

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4/30/94

NOTE FOR: Mark, DeeDee

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:

~~NO RESPONSE~~
~~these are the letters you requested~~
~~_____e.~~

Mark B -
Draft Reply
and back to PC

G. G. G. / G. G. G. / D. D. D.

need to reply
Fyl -
co: pen. file B.

Gene Gibbons 3/1/94 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/30/94

Dear Mr. President,

You made me very proud to be
an American today with your follow-up
in the Singapore case. I asked the question
because it seemed to me that a fellow
citizen faced an injustice in a foreign
land, and I thought that merely
bringing it to your attention publicly
would be enough to present it. With

all your responsibilities and headaches,
I was surprised and impressed when
you took it further, and I'm sure
your words will lead authorities in
Singapore to spare the rod. I only
hope the young man (who sounds like
he needs a swift kick in the pants
but not a caning) realizes how
lucky he is to be from a country
whose leader cares!

Sincerely,
Sam Gibbons

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 4/29

THE WHITE HOUSE

MR. PRESIDENT -

RAHN - AND I THOUGHT YOU'D LIKE
TO SEE THE ATTACHED ASSAULT
WEAPONS BOOKLET AND COVER LETTER.

IT'S GOING TO EDITORIAL BOARDS OF
NEWSPAPERS IN ABOUT 75 TARGETED
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

JONATHAN PRINCE

Good!

4-27-94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 25, 1994

Dear Editor:

As you know, enactment of a crime bill is just weeks away. The House and Senate have both passed comprehensive bills that will put more police on the street, tougher penalties on the books, and better prevention in our communities.

But a vital component of this crime package will face a critical test in the next two weeks: the House of Representatives will consider a ban on assault weapons.

The Senate version of the crime bill contains the Feinstein-DeConcini provision to ban 19 specific types of these deadly weapons. Every major law enforcement organization in America supports the ban, but strong political pressure has kept that ban out of the House version. Instead, the House is considering the assault weapons ban in a separate measure; the proposal will face a vote on the floor within the next two weeks.

The gun lobby argues that an assault weapons ban infringes on the right of hunters and sportsmen to own guns. In fact, the Senate proposal specifically safeguards those rights -- by explicitly protecting almost 700 hunting and recreational rifles from the ban.

The 19 types of weapons we want to ban are weapons of war and mass destruction -- they were created for the battlefield and have no place on our streets. That's why I've sent you the enclosed profiles of these assault weapons, along with the long list of rifles protected by the proposal.

I hope you find this information useful.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Assault Weapons Profile



**United States
Department of the Treasury**

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms

April 1994

April 28, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JONATHAN PRINCE

SUBJECT: Assault Weapons -- Letter to sportsmen

You asked to see this letter for final approval. It is attached.

In addition to Rahm and George (who I don't suppose satisfy your desire to have it vetted by hunters), the letter has been read and approved by Beryl Anthony, Bill Burton, Bill Kennedy, and Secretary Bentsen. After you read it, I think we will have just about exhausted our in-house supply of hunters...

Sorry to bother you with this tonight, but in order to have it printed in time to make a difference, we need a sign-off by 10:00 am tomorrow morning. And obviously, please let me know if you have any questions.

Thanks a lot.

May 2, 1994

Dear Hunters and Sportsmen:

I have been a hunter since I was 12. ~~I love hunting. Down South,~~ Where I come from, it's a way of life. And I will not allow the rights of hunters and sportsmen to be infringed upon.

But I know the difference between a firearm used for hunting and target shooting and a weapon designed to kill people. The 19 specific types of assault weapons that would be banned by the proposal currently being considered in Congress have no place on a deer hunt, in a duck blind, or on a target range -- and they certainly don't belong on our streets, in our neighborhoods, or on our schoolyards.

But they are on our streets, in our neighborhoods, and on our schoolyards -- they're the weapons of choice for drug dealers, gangs, and terrorists. And every year they kill children and police officers, mothers and fathers.

Our Crime Bill will make a big difference in stopping the violence in our neighborhoods, by putting 100,000 new police officers on the streets, and tough penalties like three-strikes-you're-out on the books. But we've got to keep Uzis and Street Sweepers out of the hands of criminals. Every major police organization wants us to -- and nearly 80% of the American people feel that way too.

High-paid lobbyists argue that the assault weapons ban will infringe on our right, as hunters and sportsmen, to own guns. But what they don't tell you is that the proposal I support specifically safeguards hunter's rights. It explicitly protects more than 650 hunting and recreational rifles from the ban.

So that's why I'm writing you for your help. Call your representatives, and tell them that you know the difference between a hunting rifle and a weapon that was designed for the battlefield. Tell them you support the proposed ban on assault weapons -- because it protects your rights and it doesn't protect criminals.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE 4.28.94
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT 24

FROM: PAUL TOBACK *PT*

THROUGH: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO YOUR INQUIRY
ABOUT DONORS LISTED IN
THE WASHINGTON POST
ARTICLE.

Attached is Joan Baggett's
response to your inquiry about
whether the donors listed in the
Washington Post article had been
invited to any White House or DNC
events. Everyone mentioned in the
article has been invited at least
once to either a White House or a
DNC event.

at the White House 2
So OK - Mack
showed her up

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
4. 28. 94

April 26, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

From: Joan N. Baggett

Subject: Soft Money Donors

With regard to the donors that were listed in the Washington Post, the attached grid lists the White House events to which these individuals have been invited. We are also working on a more extensive list of big donors which we should have ready sometime next week.

1993 DNC Soft Money Donors (above \$50,000)

White House Social Event Invitations and Responses

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
Beneficial Management Corporation Finn Casperson, CEO James H. Gilliam, Executive VP Gary Perkinson, VP Gov't Relations	Washington, DC	\$265,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Private Dinner, 9/8 Luncheon, 7/28 Private Dinner, 6/16 Performance, 6/18 Breakfast, 3/15 Reception, 9/17 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 6/9	Accept/Accept Regret/Regret Regret/Regret Accept Accept/Regret Accept Accept/Accept Regret/Regret Regret Accept ? Accept/Accept Accept	5/93 Victory Retreat	Regret Regret
Carl N. Lindner	Cincinnati, OH	\$250,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner, 1/20 ?, 1/10 Reception, 1/3	Accept/Regret Accept Accept Accept/Regret	Priv. meeting with VP	Accept
Marvin Davis	Los Angeles, CA	\$210,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19	Regret/Regret		
William S. Lerach	San Diego, CA	\$150,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13 Reception, 5/21 Breakfast, 3/15	Regret Accept/Accept ? Accept Accept Regret	Victory Retreat, 5/93 Newport Retreat, 8/93 YLs Breakfast w/ DW Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept Regret Regret Regret

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
National Education Association Keith Geiger, President	Washington, DC	\$148,450	Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 9/1 Reception, 10/21 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Ceremony, 5/20 Reception, 4/30 Reception, 4/1	Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept		
Kenneth Melley, Assoc. Exec. Director			Reception, 4/19 Ceremony, 4/20 Private Dinner, 11/23 Reception, 9/1 Ceremony, 7/22 Reception, 4/20 Reception, 4/30	? Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept		
Mickey Ibarra, Government Relations (plus other staff members listed)			Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 9/22 Reception, 10/13 Reception, 5/21 Reception, 4/30	Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept		

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
AFSCME Gerald W. McEntee, President	Washington, DC	\$130,650	Ceremony, 4/20 Private Dinner, 3/17 Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner, 1/5 Private Dinner, 12/8 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 9/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Reception, 9/22 Reception, 6/16 Private Dinner, 5/19 Meeting, 5/4 Ceremony, 5/20 Reception, 4/1 Meeting, 3/29 Breakfast, 3/15	Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Regret/Regret Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept ?	VP Dinner, 6/93 Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept Regret
Frank Cowan (Plus other staff members listed)			Ceremony, 9/23 Reception, 9/17 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 ?, 9/10 Private Dinner, 6/16	Accept Accept Regret/Regret ? Accept/Accept Accept		
Ernst & Young D. Jeffrey Hirshberg, Director of Gov. Relations	Washington, DC	\$115,300	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 9/22 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13 Jazz Festival, 6/18 Reception, 5/21	Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept	Decatur Hse. Lunch, 6/93 YL Breakfast, 6/93 Marine One Lift Off Trustee Retreat, 10/93 Kennedy Center Tickets	Accept Regret Regret Accept Regret
Philip Laskawy			MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13 Reception, 5/21	Accept Accept		
Integrated Health Services Dr. Robert N. Elkins, Chairman, President and CEO	Owings Mills, MD	\$115,000	Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Luncheon, 9/8 Meeting, 3/10	? Accept/Accept Accept Accept		

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
William F. Rollnick	Miami	\$109,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner, 4/11 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 State Luncheon, 11/12 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Private Dinner, 6/22 MidEast Peace Singing Ceremony, 9/13 Private Dinner, 6/16 Reception, 5/21 Reception, 4/21 Breakfast, 3/15	Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Regret Accept/Accept	HRC Recpt. in NYC, 9/93 Trustee Retreat, 10/93 HRC Recpt. in NYC, 11/93	Accept Regret Regret
Shorenstein Company Walter Shorenstein, Chairman	San Francisco, CA	\$107,785	Ceremony, 4/20 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Ceremony, 4/13 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Private Dinner, 6/22 Reception, 5/21 Reception, 4/21 Breakfast, 3/15	Accept Accept/Regret Regret Accept/Regret ? Accept Accept?Regret Regret Accept Regret	Newport Retreat, 8/93 POTUS Recpt. in San Jose POUTS Recpt. in LA	Regret Accept Accept
William A. Brandt, Jr.	Fernandina Beach, FL	\$105,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner, 12/8 Reception, 10/14	Regret/Accept Accept Accept	Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept
Denise Rich	New York	\$105,000			Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
United Steelworkers of America Lynn Williams, President	Washington, DC	\$100,150	Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Ceremony and Reception, 1/13 Reception, 9/1 Reception, 10/14 Meeting, 5/4 Reception, 4/1	Accept Regret/Regret Accept Accept/Accept Regret/Regret Accept Accept		
Edgar Ball, Secretary Treasurer			Reception, 9/1	Accept/Accept		
Sam Dawson, Political Director			Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Breakfast, 3/15	Accept Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Accept/Regret		
Leon Lynch, VP, Human Affairs			Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/13 Reception, 9/15	Accept Accept Accept		
Food 4 Less Supermarkets Ron Burkle, Chairman and CEO	La Habra, CA	\$100,000	Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Luncheon, 2/18 Reception, 1/17 Private Dinner (Dinner), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Reception, 9/22 Private Dinner, 10/15 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13 Jazz Festival, 6/18 Reception, 4/21 Meeting, 3/29 Breakfast, 3/15 Meeting, 2/11	? Accept/Regret Accept Accept Regret Accept/Regret Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Regret Regret/Regret Accept Regret Accept	Newport Retreat, 7/93 Trustee Retreat, 10/93 Movie w/ POTUS, 10/93	Regret Accept Accept

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
David Geffen	Los Angeles, CA	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 State Luncheon, 11/12 Ceremony, 10/7 Reception, 10/14 Performance and Reception, 9/9 Private Dinner, 6/21 Breakfast, 3/15	Regret Regret Regret Regret Regret Regret Accept Regret		
Jeffrey Katzenberg	Burbank, CA	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner, 10/25 Reception, 10/14	Regret Regret/Regret Regret		
Mashantucket Pequot Tribe Richard Hayward	Ledyard, CT	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception (10/14)	Regret Accept/Accept ?	Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept
Peter W. May	New York	\$100,000	Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 State Luncheon, 11/12 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 9/29 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13 Private Dinner, 6/16 Jazz Festival, 6/18 Reception, 4/21 Breakfast, 3/15	? Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Regret ? ? Accept Regret/Regret Regret/Regret Regret Regret	Newport Retreat, 5/93 HRC Recpt. in NYC, 9/93 YL Breakfast w/ DW Trustee Retreat, 10/93 HRC Recpt. in NYC, 11/93	Regret Accept Regret Regret Accept
Peter Morton	Los Angeles, CA	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner, 11/23 Reception, 10/14 Private Dinner, 9/10 Reception, 4/21 Meeting, 3/29 Breakfast, 3/15	Regret/Regret Regret/Regret ? Accept/Accept Regret/Regret Accept Regret	Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Regret
Milan Panic	Costa Mesa, CA	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19	Accept/Accept		

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
Alfred R. Pierce	Camden, NJ	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14	Accept/Accept Accept Regret		
Ann E. Sheffer	Westport, CT	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 10/7 Private Dinner, 10/7 Breakfast, 3/15	Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept Regret	Newport Retreat, 8/93 YL Breakfast with DW Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept Accept Accept
Sidney J. Sheinberg	Los Angeles	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Private Dinner, 9/14	Regret/Regret Regret Regret Accept/Accept		
Steven Spielberg	Los Angeles	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Private Dinner, 9/14 Reception, 4/1	Regret/Regret Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Accept/Accept		
Steven E. Tisch	Culver City, CA	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1	Regret Regret		
Dirk Ziff	New York	\$100,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19	Accept		
Archer Daniels Midland Co. Dwayne Andreas (see personal listing below)	Decatur, IL	\$95,000				
Peter Norton	Santa Monica, CA	\$95,000	Private Dinner, 10/25 Reception, 10/14 Private Dinner, 10/1 Breakfast, 3/15	Regret Regret/Regret Regret/Regret Regret		
Walter Kaye	New York	\$85,258	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Ceremony, 4/13 Reception, 10/14 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13	Accept/Accept Regret Accept Accept	Trustee Retreat, 10/93 Brkfst w/Gephardt, 9/93	Accept Accept

