -- in large part because of agricultural and urban runoff. The 1987 amendments to the CWA sought to address a portion of this runoff problem by establishing major new control programs for stormwater runoff for urban areas and industrial facilities. They did so, however, in a manner that might impose major additional costs on the municipalities. At the same time, the CWA has never adequately addressed runoff problems from agricultural and rural areas.

Our recommendations seek to address both these problems by utilizing a more cost-effective approach to improving water quality. They would limit the reach of the 1987 stormwater control program to the most serious problems, and institute a stronger program for controlling agricultural and rural runoff. They increase the reliance on economic incentives for controlling pollution, and encourage community planning, flexibility, and targeting of further pollution reduction efforts by state and local officials.

III. SUBSTANCE OF THE POLICY

The proposed recommendations contain several major features.

A. *Renewal of Funding Commitment*

A renewal of the Administration's commitment to continue financial assistance to state and local governments for complying with clean water requirements.

These recommendations propose to continue Federal financial support at an authorized level of \$2 billion yearly. They will also broaden the types of activities eligible for assistance to increase state discretion for determining their own priorities.

B. *Strengthening Nonpoint Source Controls*

A strengthening of the existing programs to reduce surface runoff in urban and rural areas through improvements in the Federal and state "nonpoint" programs.

We propose a strengthening of the program to control agricultural runoff by a sensible approach that will focus on those areas that are having water quality problems and require that costs be a consideration in setting the required management practices. States will be required to develop a program using state or local authorities to institute "best management practices" on the major polluting activities, and they can make

use of basic Federal guidance or come up with their own approaches. We have also carefully crafted an enforcement regime that will provide ample time (seven to thirteen years) for implementing these management practices.

C. Reducing Costs and Targeting Problems

First, we recommend replacing the existing sweeping requirements for controls on stormwater runoff from urban areas and industrial facilities with a targeted and cost-effective approach limited to the most frequent runoff problems, rather than trying to control all runoff, regardless of volume. These reforms to the 1987 amendments will save cities and business \$19 billion annually, and they are strongly supported by the cities and states.

Second, we recommend codifying an agreement EPA negotiated with representatives of the cities and environmental groups to similarly reduce the cost of controlling overflows from collection systems that combine stormwater and sewers -- called combined sewer overflows -- that flush untreated wastewater into the receiving waters during storms.

Thirdly, our recommendations use a targeting approach in both your wetlands policy (that was released in August, 1993 and will be a part of the CWA legislation) and in an innovative "watershed" management program. The heart of watershed management is to examine all of the important sources of pollution in a particular watershed and then develop a mix of approaches to reduce those sources that will do the best job at least cost.

We recommend a watershed approach to the states on a voluntary basis and provide a series of incentives for them to adopt such an approach, including increased flexibility in the existing programs. We expect strong support for the approach.

D. Increasing Flexibility

These recommendations also seek to provide opportunities for municipalities and other sources to design innovative approaches to achieving water quality objectives. In addition to the flexibility built into the nonpoint program and the watershed program described above, we are also strongly encouraging the use of trading programs to increase flexibility and efficiencies. The heart of the trading approach is to allow private parties (or municipalities) to develop agreements among themselves on reducing pollution in a manner that achieves the required water quality goals at greater cost-savings. Our recommendations will seek to foster this approach through a limited program that produces guidance on designing and implementing these programs and tests out the workability of the approach without undercutting the basic framework of the existing statute.

IV. ANALYSIS

Water pollution ranks consistently among the public's top environmental concerns. A 1993 Times Mirror poll found that 77% of the public believes that government should do more to control such pollution.

The CWA is likely to be a widely appealing, popularly understood environmental achievement Congress can claim this year, and a positive Administration effort will register well. The reauthorization of the CWA is the top priority of both the House and Senate Public Works Committees, and they are pushing for an aggressive Administration effort.

A. *The Hill*

We have been working closely with the Senate committee over the last months and believe these recommendations closely parallel their bill -- although our recommendations are more favorable to the states because we provide increased state discretion in several areas. Senators Baucus, Graham and Chafee will welcome the recommendations. On the House side, Congressman Mineta is also preparing for mark-ups in early spring.