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
Service Employees International Union John Sweeney	Washington, DC	\$84,500	Private Dinner, 3/17 Ceremony, 3/9 Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Ceremony and Reception, 11/30 Reception, 9/1 Ceremony, 9/21 Reception, 9/22 Reception, 5/21 Meeting, 5/4 Reception, 4/1 Meeting, 3/29 Breakfast, 3/15	Accept/Accept Accept Accept Regret/Regret Regret Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept		
Nancy Donaldson (plus other staff members listed)			Ceremony, 3/9 Ceremony, 9/23 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 7/15 Meeting, 3/29	Accept Accept Accept Accept ?		
Bell Atlantic Ray Smith, CEO (plus other staff members listed)	Washington, DC	\$76,000	Reception, 1/17 Ceremony, 7/22	Accept Accept		
American Airlines Robert L. Crandall, President and Chairman	Washington, DC	\$75,000	Luncheon, 2/18 Private Dinner, 9/8 Luncheon, 5/26 Reception, 5/21	Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept		
Ed Faberman (plus other staff members listed)			Ceremony, 4/20 Ceremony, 4/13 Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/30 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 9/22 Performance, 6/18 Reception, 5/21	Accept Regret Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept		

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
Anheuser-Busch August A. Busch, C.O.B. and President Rich Keating	Washington, DC	\$71,000	Luncheon, 2/18 Private Dinner, 12/17 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 8/10 Ceremony, 5/20 Performance, 6/18 Reception, 5/21 Meeting, 3/23 Meeting, 3/29 Breakfast, 3/15 Meeting, 2/11	Accept Regret Accept/Regret Accept/Accept Accept Accept Regret Accept Accept Accept Regret Accept		
American Postal Workers Moe Biller, President (plus other staff members listed)	Washington, DC	\$70,000	Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 9/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 10/6 Meeting, 5/4	Accept Regret/Regret Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept		
Dennis Bakke	Arlington, VA	\$70,000	Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Reception, 1/5 Private Dinner, 12/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Private Dinner, 6/10 Meeting, 3/10	? Accept/Regret Regret/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept	YL Breakfast with DW Trustee Breakfast, 10/93 Kennedy Cntr Tix, 11/93	Regret Accept Regret
MCI Communications Corporation Bert Roberts, Jr., Chairman and CEO Gerald Kovach (plus other staff members listed)	Washington, DC	\$70,000	Ceremony, 3/9 Performance and Reception, 9/9 Luncheon, 6/16 Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Reception, 10/13 Ceremony, 7/22 Meeting, 2/11	Accept Accept/Accept Accept ? Accept Accept Accept Accept		

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
General Electric Company John Welch, Jr., CEO Robert Barrie, Vice President, Government Affairs (plus other staff members listed)	Washington, DC	\$61,000	Performance and Reception, 9/9 Private Dinner, 6/2 Luncheon, 5/26 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/23 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Ceremony, 9/14 Private Dinner, 1/5 Private Dinner, 12/1 ?, 11/2 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 9/22 Reception, 6/20 Performance, 6/18 Reception, 5/21 Breakfast, 3/15 Ceremony, 3/5 Meeting, 2/11	Regret/Regret Regret/Regret Accept Accept Accept Regret Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept Accept		
American Greetings Morry Weiss, CEO	Cleveland	\$58,117				
Dwayne O. Andreas & D. Inas Andreas	Miami Shores, FL	\$55,000	Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Luncheon, 12/18 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 Reception, 10/14 Ceremony, 9/21 Luncheon, 7/28 Private Dinner, 6/3 Luncheon, 6/23 Meeting, 2/11	Regret/Regret Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept Accept	Victory Retreat, 5/93 VP Dinner, 6/93 Decatur Hs. Lunch, 6/93 Newport Retreat, 8/93 YL Breakfast with DW Trustee Retreat, 10/93 Kennedy Cntr Tix, 11/93	Accept Accept Accept Accept Regret Accept Regret

NAME/ORGANIZATION	HOME STATE	\$	White House Event	RSVP/ Spouse RSVP	DNC Event	RSVP
Friedkin Industries Incorporated Monte Friedkin	Boca Raton, FL	\$50,550	Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Private Dinner, 12/16 Private Dinner (Trustees), 12/1 State Luncheon, 11/12 Reception, 10/14 Private Dinner, 10/7 Private Dinner, 10/1 MidEast Peace Signing Ceremony, 9/13 Reception, 4/21 Breakfast, 3/15	Regret/Regret Accept Accept/Accept Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Regret Accept	Decatur Hs. Lunch, 6/93 Newport Retreat, 8/93 POTUS Recpt Miami, 5/93 Trustee Retreat, 10/93	Accept Accept Accept Accept
Chevron Corporation Kenneth Derr, Chairman and CEO Phil Cavanaugh (plus other staff members listed)	Washington, DC	\$50,150	Ceremony, 10/19 Private Dinner, 9/8 Ceremony, 6/14 Reception, 4/19 Private Dinner (Trustees), 4/19 Reception, 10/14 Reception, 9/22 Ceremony, 6/14 Meeting, 3/29	Accept Regret/Regret Accept Accept/Accept Accept/Accept ? Accept Accept Accept		

1993 SOFT MONEY: BY THE NUMBERS

THE HOLLYWOOD CONNECTION Producers, actors and actresses were among big contributors to the Democrats.



David Geffen
PRODUCER
\$100,000



Jeffrey Katzenberg
WALT DISNEY
\$100,000



Steven Spielberg
DIRECTOR
\$100,000



Barbra Streisand
ACTRESS/SINGER
\$25,000



Chevy Chase
ACTOR
\$25,000

Democratic National Committee (CONTRIBUTIONS ABOVE \$50,000)

Beneficial Management Corp.	Finance	Washington	\$265,000
Lindner, Carl N.	CEO, American Financial Corp.	Cincinnati	250,000
Davis, Marvin	CEO, the Davis Cos. (Finance)	Los Angeles	210,000
Lerach, William S.	Lawyer, Milberg, Weiss, et al.	San Diego	150,000
National Education Association	Labor	Washington	148,450
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees	Labor	Washington	130,650
Ernst & Young	Professional	Washington	115,300
Integrated Health Services Inc.	Health	Owings Mills, Md.	115,000
Rollnick, William D.	Finance	Miami	109,000
Shorenstein Co.	Real estate	San Francisco	107,785
Rich, Denise	President, Zarem Inc.	New York	105,000
United Steelworkers of America	Labor	Washington	100,150
Food 4 Less Supermarkets	Food products	La Habra, Calif.	100,000
Geffen, David	Producer	Los Angeles	100,000
Katzenberg, Jeffrey	Chairman, Walt Disney Studios	Burbank, Calif.	100,000
Mashantucket Pequot Tribe	Ideological	Ledyard, Conn.	100,000
May, Peter W.	President, Triangle Industries (investment)	New York	100,000
Morton, Peter	Owner, Hard Rock America (restaurant)	Los Angeles	100,000
Panic, Milan	President, ICN Pharmaceuticals	Costa Mesa, Calif.	100,000
Pierce, Alfred R.	Lawyer	Camden, N.J.	100,000
Sheffer, Ann E.	Consultant	Westport, Conn.	100,000
Sheinberg, Sidney J.	President, MCA	Los Angeles	100,000
Spielberg, Steven	Film producer/director	Los Angeles	100,000
Tisch, Steven E.	Film producer	Culver City, Calif.	100,000
Ziff, Dirk	Publisher, Ziff Communications	New York	100,000
Archer Daniels Midland Co.	Agriculture	Decatur, Ill.	95,000
Norton, Peter	Computer/electronics	Santa Monica, Calif.	95,000
Kaye, Walter	President, Kaye Insurance	New York	85,258
Service Employees International Union	Labor	Washington	84,500
Bell Atlantic	Communications	Washington	76,000
American Airlines	Airlines	Washington	75,000
Anheuser-Busch	Food/liquor	Washington	71,000
American Postal Workers (PAC)	Labor	Washington	70,000
Bakke, Dennis	CEO, Applied Energy Services	Arlington, Va.	70,000
MCI Communications Corp.	Communications	Washington	66,000
Brandt, William A., Jr.	President, Development Special	Fernandina Beach, Fla.	65,000
General Electric Co.	Defense contractor, manufacturing	Washington	61,000
American Greetings	Greeting cards	Cleveland	58,117
Andreas, D. Inez	Chairman of the board, Barry University	Miami Shores, Fla.	55,000
Friedkin Industries Inc.	General manufacturing	Boca Raton, Fla.	50,550
Chevron Corp.	Energy	Washington	50,150

Republican National Committee (CONTRIBUTIONS ABOVE \$50,000)

National Rifle Association	Political Victory Fund	Washington	\$275,000
Fertitta, Frank J. Jr.	Chairman, Station Casinos Inc.	Las Vegas	230,000
Golden Nugget	Casino	Las Vegas	230,000
Integrated Control System	Professional	Punta Gorda, Fla.	101,000
Flaherty, William E.	Chairman/CEO, Horsehead Industries Inc.	New York	100,000
Integrated Health Service Inc.	Health	Owings Mills, Md.	100,000
Malek, Frederic V.	Finance	McLean, Va.	100,000
Ernst & Young	Professional	Rutherford, N.J.	85,000
Marnell Corrao Associates	Architectural, general contracting firm	Las Vegas	80,000
Fogg, Joseph G. III	Managing director, Morgan Stanley & Co.	Syosset, N.Y.	75,000
Williams, Carl M.	CEO, Televant Inc. (cable firm)	Denver	60,000
Bessemer Trust Co.	Money management firm	New York	55,000

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission

Compiled by Lucy Shackelford

THE WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1994

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 10 a.m.
Committees:
Budget—10 a.m. Work Reemployment Act.
Labor Sec. Robert B. Reich. 608 Dirksen

Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Appropriations—10 a.m./1:30 p.m. Interior & related agencies subc. FY95 approps. for energy programs under its jurisdiction. 8-308 RHOB.

resources & intergovt relations subc.
Markup to require that payments for victims of Nazi persecution be disregarded in determining eligibility for federal benefits. 2247 RHOB.

THE WASHINGTON POST

From the Office of the Chief of Staff

Paul Toback, Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff

Phone: 202/456-6798

Fax: 202/456-2464

Date: 4/14/97 Response needed by: _____

	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
Joan Baggett	X		DeeDee Myers		
Lee Brown			Bernie Nussbaum		
Rahm Emanuel			Leon Panetta		
Mark Gearan			John Podesta		
David Gergen			Jack Quinn		
Jack Gibbons			Carol Rasco		
Pat Griffin			Bob Rubin		
Marcia Hale			Ricki Seidman		
Alexis Herman			George Stephanopoulos		
Nancy Hernreich			Laura D'Andrea Tyson		
Harold Ickes			Christine Varney		
Mickey Kantor			David Watkins		
Phil Lader			Maggie Williams		
Tony Lake					
Bruce Linsey					
Ira Magaziner					
Katie McGinty					

Remarks:

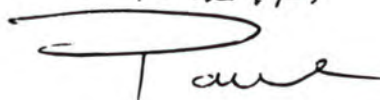
Joan,

Mack asked if you had a chance to look into this matter for him and the President. Please let me

Response:

know

Thanks



From the Office of the Chief of Staff

Paul Toback, Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff

Phone: 202/456-6798

Fax: 202/456-2464

Date: 3/3/94

Response needed by: _____

	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
Joan Baggett	X		DeeDee Myers		
Lee Brown			Bernie Nussbaum		
Rahm Emanuel			Leon Panetta		
Mark Gearan			John Podesta		
David Gergen			Jack Quinn		
Jack Gibbons			Carol Rasco		
Pat Griffin			Bob Rubin		
Marcia Hale			Ricki Seidman		
Alexis Herman			George Stephanopoulos		
Nancy Hernreich			Laura D'Andrea Tyson		
Harold Ickes			Christine Varney		
Mickey Kantor			David Watkins		
Phil Lader			Maggie Williams		
Tony Lake					
Bruce Linsey					
Ira Magaziner					
Katie McGinty					

Remarks:

Joan,

The President asked whether all those people have been invited to the White House. Could you check and let Mack know what you find?

Thanks

[Signature]

Response:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4128192

94 APR 27 P6:49

April 27, 1994

Memorandum for the President

From: Ricki Seidman

Subject: Commencements

In the memo you sent back to me you expressed an interest in the Morehouse commencement. Zell Miller has sent word to us asking you not to attend this commencement due to his political situation. Therefore, though for your politics I think it would be terrific, I do not recommend it.



4/27/94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

94 APR 25 P6:22
April 25, 1994INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
SUSAN BROPHY

SUBJECT:

Suggested Talking Points for use in Call to Sen.
James Exon

Attached are suggested talking points for your call to Sen. James Exon asking him to limit his objections as we work in conference to support the House Bill and oppose the Exon-Grassley provisions of the Senate bill.

Attachment

Tab A Talking Points

He's mad
overblowing - trying
to cut - how many
defeat - how many
6/2 OK -
want to see
election for -

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
SENATOR JAMES EXON

- Jim, I wanted to talk to you about your amendment to the Budget Resolution that calls for unallocated cuts in discretionary spending.
- I know you care a great deal about deficit reductions, and so do I.
- My budget already is forcing some extremely difficult choices and additional cuts at this time pose a direct threat to two vulnerable areas essential to our future -- defense and our long term investment program.
- Neither of these can afford additional cuts. I'm especially worried about defense. If a significant share of these cuts lands on defense, it will be impossible to fund adequately the requirements of our Bottom-Up Review. We cannot afford to have a hollow force; I want to do everything possible to preserve readiness.
- I want you to know that I will be working this hard with the conferees.
- I know you have a lot invested here and I know a lot of your colleagues are feeling pressure on this.
- I would still like to ask you to give this some further consideration and as the conference advances. I would appreciate anything you could do towards letting the conferees move to the House bill, or at least be neutral on it.
- We're beginning to show some substantial movement toward reducing the deficit while continuing stable, non-inflationary economic growth.
- Jim, I think we are pushing this as far as we can right now consistent with a strong defense; that is why we are working so hard to come out with the House numbers.
- I hope you can find a way to help me on this.

They → son of this is just good -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/27/94

A STRATEGY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

Senator Max Baucus (D-MT)

White Paper

April 19, 1994

I.

INTRODUCTION

This document examines American policy on human rights in China, reviewing our efforts to date, and then making some policy suggestions for the future.

I begin with three basic assumptions. First, promoting human rights in China is an important goal, both for humanitarian reasons and because a government that respects human rights will be more stable, more legitimate, and more willing to cooperate on other issues. Second, we accomplish more by engagement with China via diplomacy, trade and other citizen exchange than by pulling back. And third, China's economic reform is forcing beneficial change in other areas, and we should avoid acts that could reverse it.

Given these assumptions, I consider the Clinton Administration's emphasis on human rights appropriate, but believe relying on conditions on China's Most Favored Nation tariff status threatens to do more harm than good.

Revoking China's MFN status would disengage us from China and weaken our influence on human rights. It would endanger our priorities in trade, security and environmental protection. And it is virtually the only American act that could derail China's economic reforms and harm long-term prospect for human rights. Many advocates of human rights and democracy (for example student leader Wang Dan and Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten) make the same point.

For a variety of historical (rather than policy) reasons, MFN conditions were inevitable last spring. The Executive Order avoided a permanent law, and made no unrealistic demands for transformation of China. It was the best option at the time, and we should push for its fulfillment. But if China complies with it, we should not renew it or impose other new conditions.

Instead, in future we should see trade and human rights as complementary rather than in conflict. By enriching Chinese people and offering them opportunities beyond government control, trade improves their lives and gives them more power to decide their future. In the long run, it will help create a middle class capable of winning political reform. And in the short run, the more our contact with China grows, the more light will shine on human rights issues and the more we will deter abuses.

II.

STATUS OF EXECUTIVE ORDER CONDITIONS

The Executive Order's requirements are commonly, but mistakenly, referred to as "significant progress on human rights." This phrase implies a fundamental change in Chinese society and government over the course of a year. Had we actually demanded this of China, we would have no hope of renewing MFN status this June. But the Executive Order asks no such

2 thing. Rather, it asks for specific moves to address seven core concerns. A close examination of each condition shows that we are closer to our goal than one might think.

The Order has two sections. The first section contains two "full compliance" provisions. In order to recommend extending MFN status for China, the Secretary of State must find that:

- "extension [of MFN] will substantially promote the freedom of emigration objectives of [the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the 1974 Trade] Act," and that
- "China is complying with the 1992 bilateral agreement between the United States and China concerning prison labor."

The second section is a group of five conditions, on which China must make "overall, significant progress." They are:

- "taking steps to begin adhering to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;"
- "releasing and providing an acceptable accounting for Chinese citizens imprisoned or detained for the nonviolent expression of their political and religious beliefs, including such expression of beliefs in connection with the Democracy Wall and Tiananmen Square movements;"
- "ensuring humane treatment of prisoners, such as by allowing access to prisons by international humanitarian and human rights organizations;"
- "protecting Tibet's distinctive religious and cultural heritage;" and
- "permitting international radio and television broadcasts into China."

As we prepare for a final review of China's action on these conditions, we must keep a cool head, avoid unnecessary rhetoric, and focus on the conditions in the Executive Order rather than "atmospherics" of high-level visits or the fact that China has not become a different country over the course of the year. We must remember what we asked for last May, avoid "moving the goal posts," and refuse to be diverted from the specific requirements of the Order.

Approximately six weeks remain before a decision on China's performance. But as of today, I would review China's actions on the seven conditions as follows:

First Section:

- 1) Emigration -- China allows substantially free emigration. About ten cases remain unresolved.

2) Prison Labor -- Treasury Secretary Bentsen negotiated a new implementing procedure for prison labor inspections during his visit to Beijing in February, which was signed during Secretary of State Christopher's visit. It is not yet possible to judge China's compliance with this agreement, but action on MFN regarding prison labor would have to be based on Chinese refusal to act on it.

Second Section:

1) Universal Declaration -- China's record on the Declaration is mixed, but on the whole is improving.

The Universal Declaration on Human Rights contains thirty Articles governing a very wide variety of rights and obligations. They cover economic issues like the rights to own property and enjoy an adequate standard of living; physical rights like freedom from torture and slavery; and civil or political rights like free elections and freedom of expression. Taken as a whole, it is the best standard against which to measure the record of countries on human rights. Over the past year, China's performance has improved on ten of the Articles, worsened on three, and remained the same on the others.

Economic reform has brought great progress on Articles 13, 17, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 27 of the Declaration. These include the rights to travel within one's own country; to own property; to social security; to free choice of work; to an adequate standard of living; to receive an education; to participate in the cultural life of the community; and to benefit from the arts and science. With the intrusive "work unit" system eroding under the pressure of economic reform, there is also progress on Article 12, which governs the right to privacy, and Article 20's provision that no one may be compelled to join an association.

China has also advanced, although not in response to American pressure, on some civil issues. For example, China has made slow but perceptible progress toward freedom of the press, a right covered in Article 19's provisions on freedom of opinion and expression. Chinese newspapers obviously do not report freely on politics or human rights abuses, and as the jailing of Hong Kong journalist Xi Yang shows, reporters in China remain open to political reprisal. However, many newspapers now cover sensitive and once forbidden social issues. Last year, for example, one could find the Legal Daily covering rising crime rates and environmental problems; the Shanghai Daily reporting on the reemergence of child prostitution; and widespread reporting on industrial accidents, pollution, hijackings and government corruption.

By expelling union leader Han Dongfang and apparently revoking his passport, however, China moved in reverse on Article 9, which bars imposition of exile; Article 13, which guarantees the right to return to one's own country; and perhaps Article 15, which guarantees the right to a nationality. Obviously American policy should not be tied to any one case, but this was a new development and a serious setback.

On other Articles, China's record remained essentially the same. These include Article 5 on freedom from torture; Articles 6, 7, 8 and 10 on legal issues like equality before the law, a fair trial, and presumption of innocence; Article 18 on freedom of religion; Article 21 on free elections; and Article 23's provision on freedom to organize trade unions.

2) Political Prisoners -- During the Secretary of State's visit to Beijing, China provided our requested "accounting" on the status of 235 political prisoners. More recently, it delivered a promised accounting of 106 Tibetan prisoners. China also released some prominent imprisoned political dissidents and religious figures in the past year. However, releases have been few, and China has not yet moved on the critical cases of prisoners with severe medical problems.

3) Humane Treatment of Prisoners -- China has held two sets of talks with the International Committee of the Red Cross. Public comment by ICRC officials indicates some progress in the second negotiation. No final agreement or visit schedule has been reached, but a date has been set for the next round of talks, and there is no evidence that China is acting in bad faith.

4) Tibetan Heritage -- China is restoring some historic Tibetan temples, monasteries and monuments, and has permitted some monasteries to reopen. Without minimizing in any way the extremely serious human rights abuses and denial of religious freedom in Tibet, the refusal to negotiate with the Dalai Lama or the failure to grant in reality the "autonomous" status Tibet has in name, the wording of this condition indicates to me that China is in compliance. A decision by China to negotiate with the Dalai Lama would make compliance on this condition indisputable.

5) Foreign Broadcast Jamming -- The Voice of America estimates that Chinese jamming blocks 40% of its signal. This has remained constant all year, while China continues to deny jamming. It is worth noting, though, that most other foreign broadcasts -- for example Japanese and Taiwanese government radio, and the commercial broadcasts which carry news programs like CNN. The VOA and the British Broadcasting Corporation appear to be the only victims of jamming.

During the Secretary of State's visit in March, however, China agreed to accept technical data on broadcast interference and to set up a working-group meeting at the technical level. This could lead to resolving the issue on the basis of spectrum allotment.

III. FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED FROM CHINA

As the Secretary of State and the U.S. Trade Representative said in the aftermath of the Secretary's trip to Beijing in March, our differences have narrowed. And while the gap may not yet be closed, China has room to act, within the framework of its own laws, on U.S. concerns. The steps we can reasonably expect China to take in the coming weeks include:

- 1) Grant medical parole for political prisoners with serious health problems.
- 2) Clear up remaining cases in which Chinese citizens have been denied emigration rights;
- 3) Reach agreement or make good-faith progress towards agreement with the International Red Cross to give Red Cross experts access to Chinese prisons;
- 4) Fully enforce the bilateral agreement prohibiting export of goods produced with forced labor; and
- 5) End jamming of Voice of America, assuming the U.S. provides the necessary technical data in time for China to act on it.

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF REVOKING MFN STATUS

If China refuses to take these modest steps, it will be difficult for the President to avoid revoking China's MFN status. However, if China does take some further action, and the final result is a marginal case, we would be irresponsible if we did not give great weight to the consequences of revocation. They would include:

1) Human Rights --

- Loss of U.S. diplomatic ability to promote human rights in China.
- Loss of up to 75,000 jobs in Hong Kong and millions of jobs in China. The vast majority of those who suffer would be wholly innocent factory workers. Many would be migrants from interior provinces, eighty million of whom have come out to faster-growing regions to take advantage of new work opportunities. They would be stranded in coastal regions where they do not speak the language and have no family.
- An unemployment crisis and economic depression in the coastal areas of China, whose consequences would be likely to include riots and government repression.
- Probable strengthening of political controls due to government fear of unrest.

2) Commerce --

- Elimination or virtual elimination of a \$40 billion bilateral trade relationship. According to the World Bank, Chinese exports to the United States would fall by as much as 96% if MFN is revoked.
- Loss of about 200,000 jobs in the United States as China retaliates against our exports, which China's Ministers of Trade and Foreign Affairs both assured me in person last summer that China would do immediately. We would suffer worse losses in the future. Given the growth of the Chinese economy, the large investment China is making in infrastructure and the success of our Market Access Agreement with China, U.S. exports to China rose by 18.8% last year, and are likely to grow even more rapidly in the future.
- Permanent loss of U.S. business opportunities in strategic market sectors like telecommunications, computers, aircraft, power generation, environmental technology and services. In some of these markets, particularly energy and telecommunications, China is making huge and one-time-only investment in infrastructure. If American companies are locked out of these markets now, they will not get a second opportunity.
- An end to our efforts to stop copyright piracy, textile smuggling, dumping of manufactured goods and other Chinese trade abuses.

3) International Security --

- Likely loss of any ability we have to win Chinese cooperation on policy regarding North Korea's nuclear weapons program.
- Discrediting of pro-American factions in China's government, business and intellectual communities as China begins the political succession to Deng Xiaoping.
- China actively opposing our foreign policy efforts with respect to Iraq, the Middle East peace process, South Asia and elsewhere as well as North Korea.
- Our efforts to stop China's sales of missiles and other destabilizing weapons crippled.
- China's trade relationship with Taiwan badly damaged, and our strongest guarantee against a political crisis in the region thus weakened.

4) Environmental Protection --

-- Loss of our opportunity to address environmental degradation in China. This includes problems like greenhouse gas emissions, over fishing and pollution of the oceans, all of which will have a direct effect on the United States; loss of biodiversity; deforestation; and nationwide air and water pollution crises which are causing a health catastrophe throughout China.

American environmental technology offers China its best chance to solve these problems while continuing to grow economically. Revoking MFN would cost us a great commercial opportunity, as well as China's best hope of avoiding the physical degradation, birth defects and preventable diseases pollution causes.

V.

POLICY FOR 1995 AND AFTERWARD

Advocates of MFN conditions, in the debates of the past four years, generally conceded the risks they pose to trade, security, the environment and cooperation in other areas. They argued, however, that conditions would be so effective as to outweigh the risks.

This year's experience shows the opposite is the case. The results the Executive Order has helped win on human rights are not negligible. But neither do they approach basic change. The most significant human rights developments in China, in fact, came as natural results of economic reform, rather than from American pressure.

It is also clear conditions will always provoke a crisis as we approach the annual deadlines. Sooner or later, they will inevitably force us to revoke MFN status. Beginning this June, therefore, if China makes enough progress on the Executive Order to justify extension of MFN status, we should delink MFN from our efforts to promote human rights in China.

The balance of this paper offers an alternative, which can get results without posing grave risk to other priorities. It suggests nonconfrontational means as well as ways to use leverage and pressure; considers "newer" problems like pollution and workplace abuses, which growing rapidly in the fastest-developing provinces, as well as more traditional issues; and asks for commitment from the business community and others interested in China policy as well as the U.S. government.

The policy combines diplomacy, bilateral and regional human rights commissions, economic pressure, nonconfrontational approaches, and voluntary initiatives from the private sector. The list is, of course, open to comments, criticism and further suggestions from all who are interested in this issue. As a starting point, I recommend the following actions:

1) Diplomatic Pressure, including:

- Personal Involvement of the President -- The President must make human rights an issue in China policy, in public statements and in meetings with Chinese officials, if our views are to be taken seriously. This need not only consist of warnings and criticisms; a future Presidential visit conditioned on human rights improvement offers a powerful incentive.
- Publicity -- Sunshine and exposure are the best way to deter and punish human rights abuses. Administration officials and Members of Congress should be public and loud in response to abuses. The annual State Department Human Rights Report is a good example, but more frequent comment by senior officials is important. Secretary of State Christopher offered another by speaking out when the Chinese government arrested 17 dissidents before his arrival in Beijing this year.
- Work at Province Level -- give more attention to human rights abuses committed by the governments of individual provinces. One way would be to name the provinces and cities in which the most or worst abuses take place in the annual Human Rights Report.
- Diplomacy -- continue the dialogue begun by Assistant Secretary of State Shattuck, and devote more staff at the Embassy and our consulates to human rights. We should also work to establish a consulate in Lhasa.
- United Nations -- press for attention to Chinese human rights issues in the relevant United Nations bodies, including the UN Human Rights Commission and newer organizations like the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Special Rapporteur on Torture.
- Other Countries -- without attempting to isolate China diplomatically, we should attempt to coordinate a consensus policy, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for promoting human rights in China and all countries. The proposal below, for an Asian-Pacific version of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, is one option.
- Other International Action -- seek consensus on measures to promote human rights in China through other international groups like OECD and the G-7, and make improvements in human rights a condition for China's entry to these bodies. We should also make human rights a condition for our support of China's bids to hold international events and conferences.
- Use High-Level Visits as Leverage -- condition high-level diplomatic visits on observance of human rights, and cancel them in response to abuses.