We expect the controversial debates on the reauthorization to focus on the wetlands package, where the whole question of private property and takings will occur. Also, the nonpoint program will be the focus of some debate -- depending on how the key constituencies respond to the proposals.

B. *The States*

We have also been working very closely with the states over the last several months and believe that these recommendations will be well received. Our recommendations significantly increase state flexibility, and the one new program initiative -- strengthening the nonpoint program -- is carefully crafted to ensure that it is both practical and feasible from a state perspective. In particular, the states will support:

- o authorizing \$2 billion annually for the state revolving fund and increasing the range of activities eligible for funding;
- o reducing the costs of complying with existing mandates (combined sewer overflows and stormwater discharges);
- o providing states greater flexibility and other regulatory and fiscal incentives to undertake voluntary watershed programs;

C. *The Municipalities*

The municipalities will strongly support the combined sewer overflow policy as well as our effort to limit the reach of the stormwater regulatory program. They will also support the greater flexibility of the watershed approach and the trading proposals.

D. The Environmental Community

The environmental community will be supportive of the toxics and nonpoint programs, but not overly enthusiastic with aspects of the wetlands package (already released in August, 1993). In particular, they will support:

- o strengthened programs to control nonpoint source pollution;
- o strengthened controls over the worst toxic pollutants;
- o stronger government and citizen enforcement of the CWA to encourage greater voluntary compliance;
- o implementing the combined sewer overflow policy.

E. Agriculture

The agricultural community will focus hard on the new nonpoint program, and some components of it will oppose any firm, enforceable program -- arguing that a strictly voluntary approach is preferable. USDA is strongly in support of and committed to our careful, phased in approach, but it is also wary of being able to deliver what they perceive as the necessary technical assistance to the farming community to ensure timely compliance.

In short, we believe we have struck the right balance on this delicate issue, but it will surely be a focus of the reauthorization.

Continuing controversy over the wetlands program and private property issues will occur as the CWA moves through Congress. Your wetlands package, although engendering some opposition within the environmental community, is generally well supported with the states and the Hill and will serve as the middle ground in the debate. The "takings and private property" issue, however, will arise in the wetlands debate. This will be hotly contested, but the strong base of support for wetlands reforms will likely enable us to weather it successfully.

F. The Business Community

The business community will strongly support our encouragement of pollution trading programs and our emphasis on pollution prevention as a technique for permit compliance. They will welcome our increased flexibility in controlling stormwater runoff for medium and small facilities, but they will nonetheless object to the remaining costs of compliance. They will also be wary of strengthened EPA authority to limit or ban the worst toxic chemicals, and cautious about the modest expansion in EPA's ability to regulate groundwater pollution where it is polluting surface waters.

V. COSTS AND BENEFITS

Calculation of the costs and benefits of implementing the recommendations depends on the starting point for the analysis.

One way is to ask how much will be spent in complying, without reference to what would otherwise be spent in the absence of the recommendations. Viewed in this manner, EPA estimates costs at approximately \$6 billion per year. Of particular concern, due to the unfunded mandates issue, is that costs for municipalities increase by \$2 billion per year.

As the current Clean Water Act requires several programs that could require astronomical costs for little benefit, another perspective is that our recommendations will lower private, State, and municipal costs by \$29 billion per year. The savings would be achieved by increasing flexibility, reducing legal risks and targeting controls to water quality problems. It is because of this potential for major cost savings that the cities and states will strongly support the stormwater and combined sewer overflow recommendations.

While we have been able to estimate the savings and costs of our proposal to reauthorize the CWA with some reliability, the same cannot be said about the benefits. We are certain that the nonpoint source provision will improve rural and urban water quality, but it is very difficult to quantify the value of those improvements. EPA has estimated the benefits to recreation and from improvements in urban areas alone could range from \$1 to \$6 billion annually, but these estimates are very uncertain.

We also recommend requiring EPA to conduct a thorough cost-benefit study of the entire clean water program. With improved information on costs and benefits, we can better determine if the benefits of the existing programs exceed their costs, and better select among alternative approaches to improving water quality, including the expanded use of market-based approaches.

VI. COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY

Congressional leaders would like to join Administrator Browner in a public release of our clean water policy on Tuesday, February 1st in a demonstration of the good cooperation we have had on this issue and the determination of both branches to enact a new clean water bill this year. We also plan to continue our regular consultations with the Governors, the cities and other constituencies as the process evolves.