- Contact with Democratic Critics of Chinese Government -- including high-level meetings with Taiwanese officials, Tibetan exiles, and Chinese dissidents in and outside China.
- VOA/Radio Free Asia -- Enhance our use of public diplomacy, through the Voice of America (or Radio Free Asia if funds are appropriated for it,) to give Chinese citizens accurate, unbiased information on developments in China. VOA's "China Focus" program is a good example of such programming. As Chinese ownership of satellite dishes and personal computers grows, TV and on-line information will become another vehicle.

2) Bilateral US-China Human Rights Commission and Asian-Pacific Counterpart of CSCE

- Bilateral Commission on Human Rights -- The U.S. should establish with China a permanent bilateral Commission on human rights, at a level as high as the two existing Sino-American bilateral. (These are the Commission on Trade and Commerce, headed by China's Trade Minister and America's Secretary of Commerce; and the Commission on Science and Technology, led by each country's senior science and technology official.) The Human Rights Commission would include members of the Administration and the Congress as well as outside experts. It would be a forum to press for general improvement in human rights and resolve specific human rights cases, and would complement continuing diplomatic exchanges.
- Asian-Pacific Counterpart of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- The weakest point of our China human rights policy has been our failure to win support in East Asia. We should redouble our efforts to create a policy with greater regional consensus next year, by working to establish a regional working group on human rights. A model could be the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, created after the Helsinki Accords, and its subsequent promotion of generally accepted standards of behavior for Europe.

3) Proper Use of Economic Leverage -- on appropriate problems in both bilateral and international venues.

- Condition Multilateral Lending on Human Rights -- Multilateral loans, unlike trade, are a zero-sum game. Money lent to one country cannot go to others. They are also backed by American taxpayers, and are thus a proper area for human rights conditioning.

*
*
* China is now the single largest borrower from the World Bank. The U.S. should condition its support for multilateral loans to China on human rights. Though we have no veto in most lending bodies, we should express our concern in the strongest terms, lobby other nations to support our position, and cut or withdraw support for the institution if our position is not supported.

Differentiating among Chinese provinces can make conditions on international loans an incentive as well as a sanction. We should be especially strong in opposing loans to provinces in which human rights abuses are worst or most frequent. This would push provinces to compete with one another for improved human rights records.

-- Enforce the Prison Labor Agreement -- Use our authority to inspect Chinese prisons and other sites suspected of producing prison labor goods. Chinese refusal to allow inspections should be met with trade sanctions on products we have good reason to believe are of forced-labor origin. Our sanctions in response to missile sales, which came after China refused to cooperate with investigation, is a good model.

-- Tourism as Leverage -- Tourism brings China a great deal of money. If we include work province by province, this can become both an incentive for better human rights records and a penalty for abuses. The State Department routinely publishes travel advisories for tourists. In future, the advisories should note provinces that are known for the most frequent or worst abuses. They should also report provincial moves towards political reform, to give provinces incentives for openness.

4) Develop Nonconfrontational Approaches -- We should always stand up for our values, but we need not assume that pressure and threats are the only way to get results. We should therefore develop "friendly" approaches that get results on human rights without threatening other priorities. These can include, but are not limited to:

-- Legal Exchange -- to promote rule of law in all areas. A government which respects and abides by commercial and administrative laws will slowly begin to abide by laws in human rights as well. Xiao Yang, the Chinese Justice Minister, expressed an interest in this kind of exchange to me last summer;

-- Workplace Health and Safety Programs -- to reduce the risks of Chinese factories, mines and farms;

-- Peace Corps -- has already opened in Sichuan Province, and we should expand it rapidly.

- Business Exchange and Training Programs -- like the "Democracy Corps" in Russia and Eastern Europe.
- Technical Assistance -- expand our programs of providing expert technical assistance to help China create more modern government institutions, including in the judiciary, the police, the penal system, the Customs service and other areas. This will promote professional behavior in sensitive areas relating to human rights, and will also help us achieve other goals like protection of intellectual property, ending the trade in endangered species and so on.
- Other Exchange Programs -- enhance programs of religious, cultural, artistic, educational, medical, scientific and environmental exchange.

5) Voluntary Measures from U.S. Businesses -- The American government should not take actions which make the private sector seem as an agent of government policy. However, as the main beneficiaries of an end to MFN conditions, American businesses which operate in China can help avoid an MFN approach by voluntary measures to promote human rights. U.S. business is also uniquely experienced and well-placed to deal with newer human rights problems like pollution and workplace abuses, which are growing fastest in the rapidly developing coastal provinces.

The President should ask business to take measures like the following:

- Establish "Codes of Conduct" -- as former Hong Kong American Chamber of Commerce President John Kamm has suggested. These would ensure that U.S. business is not complicit in political repression, does not use child or slave labor, and follows basic standards of workplace safety and pollution prevention;
- Human Rights Advocacy -- press the cases of political prisoners detained locally with local officials; report to U.S. government officials on conditions in areas where they operate; and train representatives to be sensitive to human rights concerns.
- Promote Workplace Safety and Pollution Prevention -- with a voluntary initiative to help Chinese business, plant managers and construction firms reduce workplace risks, stop factory fires and prevent pollution. The Chinese press reports that these problems, many linked to rapid economic growth in coastal areas, kill 15,000 Chinese factory workers, miners and farmers each year.

American business is experienced in dealing with these problems and well placed to help China address them. It can save lives and gain good will with China's people and government by doing so. Preventing costly disasters is also simple good business.

- Charitable and Cultural Work -- financial donations and expert assistance in humanitarian work and protection of important historical and cultural sites in the areas in which companies operate.
- Employee Exchanges -- bring Chinese employees to the United States to learn modern management and understand how firms work in the context of a rule of law.

Much of this is already occurring, of course. Dow Chemical has a policy of doing no business with enterprises using forced labor, including those which simply buy products from prisons. A number of toy manufacturers have similar policies. Northern Telecom is working with its Chinese suppliers and partners to eliminate the use of CFCs in electronics manufacturing. Mobil is building a language lab in Beijing. IBM and Aetna give scholarships in computer science and modern insurance practices. Many American businesses provide specialized training in foreign languages and skills related to their fields. All of these efforts are direct contributions to the quality of life in China. Needless to say, revoking MFN will bring them to a halt.

VIII.

CONCLUSION

Altogether, what I propose is constant, broad engagement. If we use diplomacy, citizen exchange, economic levers and all the other tools in the box, we will reach our goal. But cutting off contact by revoking MFN is the last thing we should consider.

Frederick Douglass once wrote that "to make a contented slave, it is necessary to make a thoughtless slave." He meant that to control people, you must stop them from thinking. You must keep them illiterate, isolated and ignorant.

Chinese thinkers who advocated totalitarian systems agreed with him. Han Fei, for example, proposed that rulers exterminate intellectuals and merchants, burn the books and suppress education to ensure their hold on power.

That is what Mao Zedong did. He shut China away from the world. He closed the borders, censored literature and the press, and eliminated private commerce. As long as foreigners stayed away, information stopped at the border and trade was impossible, the regime could control the people. But today, because of trade and economic reform -- in part, because we give China MFN -- his system is beginning to crack.

Every day, more Chinese leave government work units to find their own jobs and decide their own futures. Every day, more buy satellite dishes, tune in CNN and find out what's happening in America, Taiwan, and China itself. With MFN in place, the cracks will widen. With MFN in place, China will become the great, respected, democratic nation we all hope to see.

4/27/94

Warning sounded of TV's role in forming foreign policy

Media figures lecture panel

By Rod Dreher
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

If the president and Congress are unable or unwilling to articulate a clear foreign policy and sell it to the public, then television will do it for them.

That was the message congressmen received yesterday during a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing examining the impact of television on U.S. foreign policy.

"When a policy and its consequences have not been adequately explained, an informational vacuum will have been created that gives an even greater resonance to those who bear no real responsibility for carrying out U.S. foreign policy," ABC's Ted Koppel said.

And that, said historian Michael Beschloss, gives presidents less flexibility in deciding how to respond to international crises.

Some committee members complained that dramatic TV pictures of overseas crises often result in emotion-driven public pres-

sure on American leaders to intervene, and intervene quickly.

"Policy is sometimes best developed without the heat of the lamps on the stroke of the pen," said Rep. Alcee Hastings, Florida Democrat.

But Mr. Koppel and Ed Turner, CNN's vice president, argued that as a general rule news organizations have a responsibility to report the news first and let others worry about the fallout.

"We at CNN do not consider the impact of our proposed coverage on policy, the U.S. or any other country," said Mr. Turner. "We are seen in 265 countries live right now. If we began to attempt to figure in foreign policy, the organization would wind up in a swamp of 'what ifs' and 'maybes.'"

Said Mr. Koppel: "If you ask me to consider the consequences of what we do report, you must also ask me to consider the consequences of what we do not report."

The newsman said if television news organizations had not shown pictures of starving Somalis to the American public, and the U.S. government had not therefore sent troops to feed the hungry, news executives might have been blamed for contributing to the deaths of



ABC-TV's Ted Koppel warns a House committee that if the president and Congress don't articulate foreign policy to the public, TV will.

hundreds of thousands in that country.

The committee heard witnesses who said the lack of a coherent, well-articulated U.S. foreign policy concerning Bosnia, North Korea and Haiti makes it more likely that American policy in those re-

gions will be driven by those with clearer agendas and little public accountability.

Mr. Koppel cited the example of TransAfrica Director Randall Robinson, now on a well-publicized hunger strike to protest the Clinton administration's Haiti policy.

"If U.S. policy toward Haiti is right, it shouldn't be changed because of Mr. Robinson's hunger strike," Mr. Koppel said. "And if that policy is wrong, then changing it now will amount to doing the right thing for the wrong reason."

Mr. Koppel said the administration is making a mistake in not knowing what it wants to do in Bosnia and North Korea and not preparing the American public for the possibility of U.S. military intervention.

Mr. Beschloss said the Bush administration's Persian Gulf war strategy was a good example of how to use the media to advance foreign policy goals.

"The reason why George Bush was able to generate such a surprising amount of support both before and during the Gulf war was an extraordinary and rather impressive display of presidential leadership," he said.

Rep. Jim Leach, Iowa Republican, praised the news media's increasingly comprehensive coverage of foreign news.

He said Congress' greatest foreign policy mistake of the post-World War II era was its near-unanimous approval of the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, a de-

"If you ask me to consider the consequences of what we do report, you must also ask me to consider the consequences of what we do not report."

— Ted Koppel, ABC-TV

facto declaration of war against North Vietnam. The resolution came in response to a North Vietnamese attack on a U.S. warship—an incident that the Johnson administration exaggerated for domestic political purposes.

"Probably if there had been a TV crew on the ship that was attacked, we wouldn't have reacted in the same way," Mr. Leach said.

Mr. Koppel told legislators that the ongoing "democratization of technology" is going to put even more pressure on American presidents to think out their foreign policy goals and state them clearly to the public.

*Bury - (San Tin -
Houkling*

121

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1994

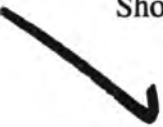
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Ricki Seidman 
Subject: Dick Kelley on Larry King Live

On Thursday night, Larry King Live will feature Leading with My Heart, and Larry's guests will be Dick Kelley and James Morgan. The producer has suggested that you might want to call into the show during the first half hour.

You have a busy schedule Thursday evening: dropping by fundraisers for Howard Dean and Larry Echohawk, and speaking at a reception for the National Conference of Black Mayors. However, I think this is well worth doing.

Should we go ahead and set it up?

 ☒ YES

☐ NO

☐ LEAVE IT OPTIONAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 26, 1994

94 APR 26 P5:07

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alexis Herman
RE: South Africa Delegation

Attached is the list that has been reviewed by Phil Lader, Maggie Williams, Jack Quinn and myself for the Delegation to South Africa.

Also attached is the entire master list from which we selected the delegates.

We would appreciate your final approval on the list with any additions or deletions. We would like to announce the Delegation immediately following the South Africa elections this week or about the 2nd or 3rd of May.

Approve _____ Approve with changes _____

Disapprove _____ See me _____

Attachments (2)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Maggie Williams
cc: Jack Quinn

*The 21st day of April
Did our biggest supporters
Have not? Black friends.
Of our biggest Black friends
Barber - Rader or someone
We say we should take
then have African-American
US 5K fine - eg. African-American
Serious men? What about
Randy Reburn
member of
While*

South Africa Inaugural Delegation

Vice President Gore
Mrs. Gore
Mrs. Clinton

State Department
Dick Moose
George Moose

Cabinet

Secretary Brown
Secretary Espy

White House Staff

Jack Quinn
Leon Fuerth
Thurgood Marshall, Jr.
Maggie Williams
Tony Lake
Alexis Herman

Congressional

Senator Pell
[or Senator Simon]
Senator Mosley-Braun
Rep. Hamilton
[or Rep. Johnston]
Rep. Dellums
Rep. Lewis
Rep. Mfume
Rep. Waters
Rep. Furse
Rep. H. Ford

*Mutual
Congress
GOP (Furber)*

Other Traveling Delegation Members

1. John Tyson*
2. Coretta Scott King*
3. David Dinkins*
4. Ann Jordan*
5. Stan Sheinbaum*
6. C. Payne Lucas*
7. Eileen Norton*
8. Linda Johnson Rice*
9. Maurice Templesman*
10. Ben Chavis*
11. Bill Lucy*
12. Jeanne Moutassammy Ashe*
[or Randall Robinson]
13. Franklin Thomas*
14. Colin Powell*
15. Rev. Leon Sullivan*
16. Mayor Willie Herenton*
17. Mayor Sharon Sales Belton*
[or Madeline Haas Russell]
18. Rev. Jesse Jackson*
19. Harry Belafonte*
[or Quincy Jones]
20. Bill Gray*

Affiliation

US-Africa Business
Atlanta, GA
Former NYC Mayor

Philanthropist
AFRICARE
CA Donor
Pres. Johnson Pub.
Chair, A-A Institute
President, NAACP
AFSCME
Widow of Arthur Ashe &
TransAfrica
President, Ford Found.
Former Chmn, JCS
OIC
Memphis, TN
Minneapolis, MN
[Levi Strauss]
Rainbow Coalition
Entertainer
[Producer]
United Negro College Fund

total

20

Alternates

1. Bishop John Adams
2. Rodney Slater
3. David Wilhelm
4. Stan Greenberg
5. Richard Mays
6. Clarence Avant

AME Church Leadership
FHA Administrator
DNC
Pollster
DNC Dep. Treasurer
Pres., Motown

SOUTH AFRICA ELECTION OBSERVATION AND INAUGURATION DELEGATIONS

Recommendation List

Draft #1---4/15/94

Key:

V = Vice President

C = Cabinet Affairs

N = NSC

* = See Notes

I = Intergovernmental

P = Political Affairs

L = Legislative Affairs

O = Office of Public Liaison

¹South Africa Free Elections (SAFE) Member

Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
John Tyson	US-Africa Business	X						
Rodney Slater	Federal Highway	X						
Sec. Ron Brown	Commerce		X	X				
Sec. Espy	Agriculture		X					
Dick Hatcher	Chair, TransAfrica & Former Mayor of Gary	X						
Maurice Tempelsman ¹	Chair, African-American Institute	X		X				X
Jennifer Davis	American Committee on Africa and AfricaFund	X		X				
Harry Belafonte	Entertainer	X				X		
Paul Fireman	Chair, Reebok and Mandela-USA	X						
Jeanne Moutassammy Ashe	Widow of Arthur Ashe	X				X		
Anthony O'Reilly ¹	Chair, Heinz Chair, SAFE	X						X
Franklin Thomas	President, Ford Foundation	X						X
Maya Angelou ²	Author/Poet	X						X
Mayor Dennis Archer	Mayor of Detroit	X						
Mayor Bill Campbell	Mayor of Atlanta	X						
Rev. Ben Chavis	President, NAACP	X		X				

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
John Cowan	Founder, Lead or Leave a youth political awareness organization	X						
Elizabeth Dole	Pres., American Red Cross	X						
William Gray	CEO, UNCF	X		X				X
Bishop Fred James	AME Church	X						
Vernon Jordan ¹	Akin & Gump	X		X		X		X
Ann Jordan		X						X
Ethel, Kerry or Bobby Kennedy Jr.		X						
Coretta Scott King or Marty King (interest in election observation)	The King Center	X		X				X
Spike Lee	Filmmaker	X						
Mayor Norman Rice	Mayor of Seattle	X						
Rabbi David Saperstein	Religious Action Center	X						
Neal Sher	AIPAC	X						
Paul Alair	CEO, Xerox	X		X				
Clarence Avant (DNC Supporter)	Pres., Motown	X			X			X
John Bryan ¹	CEO, Sara Lee	X						X
Ernie Green ²	Shearson	X				X		X
Jesse Hill Jr. ¹	Chair, CBCF	X						X
Robert Johnson	Owner, BET	X		X				

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Frank Carey	Former Chair, IBM	X						
William T. Coleman	Co-Chair, Sec. of State George Schultz's Advisory Committee on South Africa	X						
Donald McHenry ¹	Former Ambassador	X		X				X
Rev. Jesse Jackson ²	Rainbow Coalition	X		X				X
Colin Powell		X						
Togo West	Army Secretary	X						
Eddie Williams	Joint Center	X				X		X
Cy Vance ¹	Former Sec. of State	X						X
Andy Young ¹	Former Ambassador	X		X				X
Brian Atwood	AID (Administration)	X		X				
Pat Griffin	WH---Legislative	X						
Conrad Harper	State Dept.	X						
George Moos	State Dept.	X						
Deval Patrick	DOJ	X						
Justice Bader Ginsberg	Supreme Court	X						
Judge Abner Mikva	Involved in free election	X						
Walter Fauntroy		X						X
Danny Glover	Entertainer	X			X			
Mayor Willie Herenton	Mayor of Memphis	X						
Inez Crutchfield		X						
Mary Frances Berry	Chair, Civil Rts. Com.	X						

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Randall Robinson (*) ²	Pres., TransAfrica	X		X		X		X
Paul Simon	Entertainer	X						
Stephen Solarz	Former Congressman	X						
Gov. Lowell Weicker (*)	Original Co-sponsor of Anti-apartheid legislation	X						
Howard Wolpe	Former Chair, Africa Sub-Committee	X						
Thomas DuBose	Pres., United Transportation Union					X		
Frank Garrison	Pres., Michigan AFL-CIO					X		
William Lucy ²	AFSCME					X		X
Leon Lynch	VP, United Steelworkers of America					X		
Bob Muehlenkamp	Teamster Org. Dir., Inter. Brother Teamsters					X		
Dennis Rivera	Pres. Local 1199 (Hospital Workers)					X		
Arturo Rodriguez	Pres., United Farm Workers					X		
John Sturdivant	Pres., Amer. Fed. Gov. Employees					X		
Bob Welsch	Exec. Asst. to President, Serv. Employ. Int. Union					X		
Debbie Allen	Entertainer					X		

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Aretha Franklin	Entertainer					X		
Quincy Jones	Producer					X		
Cicely Tyson	Entertainer					X		
Alfrie Woodard	Entertainer					X		X
Rev. Willie Barrow	CEO, PUSH					X		
Johnetta Cole	Pres., Spellman College					X		
John Hope Franklin	Historian					X		
Dr. Sylvia Hill	Dept of Criminal Justice					X		
Eugene Jackson	World African Network					X		
C. Payne Lucas	AFRICARE			X		X		X
Percy Sutton	Inner City Broadcasting					X		
C. Delores Tucker	Nat. Pol. Cong. of Black Women					X		
Mayor Emmanuel Cleaver	Mayor of Kansas City					X		
David Dinkins	Former Mayor NYC			X		X		X
Cong. William Jefferson						X		
Cong. John Lewis	D-GA	X		X		X	X	
Cong. Donald Payne	D-NJ	X		X		X		
Cong. Maxine Waters ²	D-CA			X		X	X	
Mayor Michael White	Mayor of Cleveland					X		
Don Barden (Fin. Supporter)	Barden Communications					X		

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Melvin Clark Jr. (Fin. Supporter)	Trustee, Metroplex					X		
Ed Gardner (Fin. Supporter)	CEO/Soft Sheen			X		X		
Maynard Jackson	Former Atlanta Mayor					X		
Maxine Leftwich (Fin. Supporter)	Pres., L.S. Financial Group					X		
Richard Mays	DNC Dep. Treasurer					X		X
Eileen Norton	Trustee, DNC					X		
Linda Johnson Rice	Pres., Johnson Publishing					X		
Lottie Shackelford	VC, DNC					X		X
Kneeland Youngblood	Trustee, DNC					X		
Anthony Lake	WH--NSC			X				
Leon Fuerth	WH--VP			X				
Joe Duffy	USIA Director			X				
Richard Moose	State Dept.			X				
Immani Countess	Wash. office on Africa			X				
Joseph Lowery	SCLC			X				
Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly	Mayor of DC			X				
Helen Kitchen	CSIS			X				
Pauline Baker	Carnegie			X				
Benjamin Hooks	Chapman Co.			X				
Vivian Derrick	African-Amer. Inst.			X				X
Melvin Foote	Constituency for Africa			X				

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Aldridge Cooper	Chair/US-SA Business Council			X				
Dan O'Flaherty	Nat. Foreign Trade Council			X				
Jerry Jasinowski	Pres./NAM			X				
Wallace L. Ford, II				X				
Robert Goiqueta	CEO, Coca Cola			X				
Jean Fugett	TLC Beatrice			X				
Robert F. Dies	VP, IBM			X				
Soren Olson	Sr. VP, Apple			X				
Walter J. Tuskinski	CEO, ARCO Chemical			X				
John Sims ¹	Former VP, Digital			X				
H. Carl McCall	State Comptroller, NY			X				X
Amy P. Gassman	VP, Goldman, Sachs			X				
Robert E. Allen	CEO/Chair, AT&T			X				
Henry Cohen	Global Coalition for Africa			X				
Prof. Martin Meyerson	Pre. Emer., U. of Penn.			X				
Herbert Kaiser	Med. Education for South Africa Blacks			X				
Arthur Thomas	Pres., Central State U.			X				
Rep. Lois DeBerry	Pres., Nat. Black Caucus of State Legislators			X				X
Mayor Pro Tem Wilbert Minter	Nat. Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials			X				

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Bill Edmondson				X				
Ed Perkins				X				
Sen. Paul Simon	D-IL			X			X	
Sen. Nancy Kassebaum	R-KS	X		X				
Sen. Moseley-Braun	D-IL	X		X			X	
Sen. James Jeffords	R-VT			X				
Sen. Edward Kennedy	D-MA	X		X				
Sen. Richard Lugar	R-IN	X		X				
Sen. David Boren	D-OK			X				
Sen. Patrick Moynihan	D-NY			X				
Cong. Kweisi Mfume	D-MD	X		X			X	
Cong. Harry Johnston	D-FL			X			X	
Cong. Frank Wolf	R-VA			X				
Cong. Ron Dellums	D-CA			X			X	
Cong. Cynthia McKinney	D-GA			X				
Cong. Charles Rangel	D-NY			X				
Cong. Richard Gephardt	D-MO	X		X				
Cong. Alcee Hastings	D-FL			X				
Cong. Dan Burton	R-IN			X				
Cong. Elizabeth Furse	D-OR			X			X	
Cong. Albert Wynn	D-MD			X				
Ann Griffin	Congressional Staff			X				

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
David Gordon	Congressional Staff			X				
Lisa Alfred	Congressional Staff			X				
Tom Callahan	Congressional Staff			X				
Gip Capen	Congressional Staff			X				
Tim Trenkle	Congressional Staff			X				
Carolyn Reynolds	Congressional Staff			X				
Amelia Parker	Exec. Dir., CBCFound.			X				
Hazel Ross-Robinson	Congressional Staff			X				
Frank Kiehne	Congressional Staff			X				
Tim Reiser	Congressional Staff			X				
Sen. George Mitchell	Senate Leadership	X						
Sen. Bob Dole	Senate Leadership	X						
Sen. Wendell Ford	Senate Leadership	X						
Sen. Alan Simpson	Senate Leadership	X						
Sen. Claiborne Pell	Chair/Foreign Rel.	X					X	
Sen. Patrick Leahy	Chair/Appropriations	X						
Sen. Mitch McConnell	Ranking/Appropriations	X						
Cong. Thomas Foley	House Leadership	X						
Cong. Robert Michel	House Leadership	X						
Cong. David Bonior	House Leadership	X						
Cong. Newt Gingrich	House Leadership	X						
Cong. D. Obey	Chair/House Approp.	X						
Cong. Lee Hamilton	Chair/House Foreign Rel	X					X	

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Name	Affiliation	V	C	N	I	P	L	O
Judge Leon Higginbotham ¹	Member of SAFE	X						X
Rev. Leon Sullivan	OIC							X
Rev. Charles Stith								X
Bishop John Adams	AME Church Leadership							X
Carl Ware ¹	President-Africa Group, Coca Cola International							X
Robert McNamara ¹	Former Pres. World Bank							X
Ted Sorenson ¹	Paul, Weiss, Rifkind							X
John Johnson	Chair, Johnson Publishing							X
Ray McClendon	Businessman							X
Willie Gary	Attorney, DNC Donor							X
Dorothy Height								X
Fred Humphries	Pres., Florida A&M							X
Jack Dunfey	New Hampshire Businessperson							X
Bishop Louis Ford	Church of God in Christ							X
Debra DeLee (election observation delegation)	DNC							X
Dick Batchelor	Pres., Dick Batchelor Mgmt. Group Inc., FL							X
Dr. Joan Campbell	National Council of Churches of Christ							X

NOTES:

*Randal Robinson is extremely critical of White House policy on Haiti. Therefore, TransAfrica's chair, Dick Hatcher is also recommended. (From VP notes)

¹SAFE (South Africa Free Elections) is a 501(c)(3) organization dedicated to supporting non-partisan voter education and participation among South Africa's electorate. Their goal is to raise \$10 million from U.S. corporations, foundations, individual donors and the religious community to support high-impact, non-partisan voter education efforts. It was created by some of the leading American business and civic leaders. To date, they have raised approximately \$7 million. Anthony O'Reilly, a close personal friend of Mr. Mandela's, is the chair and a founding member.

²Individuals who were part of the presidential delegation to South Africa for Oliver Tambo's funeral last year.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 APR 25 P3:24

April 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: CALL TO SENATOR DICK SHELBY

Donna and I saw Annette Shelby (Dick's wife) at John McLaughlin's brunch yesterday. As I believe you know, Dick has had rather serious surgery for cancer and is expecting a hopefully successful, but slow, recovery.