VII. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that you authorize us to present this package as the Administration's initial position in the reauthorization of the Clean Water Act.

☒ Agree

☐ Disagree

☐ Need to
Discuss

Stockman Predicts Deficit Will Shrink Even Faster Than White House Plan

By DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Bill Clinton has converted at least one Republican: David Stockman, Ronald Reagan's budget director.

In what Mr. Stockman himself described as "a reversal from the gloom and doom I've last espoused," he is now predicting that the federal deficit will shrink even faster than the White House projects and is praising President Clinton's health-care plan.

Speaking at a forum sponsored by the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, Mr. Stockman projected that the deficit — which now amounts to about 3.4% of gross domestic product — will fall to about 1.5% by the end of the decade, primarily because the increase in health-care costs will slow.

Without dwelling on the specifics, Mr. Stockman praised the thrust of the Clinton health plan because it will "put in place mechanisms" to force Americans into purchasing pools that will force health-care providers to restrain health-care cost increases. "The fundamental plan is right," Mr. Stockman said. "When the basic direction of reality changes, you got to get with it."

When last heard from, Mr. Stockman

was attacking Republicans who said the deficit could be licked without tax increases. But now that Mr. Clinton and the Democrats in Congress have raised taxes, Mr. Stockman says there isn't any need for another round of deficit reduction. Others disagree, among them Robert Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office, and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen.

Mr. Stockman, now an investment banker, said Mr. Clinton owes his present situation to "a gigantic stroke of luck" and "modest . . . legislative heroism." The U.S. economy is benefiting from a significant improvement in productivity, the result of widespread corporate restructuring, he said. And federal spending on everything besides health care is flat or declining when measured against GDP, the value of the goods and services produced in the economy.

Mr. Stockman has traced the deficit problem to July 1981 when "a frenzy of excessive and imprudent tax-cutting . . . shattered the nation's fiscal stability." In his remarks Friday, he said, "We didn't know it at the time, but the 1980s amounted to an epochal race between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. over who could reach fiscal bankruptcy first. They got there first — by a hair."

Girls get the least amount of schooling in Chad, where adult women have an average of less than one month of education, according to the study. There are only 22 females for every 100 males attending high school there, the report said. And in Africa, the number of males enrolled in school is also quite low. In Mali, for instance, only 30% of boys were enrolled in grade school and 9% in high school.

France scored highest among the 112 countries on the group's education index, which rated countries on five measures. Nearly all females in France attend high school, and women have an average of more than 11 years of education.

American women had the highest number of years of schooling, an average of 12.4 years. But the U.S. ranked sixth on the study's overall female education index, in part because it had a slightly lower ratio of females to males in high school.

France, Canada, Finland, Norway and Belgium all were rated slightly higher than the U.S.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1994

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Foes' Troops Pouring In, Bosnia Says

By JOHN KIFNER
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jan. 30 — Yugoslavia and Croatia are pouring troops into Bosnia and Herzegovina, a clear violation of international protocols, according to a Bosnian intelligence report that seems to confirm accounts by United Nations officials and Yugoslav and foreign journalists.

The Croatian Government has mounted the "broadest mobilization" since the breakup of the old Yugoslav federation flared into warfare in 1991 and has sent more than half a dozen brigades into Bosnia, the intelligence report says.

Yugoslav Army forces that have been sighted in Bosnia include members of two elite airborne brigades and a heavy-weapons unit, the report added.

The troops are being sent to support Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat nationalist militias that are under growing pressure from the Bosnian Army, which is mainly Muslim-led.

Peace Efforts Defied

The introduction of outside armies into Bosnia directly defies international peacemaking efforts.

What is left of Yugoslavia — the republics of Serbia and Montenegro — is under international economic sanctions for its support of the Bosnian Serb nationalists. Croatia is not, but President Franjo Tudjman has been warned of sanctions by the United States.

Despite those warnings, Croatia has sent 12,000 recruits to the Prozor area over the last 15 days, the Bosnian intelligence report said, and is expected to send as many as 20,000 regular troops. The Prozor region is expected to be the staging point for a Croatian push to cut a corridor through an area under Bosnian Government control. The report said the attack is expected to spearhead by the Croatian Guards Brigade.