And HRC's
I conveyed your thoughts to Annette, but I know Dick would appreciate a call from you. It is my understanding that they are leaving for an extended time in Alabama this week.

Please have Nancy let me know when you and Dick have made contact. Thanks.

cc: Pat Griffin

Handwritten signature "Mack" and a checkmark.

4/27

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 20, 1994

94 APR 21 All : 45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICKI SEIDMAN

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COMMENCEMENT ADDRESSES

As we have discussed, and based on broad consultations among the staff, I believe you should consider five commencement addresses this year:

- (1) a military academy;
- (2) a large state university;
- (3) a "specialized" school;
- (4) a health related school; and
- (5) a large urban high school.

Based on these considerations, I recommend:

- (1) The Naval Academy (May 25)
- (2) The 75th Anniversary Convocation at UCLA (May 20 or 21)
- (3) Gallaudet (May 13)
- (4) SUNY Health Science Center College of Nursing and College of Health Related Professions (May 9)
- (5) High School tbd (after June 8)

Don Baer is preparing a more extensive memo on themes, but his general concept is that your underlying theme would be responsibility and each address would focus on a different aspect.

Need to discuss
you with the old
4/25/94 - with consideration
N. West
San Francisco
Moulton (NH)

agm

The Naval Academy

We have already locked into this. In the regular rotation we might otherwise have done the Air Force Academy, but that takes place in Colorado on the day of your departure to Italy, so we can do it next year. The Naval Academy commencement, which occurs on May 25, also gives you an opportunity to preview the D-Day Anniversary events one week later.

The UCLA 75th Anniversary Convocation

This is not a commencement per se. UCLA generally has smaller commencements for different undergraduate programs in June. However, it will be a very big event. Due to the fact that it includes all of the students, it gives you a broad message opportunity. The site they have tentatively selected would hold 5,000 to 6,000, and they are exploring the possibility of an alternative site to hold between 10,000 to 20,000 (there are 33,000 students in undergraduate programs and 6,000 in graduate schools). The students are diverse in terms of ethnicity and economic backgrounds. I am checking with John Emerson to make sure he thinks this makes sense. Gearan and Baer heartily endorse this selection.

Gallaudet

Last year you spoke at a technical college. This year you will speak at Gallaudet. Bonior believes that you told him you would do this commencement; he is on Gallaudet's board. This is very important to Legislative Affairs because Bonior is working hard for you on a variety of issues. Gallaudet is a local school (which I think is good) with a national student body. The health care group is very supportive of Gallaudet as a choice because of the importance of the disability community to the health care reform effort.

Thematically, the Gallaudet address is contemplated as the first of a series of events that we believe you should do on "bringing people together" during the few days leading up to and following May 17, which is the 30th Anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education.

You expressed some reluctance today about Gallaudet that we need to discuss as soon as possible. If you are not going to do this commencement, we need to notify the school right away.

SUNY Health Science Center College of Nursing and College of Health Related Professions

We had discussed doing a medical school and though we have been working closely with Ira, we have not come up with a good choice on a date that works. I am currently vetting this SUNY college for size and friendliness to our health care plan. The commencement occurs on May 9, the day after Mother's Day. This day is a period when we are proposing that you concentrate on women's health concerns.

High School

My idea is that we should work with Legislative Affairs to identify a large high school in the district of a member of Congress whom we want to reward (in a targeted state, of course). An alternative, which would not involve travel, is the high school of the kid at the MTV Forum who said there were too many doors at his school to mag and too many students to check individually. The student, Brandon Dontch, attends Largo High School in Prince Georges County, Maryland. The commencement is being held at the USAir Arena (formerly the Cap Center) in Landover, Maryland at 9:00 a.m. on May 31. I am checking to see whose congressional district this is in.

Miscellaneous

The only other schools I would suggest considering are Yale and Northwestern. I think you should consider Yale a personal decision; it is not particularly advantageous from a political or message perspective. I like Northwestern alot. Dale Bumpers and Al From are pushing it. It occurs on June 18, and you will already be in Chicago on June 17 for the opening of the World Cup. My only hesitation is that Hillary is doing the University of Illinois, and even though that is in the southern part of the state, I am concerned that it is too big of a country for both Clintons to do commencements in the same state. Even Patti Solis, who attended Northwestern, agrees with this concern. Let me know what you think.

Hillary is also doing the George Washington University commencement on Mother's Day, May 8. I think you and Chelsea should consider attending, just to hear her speak, not to participate in the other festivities. She currently plans to do only these two commencements. (Gore currently is scheduled to do only Harvard, where he will also be attending his college reunion.)

PENDING COMMENCEMENT INVITATIONS FOR 1994

(Invitations received for dates that the President is otherwise unavailable, e.g., in Europe for D-Day Anniversary Celebration have been regretted and are not noted below.)

4/20/94	FLORIDA	Miami-Dade Community College
5/6/94	CALIFORNIA	University of Southern California
5/6/94	ILLINOIS	Univ. of Illinois College of Medicine at Chicago
5/6/94	OKLAHOMA	Western Oklahoma State College
5/7/94	OKLAHOMA	Oklahoma State University
5/9/94	NEW YORK	SUNY Health Science Center College of Nursing and College of Health Related Professions
5/10/94	PENNSYLVANIA	Community College of Philadelphia
5/12/94	NEW YORK	New York University
✓5/13/94	WASH, D.C.	Gallaudet University
5/13/94	ARIZONA	Chandler-Gilbert Community College Chandler, Arizona
5/13/94	SOUTH CAROLINA	University of South Carolina
5/19/94	NEW JERSEY	The State University of New Jersey, Rutgers
✓5/20/94	CALIFORNIA	UCLA 75th Anniversary Convocation
5/22/94	CALIFORNIA	University of San Diego
5/22/94	GEORGIA	Morehouse College
5/23/94	CONNECTICUT	Yale University
5/31/94	CONNECTICUT	Gateway Community-Technical College
6/11/94	MINNESOTA	University of Minnesota (Wellstone's office has put in a request for you to do this commencement in 1995)
6/12/94	GEORGIA	Mercer University Macon, Georgia

6/12/94	ILLINOIS	Chicago - Kent College of Law
6/14/94	NEW HAMPSHIRE	Dartmouth College
6/18/94	ILLINOIS	Northwestern University
6/20/94	NEW YORK	U.S. Merchant Marine Academy Kings Point, New York

Washington's top brass traveling to California for Nixon's funeral

BY RANDY LILLESTON
Democrat-Gazette Washington Bureau

Protocol chief juggles phone lines

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/27

WASHINGTON — Many Washington officials, including President Clinton and top members of his administration, will make the cross-country journey Wednesday to attend former President Nixon's funeral in Yorba Linda, Calif.

Clinton and former President Carter will be among the dignitaries traveling on Air Force One to Nixon's funeral. The funeral will be held on the grounds of Nixon's presidential library. Other former presidents also were invited to travel with Clinton but will travel to the site on their own. White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Monday.

Today, a Boeing 707 that served as Air Force One during Nixon's presidency will carry Nixon's body from New York to California. The plane also transported the body of Nixon's wife, Pat, after she died last year, Myers said.

Yet another military jet will be used to take members of Congress to the funeral, and a fourth jet will hold members of Nixon's Cabinet, Myers said Monday. Clinton will be among those speaking at Nixon's funeral, Myers confirmed Monday.

"There are, I think, four people who will speak: Rev. (Billy) Graham, Gov. (Pete) Wilson (R-Calif.), President Clinton and ... Henry Kissinger," she said.

In the past few days, Clinton repeatedly has spoken warmly about Nixon. Saturday, at the annual White House Correspondents' Dinner, Clinton talked about Nixon's "tenacious refusal to give up on his own involvement in this country and

YORBA LINDA, Calif. — With a paid staff of just two, Orange County's volunteer chief of protocol is scrambling to accommodate an entire world that wants to pay its respects to Richard Nixon.

"I don't think there will ever be a comparison to this," Gloria Anderson said Monday as she juggled calls from around the world seeking information on Wednesday's funeral arrangements.

There are 79 foreign consulates in Southern California, and Anderson was working with most, if not all.

"You don't want to slight anyone," she said. "But there's always the possibility someone could be overlooked because you have to realize the largeness of this."

Nixon's body was to be flown to Southern California today. A closed-coffin public viewing at the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace in Yorba Linda will be held through the night. The nation's 37th president died in New York on Friday, four days after suffering a stroke.

Among the countries send-

ing emissaries to his funeral are China, Japan, Switzerland and Russia, Anderson said. President Clinton and the four surviving former U.S. presidents also are expected.

By midday Monday, about 30 countries had made "firm or semifirm" arrangements to send representatives, said Jim McCracken, a member of a Nixon task force working out of the State Department's Office of Protocol.

"Some countries are curious who others are sending to get a feel for what is appropriate," he said.

Meantime, Anderson and her staff hustled to line up the needed limousine and hotel accommodations for everyone.

Yorba Linda, where Nixon was born, is a suburb of about 58,000 that boasts Orange County's lowest crime rate. It is 36 miles southeast of Los Angeles.

As a cold rain fell on the library parking lot Monday, workers erected white tents and put finishing touches on portable grandstands capable of seating 600 people. White folding chairs were available for hundreds more.

Myers said Monday. "There are very few people, I think, who really understand the experience in its totality."

Although the funeral is late in the day Wednesday — it is scheduled to begin at 6 p.m. CDT — Clinton will return to Washington on Wednesday night, Myers said.

"He has things he wants to do on Thursday," she said.

STILL NO OVERSIGHT OF WRONGDOING

About 1 p.m. last Friday, a woman with the British Broadcasting Co. called.

"Are you going to watch Hillary Clinton's press conference?" she asked.

"What press conference?" I asked.

She explained that Hillary was going to have a press conference at 2 p.m. my time to talk about Whitewater and other revolving developments.

"If you're going to watch, we'd like to call you afterward for your opinion on whether she's telling the truth or not," the woman said.

I could have told her right then that Hillary would tell the truth, but I said I'd be glad to watch and comment afterward. I turned on Cable News Network, which announced about 1:45 p.m. that it would be carrying Hillary's news conference live at 2 p.m.

The appointed hour arrived. CNN put on other programming without explaining what had happened to Hillary. I switched to C-SPAN. Both C-SPAN channels were doing reruns. On one of them some black fellow was screeching about how he hadn't come to pin the tail on the donkey but to pin the tail on the honky.

At 2:10 p.m., BBC called back. It had learned that the Hillary press conference had been delayed. Was I still standing by? Yes, I was.

HCNN offered an explanation for the delay when it finally put Hillary on the air. I didn't hear it.

Hillary answered questions for 70 minutes. The press conference seemed to drag on forever. I never felt so sorry for a human being in my life. Frankly and

John R. Starr



forthrightly, almost unblinkingly, Hillary answered questions about ethics and personal conduct for folks whose ethical standards most likely do not approach hers.

Patience, she answered questions that have been answered dozens of times before. No new information came out.

The one questioner Hillary refused to answer asked how she thought history would assess the dying former President Richard M. Nixon. She said, quite appropriately I thought, that having lost her own father a year ago, she was more concerned about how Nixon's daughters must feel than about how history would treat their father.

BBC was not as patient as Hillary. After about 45 minutes, the lady called to ask if I'd seen enough to comment.

"Sure have," I said.

"Well, is she telling the truth?"

"Absolutely."

"How do you know that?"

"Because I know her," I said. "She wouldn't lie."

The BBC lady didn't want to accept such a blanket endorsement, so I went on to explain that everything Hillary said squared with the facts as we know them.

She then asked if I thought Hillary's

confession would put the Whitewater matter behind her and her husband.

"I hope so," I said.

It would have been better, of course, if both Bill Clinton and Hillary had told their sides on Whitewater in December instead of March and April. The heat that fueled the tempest in this tangle was supplied by the Clintons' unwillingness to do what they eventually were forced to do.

Now that both of them have faced down the press, the torment should be over.

However, Republicans aren't going to let Whitewater go away if they can help it. In the GOP response to Hillary's news conference, New York Sen. Al D'Amato, himself no ethical paradigm, complained with his typical whine that Hillary had some convenient losses of memory.

Most folks would applaud her for saying she didn't know when she didn't know.

The overall Whitewater score remains the same, 0-0. There's no way the Clintons could ever have made any points in this controversy, but the opponents are scoreless, too.

Nobody has as yet produced any convincing evidence that either Clinton did anything illegal or ethically compromising in connection with Whitewater or with any of the Clintons' other business dealings, successful or unsuccessful.

John R. Starr is the former managing editor of the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette. His column appears every day.

Clinton's Supreme Court vision

The last thing this newspaper needs is another deification of Richard S. Arnold or another demand on President Clinton to do the right thing for once and put Arnold where he belongs on the U.S. Supreme Court.

How about, instead, a bit of analysis about Clinton's vision of the Supreme Court?

Clinton has something resembling a fixation on the idea of adding to the court a "non-judge." That's his euphemism for a modern-day Earl Warren, a savvy politician with Bar membership, but not necessarily a wealth of lawyering experience, who could lead or at least influence the other justices to find pragmatic answers to legal questions encompassing political and social issues and help set a political and social direction for the country.

Strict constructionists no doubt cringe at the thought. But it's the legacy thing.

Remember that when he faced a Supreme Court vacancy last year, Clinton looked first to New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, a one-time courtroom performer who gained fame as a governor and orator. Remember that he then looked to his interior secretary, former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt, a left-of-center politician adept enough to win elections in the conservative West.

Cuomo bowed out. Babbitt nearly got nominated until Clinton's legal advisers told him that if he nominated Babbitt, the interior secretary would be forced to resign immediately and could not continue to handle even temporarily the land-use issues in the West or the fight between industry and conservation in the Pacific

John Brummett



Northwest. Stymied in his attempt to find a "non-judge," Clinton declined to consider Arnold because he needed to appease the left. Arnold is an original thinker who'll confound you with, for example, a ruling saying the Jaycees may legally exclude women.

So Clinton settled on the federal judge recommended by Daniel Patrick Moynihan: Ruth Bader Ginsburg. Clinton remembered admiring her from the time she gave a speech at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. And after all, putting the second woman on the court offered a bit of pizzazz.

Remember, too, that when confronted this year with a second Supreme Court vacancy, Clinton turned first to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, a liberal former judge with an extraordinary deftness for forging political solutions and getting along with rough-and-tumble Republicans. But Mitchell, for whatever reason, bowed out.

Clinton has assigned his people to scour the political structure of the country in search of a "non-judge," a pragmatic, capable Democratic political operative with a low degree. The pickings have been slim. Now Babbitt doesn't want the job and Cuomo seeks re-election as

governor of New York. Arnold's best chance for nomination hinges on Clinton's finding no Democratic governor or congressman or other politician whose prospects as a Supreme Court justice excite him.

Clinton might then turn to Arnold because the academically accomplished Arkansan, the chief judge of the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, has a background in, and no affinity for, politics.

Arnold ran for Congress once, though not well. He spent time as a top aide to U.S. Sen. Dale Bumpers. He handles much of the federal judiciary's budget presentation in Congress because he is respected there and has legislative skills.

I can envision Arnold's nomination, though I don't quite predict it.

That he is from Arkansas is a legitimate complication. His wife works for a politically powerful electric utility. His former brother-in-law owns the only statewide newspaper. Thus his emergence would lead someone to advance the case of a state of business and political incest. He maintained membership in the Country Club of Little Rock when it had no black members.

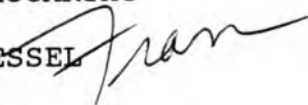
By the way, Clinton's ideal nominee might be ... Bill Clinton. A lawyer and former governor with credentials as a conciliator and consensus builder at such functions as meetings of the National Governors' Association? Sounds ideal. But, gosh, I'm not sure he could be confirmed right now.

John Brummett's column appears every Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday.

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

April 27, 1994

NOTE FOR JENNY MCCARTHY

FROM: FRAN WESSEL 

RE: Attached

Kelly Crawford, from the President's Office, brought this to me and asked that we have someone look into matter. It is my understanding that Walter Nelson was with the President's security detail while he was Governor of Arkansas. She also asked that the package be treated with "tender loving care" because Mr. Nelson did not keep copies.

Thank you, Jenny!



Walter Nelson
2005 Izard St.
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

4/21/94

Dear Bill,

I'm sending this information, concerning our conversation after the town meeting in Kansas City.

Please!! For my sake & Mr. Ables, look at this packet very closely, especially the highlighted area.

After reviewing these packets, we would like to come to D.C. or wherever feasible for you & Hillary.

Mr. Ables would like to pursue this matter under the statutes of the old Lincoln Law, on behalf of himself and the U.S. Government.

Mr. Ables has more documents, that I have viewed and know that you & your wife would love to see. I know you would also like to speak to Mr. Ables face to face to get the details that I cannot put in writing.

Yours Truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Walter Nelson', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Walter Nelson

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.20.94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 APR 25 P3:24

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FR: Katie McGinty *KM*
RE: Response to the Forest Plan
DATE: 22 April 1994

The initial response to your final Forest Plan has been encouraging. The two main papers in the region have written favorably, as did the Washington Post.

Several other developments deserve mention. Judge Dwyer has noted his intention to lift the injunction on May 13th unless one of the parties persuades him to the contrary, and in a conference with the Judge Wednesday none stated their intention of opposing our request that he do so. The Department of Justice stated that this is a very encouraging sign indeed.

In another major development, Weyerhaeuser today publicly endorsed the plan, which is a very strong signal that at least some components of the industry recognize the value in ending the confusion that has tied up the region for years.

Attached are the relevant clippings.

Washington Post 4/20/94

The Clinton Timber Plan

THE REAGAN and Bush administrations' approach to the Northwest timbering problem was to refuse to enforce the law. No matter that in other contexts these were ardent law-and-order advocates. To comply with the endangered species and other federal environmental statutes, the timber harvest in the Northwest's remaining mostly federal old-growth forests would have had to be reduced, and neither administration was willing to do it. The failure to carry out the law was kicked to the courts, where a federal judge responded by enjoining any timbering on the relevant lands until either the law was changed or a plan to conform to it was presented.

The Clinton administration has now constructively done what neither of its predecessors would and submitted such a plan. It's a good proposal. It appears to be scientifically based and well within the envelope of the law. By cutting the harvest sharply, the administration says it would likely save the threatened species—most famously, the northern spotted owl—and the forest ecosystem of whose health the species are the emblem.

Certain environmentalists—not all—are nonetheless opposed, or so they say. Their goals are more protection and less timbering. They may yet be able to influence the proposal around the margins. If they go beyond that to block it, we think they will do their own good cause a disservice. The environmental groups like to speak of

sustainable development and, in the case of timbering, sustainable yield. They should think in similar terms with regard to the remedies they seek. This is about as good a plan as either the law requires or they are likely to get from any administration. If they manage to kill it, they risk doing what the industry wants and sending the issue back to Congress for resolution. That way lies a likely weakening of the very laws the environmentalists want to uphold.

The industry should also lay off, though of course it won't. Timbering jobs were already in decline in the Northwest for any number of reasons—not least the overcutting of the forests and decline of the resource itself. The region already needed to quicken the diversification of its economy; the administration proposes to provide some extra funds to help the process along.

There's a lot of talk these days that the administration has lost its cutting edge on environmental issues, if ever it had one. But the Clinton people have set out to solve with intelligent compromises any number of major environmental problems. Their proposals range from a more protective regimen with regard to federal grazing lands to a wiser allocation of California water and a plan to begin the restoration of the Florida Everglades. The timber proposal is another. Like too many of the rest, it needs to be saved from its nominal friends.

EDITORIALS

Clinton's plan: looking for a bit more timber

EVEN before it hit the judge's desk, Clinton's revised Northwest forest plan was under attack by both extremes. In the political wilderness of forests and trees, that may be a sign the administration is on the right path.

Sen. Slade Gorton grumbles that Clinton is abandoning Northwest timber communities by cutting off logging in much of the region. Self-styled environmental groups sound a shrill alarm that Clinton has "yielded to corporate money and special-interest politics."

Count on federal Judge William Dwyer to ignore both extremes as he examines the plan. His test is simple: Does the plan satisfy federal laws?

The Clinton challenge has been to meet those stiff requirements without closing down the forests altogether. Last-minute revisions suggest the administration is still trying to strike that precarious balance.

This administration did not create the dilemma. The crisis in Northwest forests emerged from decades of massive overcutting — logging that

conformed to a theory of so-called sustained yield that is now thoroughly discredited by foresters, biologists and the federal courts.

Beginning in the Bush administration, Oregon biologist Jack Ward Thomas led the team that laid out a range of options for a new and necessarily experimental timber strategy. Now, as Clinton's Forest Service chief, he's responsible for making it work.

Option 9, Clinton's choice, was tough medicine, projecting harvests at barely 20 percent of the levels of the 1980s. More recently, Thomas told Congress the actual harvests would be even smaller, a blow both to timber country economics and to the administration's credibility.

The revised plan proposes to allow sales of timber in selected forests even before undergoing lengthy watershed analysis. That kind of compromise may alarm some environmental groups, but it makes sense. Thomas says the Forest Service needs to begin experimenting with new forestry, trying untested alternatives to the vast clear-cuts that helped turn Northwesterners against the timber industry.

The revisions demonstrate the administration's willingness to keep looking for a pragmatic middle ground between environmental purity and economic disaster. Such compromises may not satisfy the combatants, but they are in keeping with broad public impulses that drive the politics of Northwest forests.

Hopefully, that plan will also meet the rigorous legal test Judge Dwyer will now apply to it.

Seattle, WA
(King Co.)
Seattle Times/
Post-Intelligencer
(Cir. S 1510 290)

APR 17 1994

The Oregonian

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FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1994

A responsible forest plan

It can be adjusted later, but it needs implementing now

The Clinton administration's Northwest forest plan that was filed Thursday with a federal judge is a responsible response to injunctions and the paralyzing controversy over management of the federal forests of Western Oregon and Washington and Northern California.

An interesting question remains: Could different scientists have found a management approach equally capable of maintaining natural processes — protecting the northern spotted owl and other old-growth species — while allowing a greater timber harvest? That's one for Congress and scientists to pursue.

The Northwest's pressing need now is for judges to let this plan be implemented, for the legal underbrush to be cleared away and the process of preparing timber sales according to the dictates of this plan to get underway.

Oddly, that's not the goal of the timber industry. Its key players want to undermine this plan, much as some environmental groups do.

The industry hopes that if the gridlock continues and no federal timber gets to market, Congress will intervene with a law more favorable to the industry. That's a nice strategy for lawyers and may be a risk worth taking from the boardroom profit-loss standpoint. But it's hard on communities and workers who stand to gain something — even if not as much as they'd like — from getting timber sales moving along.

A litigate-and-delay strategy also plays into the hands of the more extreme environmentalists happy to see

gridlock — and the resulting falloff of logging — continue to the point that the public and communities accept the lack of timber sales as the norm rather than the exception.

Obviously, however, real stability in federal forest management requires congressional action. Not to override environmental laws or exempt timber sales from legal challenges, but to clarify the rules for timber sales and other forest-management actions. Congress should incorporate the administration's valid objective of ecosystem management — recognizing that forests are a complex, interrelated collection of organisms, each serving a function.

But Congress has been free to act and steadfastly failed to do so. There's no assurance that a consensus can be found in that divided body, even with presidential pressure.

Meanwhile, what's left as the alternative to more years of gridlock is the Clinton plan, a notable attempt at a scientifically credible forest-management strategy. It provides less of a timber harvest than the industry would like and more than many environmentalists are comfortable with. It also provides for other forest jobs and assistance to communities and people hurt by the decline in the federal timber harvest.

This plan's provisions can be adjusted later, either by the administration or Congress in light of experience and additional scientific input. But it's needed now and deserves a chance to work.

PM-WA--Weyerhaeuser-Forests,390<

Weyerhaeuser Chief Says Company Backs Clinton Plan<
With PM-Northwest Forests,<

TACOMA, Wash. (AP) Weyerhaeuser Co., one of the nation's largest timber companies, has come out in favor of President Clinton's Northwest forest-management plan.

Jack Creighton, Weyerhaeuser's chief executive officer, said after the company's annual meeting Thursday, "I'd rather see the president's plan implemented. We support Option 9 and whatever means it takes to achieve it."

Option 9 is the Clinton administration's plan to prevent future overcutting and protect endangered wildlife in national forests of Washington, Oregon and Northern California.

The plan, submitted last week to a federal judge in Seattle for approval, would reduce annual timber harvests to about one-fourth the average of the 1980s.

Many timber-industry officials have said that level is too low. They are deciding whether to challenge the plan in court.

Environmentalists say the plan doesn't go far enough to protect what's left of the region's ancient forests. They have said they expect to challenge the plan at some point.

Creighton said Weyerhaeuser supports the Clinton plan as a way to resume federal timber flows, save some forest jobs and help timber communities.

Weyerhaeuser purchases some federal timber in Oregon and buys wood chips and mills that saw federal timber. The chips are used to make pulp in company mills, Creighton said.

The company isn't dependent on federal timber harvests, but is considered a highly influential industry player in the forest debate.

An injunction issued by U.S. District Judge William Dwyer in mid-1991 has halted logging across millions of acres of federal forests in the Northwest.

A representative of smaller forest businesses accused Weyerhaeuser of jumping ship for backing the Clinton plan.

"You're kidding. They said that publicly?" said Gus Kuehne, vice president of the Western Forest Industries Association, a group of small mill owners and lumber companies that once depended on federal timber.

"They want to free up private lands from restrictions and give away federal lands. They're selling us out. They're trying

to gain brownie points with the administration," he said.

A director of the Washington Environmental Council said Weyerhaeuser's stance is fairly good news.

"They're breaking the industry line. That's a surprise. The industry has hung together and opposed it up to now," Melanie Rowland said.

ATTN: PETER HAMM

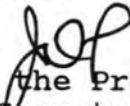
NSC
Clerk

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY WARREN CHRISTOPHER

FROM: JOHN PODESTA 
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: S. CON. RES. 31

The attached concurrent resolution, S.Con.Res. 31, was transmitted to the Executive Clerk and I am forwarding a copy signed by Martha S. Pope, Secretary of the Senate and Donnal K. Anderson, Clerk of the House of Representatives.

An information copy has been provided to the National Security Council.