Croatia Sends Reinforcements

Five other Croatian brigades are reportedly en route to Gornji Vakuf where heavy fighting is under way, and the First Guard Brigade has been sent to Mostar, the report said. The Muslim section of Mostar has been under a bitter siege for months.

The Bosnian report said the Third Guard Brigade, in the Gornji Vakuf area, had been put under the personal command of the Croatian Minister of Defense, Gojko Susak, a wealthy émigré who most recently lived in Canada and leads the "Herzegovina lobby" in Zagreb, the Croatian capital.

In addition to the regular army troops, the Bosnian intelligence reports says, émigrés from the ethnically Croatian areas of western Herzegovina who once trained in Australia and South America to overthrow the old Yugoslav Communist Government have infiltrated into Bosnia.

Resisters Are Prosecuted

Human rights groups in Croatia have recently reported that army recruits are being ordered into Bosnia, and the Bosnian intelligence report said that courts in Zagreb had begun proceedings against people resisting being mobilized to fight in Bosnia.

The Yugoslav Army has also moved troops from Serbia to Bosnia in recent weeks, the Bosnian report said, in an account that dovetailed with published accounts in Vreme and other independent publications in Belgrade and accounts by witnesses, including United Nations officials.

These were some of the military movements described by Bosnian intelligence:



Prozor is expected to be a staging point for a Croatian drive.

On Jan. 15, 16 and 17, six military convoys crossed into Bosnia. They included 105-millimeter cannons, 122-millimeter and 155-millimeter howitzers and modified T-12 cannons.

On Jan. 15, 17 and 19, trains left Belgrade for Serb-controlled areas of Bosnia, with one train each day carrying 10 or more T-55 tanks.

Elements of two elite Yugoslav brigades, the 63rd Airborne and the 72d Airborne, have been stationed in the Serb-controlled Bijeljina area of Bosnia.

Yugoslav frogmen capable of underwater engineering operations and commandos who work behind enemy lines have been sent into the northeastern section of Bosnia. The underwater teams are apparently intended to mount an action in Modricko Lake, near the Muslim-held city of Tuzla, where Serbian gunners in the hills have kept the airport closed.

At a briefing Friday on the fighting in Bosnia, a senior United Nations officer said the peacekeeping command had "no conclusive evidence of unit level" involvement of the Yugoslav Army in Bosnia. But the officer, a member of the United Nations Protection Force, speaking at the headquarters in Zagreb, said there was no doubt that individual Yugoslav Army soldiers had gone to fight on the side of the Serbs.

There is also clear evidence, the officer said, that thousands of Croatian Army soldiers had been sent into Bosnia.

Removal of Insignia

But the officer noted the problems in determining the origin of the soldiers in Bosnia. "You cannot tell the difference if they were to remove all their insignia" the officer said, because many of the Bosnian Serb fighters had been part of the Yugoslav Army before the breakup of the Yugoslavia and thus used the same uniforms, equipment and weapons.

Yugoslavia and Croatia are said to commit regular forces.

"That's the point," the officer said. "We just don't know. We have no evidence."

In contrast, the officer said, Croatian Army soldiers sent to Bosnia to support the breakaway Croatian Defense Force wear distinctive shoulder patches.

There have been numerous reports in the past of Yugoslav Army soldiers fighting in Bosnia in unmarked uniforms.

Bridge Over the Drina

Despite the officer's statement that identifying Yugoslav Army forces was difficult, The Associated Press last week quoted a Norwegian officer, Capt. Jantura Strandus, as saying, "Just stand in Zvornik and watch the Yugoslav Army cross over." Zvornik, 70 miles southwest of Belgrade, where a bridge crosses the Drina River, is a main entry point from Serbia into the Serb-controlled area of Bosnia. From Zvornik, a road lined with burned-out Muslim villages leads to Sarajevo.

The A.P. has also reported that two reporters traveling through Bosnia after a failed Serbian offensive near Olovo several weeks ago saw a column of five Yugoslav Army armored personnel carriers on the Zvornik road. The vehicles clearly displayed Yugoslav military license plates and the soldiers wore Yugoslav Army uniforms and insignia.