Attachment

One Hundred Third Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

*Begun and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday,
the twenty-fifth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-four*

Concurrent Resolution

Whereas in 1982, 1984, 1988, 1990, and 1992, the Congress, by concurrent resolution, declared that it holds the Government of Iran responsible for upholding the rights of all its nationals, including members of the Baha'i Faith, Iran's largest religious minority;

Whereas in such resolutions and in numerous other appeals, the Congress condemned the Government of Iran's religious persecution of the Baha'i community, including the execution of more than 200 Baha'is, the imprisonment of additional thousands, and other repressive and discriminatory actions against Baha'is based solely upon their religious beliefs;

Whereas in 1992, the Government of Iran summarily executed a leading member of the Baha'i community, arrested and imprisoned several other Baha'is, condemned two Baha'i prisoners to death on account of their religion, and confiscated individual Baha'is' homes and personal properties in several cities;

Whereas the Government of Iran continues to deny the Baha'i community the right to organize, to elect its leaders, to hold community property for worship or assembly, to operate religious schools and to conduct other normal religious community activities; and

Whereas on February 22, 1993, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights published a formerly confidential Iranian government document constituting a blueprint for the destruction of the Baha'i community, which document reveals that these repressive actions are the result of a deliberate policy designed and approved by the highest officials of the Government of Iran: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress—

(1) continues to hold the Government of Iran responsible for upholding the rights of all its nationals, including members of the Baha'i community, in a manner consistent with Iran's obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements guaranteeing the civil and political rights of its citizens;

(2) condemns the repressive anti-Baha'i policy adopted by the Government of Iran, as set forth in a confidential official document which explicitly states that Baha'is shall be denied access to education and employment, and that the government's policy is to deal with Baha'is "in such a way that their progress and development are blocked";

S. Con. Res. 31—2

(3) expresses concern that individual Baha'is continue to suffer from severely repressive and discriminatory government actions, solely on account of their religion; and that the Baha'i community continues to be denied legal recognition and the basic rights to organize, elect its leaders, educate its youth, and conduct the normal activities of a law-abiding religious community;

(4) urges the Government of Iran to extend to the Baha'i community the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international covenants on human rights, including the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and equal protection of the law; and

(5) calls upon the President to continue—

(A) to emphasize that the United States regards the human rights practices of the Government of Iran, particularly its treatment of the Baha'i community and other religious minorities, as a significant factor in the development of the United States Government's relations with the Government of Iran;

(B) to urge the Government of Iran to emancipate the Baha'i community by granting those rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international covenants on human rights; and

(C) to encourage other governments to continue to appeal to the Government of Iran, and to cooperate with other governments and international organizations, including the United Nations and its agencies, in efforts to protect the religious rights of the Baha'is and other minorities through joint appeals to the Government of Iran and through other appropriate actions.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this concurrent resolution to the President.

Attest:



Martha S. Pope

Secretary of the Senate.

Attest:



Donald K. Anderson

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

The Trade-Off

Project Residents Gain Freedom From Crime, But Pay Price in Rights

At Geneva Towers, Drugs And Gangs Are Replaced By Searches, Surveillance

The Beefy 'Beijing' Guards

By JIM CARLTON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN FRANCISCO — Three years ago, when police responded to a continual stream of shootings and assaults at the gang-ridden Geneva Towers housing project here, they were routinely pinned down by sniper fire and debris hurled out the windows — television sets, an auto transmission and even a dead body.

Today, those incidents are ancient history. Geneva Towers is now clean—of drug traffic, of gangs, of crime, even of the graffiti that once clung to its walls.

How San Francisco's most dangerous project was transformed offers two key lessons: One is that a major housing project can be taken back from gangs and cleansed of filth and violence, but it can take an overwhelming show of force. The other — now at the center of a national debate over whether Americans are willing to sacrifice some rights in order to be free of fear — is that the price is high, both in financial terms and in the resulting restrictions on personal liberty.

The Geneva Towers experiment began on June 6, 1991, when the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development foreclosed on the property, which had been privately developed as low-income housing. HUD had insured the private developer's mortgage, and foreclosed when it decided the two towers had become unsafe. Although HUD now owns the property, the agency says it plans to let someone else take ownership while HUD continues to subsidize the rents.

The Crackdown

The day of foreclosure, HUD called in a private management firm to take control of Geneva Towers. The firm, John Stewart Co., hired about 60 beefy armed guards who swarmed into the project's two 19-story towers and immediately instituted changes that continue to this day: Shifts of 13 guards patrol the buildings and grounds, 24 hours a day. Tenants are forced to enter through a single security room and identify themselves if not recognized. All guests have to sign in. Surveillance cameras are mounted on rooftops, in parking lots, lobbies and hallways. The guards mount frequent drug and weapon hunts, bursting into apartments, frisking anyone who appears suspicious and detaining suspects for police.

The company had previously turned around smaller low-income projects, but none as big as the 576-unit Geneva. The strategy, says Mari Tustin, a Stewart vice president, was simple: "You secure it and you clean it up. And you do it instantly."

By last year, crime had nearly disappeared. Most of Geneva's 800 residents are elated with the results. "No murders, no major assaults," says Eli Gray, chief of Geneva's security force. "Our basic crimes here now are family disputes."

'Like a Jungle'

Before the guards came along, "it was just like a jungle," says Dorothy M. Dear, 70 years old and a Geneva resident for 27 years. She now wanders the project freely, day or night. "The security they got now, I'm pleased," she says. "If they got rid of the security here, I'd be ready to leave."

Cornelia Simpo, 53, remembers the old times: Her car was twice broken into and a neighbor had a bottle bounced off her head as she walked outside. Now, Ms. Simpo says, "if security left, it would probably go to the dogs. They had to rough a few people up, but I don't see any harm in that."

Like Ms. Simpo and Ms. Dean, most of Geneva's residents have decided they are willing to give up some liberty in exchange for security — a trade-off in the spotlight now that several housing projects in Chicago are dealing with the same questions. Earlier this month, a federal judge banned the Chicago Housing Authority police from conducting warrantless sweeps of such notorious projects as Cabrini Green. The sweeps had begun in response to the murders of three elementary-school children in the projects. Previously, the American Civil Liberties Union had succeeded in stopping the authority from requiring residents and visitors to produce ID cards.

Lease Conditions

Two weeks ago, President Clinton weighed in, saying he would propose a plan broadening the power of police to enter and search public-housing apartments without warrants. The White House plan would also urge local public-housing authorities to impose lease conditions on tenants authorizing such searches.

"There are many rights that our laws and our Constitution guarantee to every citizen, but [victims] have certain rights that we are letting slip away," Mr. Clinton said. "They include the right to go out to the playground, and the right to sit by an open window, the right to walk to the corner without fear of gunfire. . . ."

At Geneva Towers, the effort has been expensive. About \$7.8 million was spent in the 27 months after the takeover, including \$3.5 million on guards and other security measures. For a city like Chicago, with 150,000 public-housing residents, a comparable effort at all its projects might amount to \$180 million the first year, without

Please Turn to Page A17, Column 1

Continued From First Page

addressing other root causes of urban disintegration such as poverty, crowding and lack of education.

At Geneva, the cleanup job alone was enormous. The lawns were patches of packed dirt filled with debris and up to a foot deep in broken glass. The stairwells and elevators were repositories for urine and feces, and graffiti blanketed every public wall. Nearly two-thirds of the windows were boarded up after having been shot or knocked out. Underground garages were jammed with abandoned cars, used for stowing drugs and guns.

In the first two months, workers, including 50 residents, removed 90 trash bins full of junk and towed off more than 100 abandoned cars. Public areas were steam-cleaned, windows replaced and crews worked nights to lay new sod around the buildings. Removal of gang graffiti turned into a war of wills; workers would clean it off, only to find it back the next day. This went on for months until the gangs tired and left the property alone.

Getting rid of the gangs was another war. The gangs controlled every floor, the garages, the lobbies and even the sidewalks. Stewart Co. hired Beijing Private Security Service Inc., which in turn brought in Mr. Gray, a former casino bouncer in Las Vegas, to head up a campaign to cut off the gangs' access to the project.

Mr. Gray, who plays the piano and leads a Baptist choir in his spare time, inherited a motley force of 15 guards who were paid around minimum wage. Only one of three guard shifts wore guns. Some guards allegedly



Eli Gray

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.26.94

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, APRIL 26, 1994

1/2

60

sold drugs over the counter in a boarded-up security room. Mr. Gray fired most of them, recruiting a better-paid force of about 60 fully uniformed guards, all equipped with pistols, nightsticks, Mace and bulletproof vests. Security cameras were replaced on all floors, and three zoom cameras were installed on rooftops. A dispatch booth was set up, with six video-surveillance screens.

A 10-foot fence was erected around Geneva Towers. Fire exits on all floors were rigged so buzzers would alert security to watch the cameras. Hallways and outdoor areas were bathed in bright lights. And the plywood covering security and staff-office windows was replaced with bulletproof glass so that the guards could, for the first time, identify all incoming residents and visitors.

The hooligans were initially unimpressed, opening car trunks to show guards their own bulletproof vests. Mr. Gray says he was once pinned to the ground by automatic-rifle fire from the towers. "A snake couldn't have been closer to the ground than me," he recalls.

The Private Edge

Because Geneva Towers was a privately developed project, the Beijings, as the guards came to be known, had advantages unavailable to the city police or public-housing authorities. The guards quickly evicted 70 troublemakers, a time-consuming and sometimes impossible process at public projects.

Considering themselves "private citizens" with the right to make citizen arrests, the Beijings searched any suspicious visitor, for possible trespassing if nothing else. If they found drugs or guns, they detained gang members until police arrived to make official arrests.

The tactics raise questions about how far private guards can go to provide security, and when those efforts run smack into Fourth Amendment protections against unlawful search and seizures. Mr. Gray says the guards are not bound by the Fourth Amendment, because it only restricts action by government, not by private individuals, and he maintains that the Beijings can enter an apartment without a warrant if they deem that an "emergency" exists. Such an emergency, he says, can be a tip on drug use, neighbors' complaints or suspicious sightings on the surveillance cameras. Police have similar powers to make warrantless searches, but the laws of most states narrowly define emergencies to such things as "hot pursuit" of a suspect or the sound of screams or gunshots.

Leases at Geneva Towers state that the landlord can enter apartments at any time "during reasonable hours" with tenant's consent for nonemergency reasons, such as fixing the plumbing or performing maintenance. The leases also say the landlord doesn't need permission to enter

in case of "emergencies."

Fourth Amendment scholars say the Beijings operate in a gray area of the law. If a security guard is contracted to police a private apartment, for example, they say the guard is considered a private citizen who does not have to adhere to the Fourth Amendment. But George Shollenberger, program manager for the National Institute of Justice, a research arm of the Justice Department, says courts have ruled in many cases that private guards do have to follow the Constitution if they work directly for the government.

Geneva's case may be more nebulous, adds Roger Goldman, law professor at St. Louis University, because the Beijing guards don't work directly for the federal government. They were subcontracted by the Stewart management firm, which in turn contracted with HUD. (Last June, HUD replaced Stewart Co. with Republic Management Inc., because Republic runs other HUD projects in the Bay area. The guard company did not change.)

Although the law is murky, the operators of privately developed but publicly subsidized projects, which house about one million Americans, could probably emulate some or all of the tactics used at Geneva. Security forces at publicly owned projects, which house two million people, are much more restricted.

Private guards, in any event, do have to conform to local state laws that prohibit harassment and assault among citizens. Mr. Goldman says the Geneva guards, at the least, could be sued in local courts or even criminally charged if someone they detain files a protest.

The ACLU View

Lawyers for the ACLU in San Francisco say no Geneva resident has contacted them to complain. John Crew, an ACLU director, says his group would probably investigate Geneva if it were disclosed that the guards were conducting the kind of apartment sweeps that prompted the lawsuit in Chicago. Mr. Gray says his guards don't conduct such random sweeps.

"Obviously, people in public housing have rights like everybody else," Mr. Crew says. "Some measure of public security and safety ought to be achieved without giving up people's rights."

Even some residents who praise the new security say the Beijings are often heavy-handed. Leslie Burch, the 20-year-

old president of a new youth council at the project, says he was choked when he questioned why some guards were searching through a friend's pockets after he had failed to sign in. Mr. Burch, however, adds that Geneva is a better place to live now, and last year he proposed opening the towers' first library.

Shirley Lee, a 61-year-old tenant, also feels safer, but says guards once cuffed her son because his name was not on the sign-in sheet. At 2 o'clock one morning, she says, she was awakened by banging at her door and opened it to find herself staring down the gun barrels of some guards and police. She says they explained that someone had robbed a taxi driver out front, and the suspect had been seen on surveillance cameras running into her apartment. They searched her place without a warrant and without asking permission, but didn't find the robber inside. (Legal experts say police are within their rights to pursue fleeing suspects into private property, under the hot-pursuit doctrine.)

"Since then, I don't sleep well," Ms. Lee says. Of that incident, Mr. Gray concedes, "You can't always be right. But it was for her safety as well as ours."

The Beijings also have a die-hard band of critics inside the project. Elzie Lee Byrd Jr. says Mr. Gray directed his guards to "teach me a lesson" after he complained they were whipping three shackled youths with batons. "Then the guards started hitting me," says Mr. Byrd, who claims he suffered two heart attacks as a result of the incident.

Mr. Byrd sued the security firm, and the case is still pending in state court. Mr. Gray disputes the account, saying Mr. Byrd tried to take a prisoner away from a guard, who then "elbowed him in the chest and pushed him back."

San Francisco police Capt. Harlan A. Wilson, who commanded the surrounding Ingleside district last year, says police have had to admonish the Beijings for venturing beyond the project grounds to "use their muscle" suppressing neighborhood crime, even though the guards have no authority beyond the 10-foot fence.

"We do what we have to do" to make the Geneva Towers safe, says Mr. Gray, whose company recently changed its name to Rembrandt Private Security Service Inc.

In 1992, the shootings at Geneva dropped to seven from 33 the year before, and violent assaults to seven from 66. Overall, reports of crime fell by 45%. In 1993, not one major-crime report was filed from the Geneva Towers.

That is not to say there aren't worries of another kind for both residents and the

police. Residents fear that a HUD plan to rehabilitate or even bulldoze the towers might force them to move out. A decision on that plan is expected within three months. And the city police are concerned about the displacement of gangs from the towers to a neighboring public-housing project called Sunnydale.

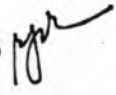
But HUD officials are certainly pleased with the outcome at Geneva. "The results speak for themselves in the minds of the residents," says Art Agnos, the HUD regional administrator and former mayor of San Francisco. "The overwhelming number of residents say, 'Finally, we have peace and security.'" As for those who criticize the guards, John Phillips, a local HUD special assistant, adds, "there is always a tiny little group of people who resist everything."

Capt. Wilson says even though the Beijing guards "may have violated some Constitutional rights," he applauds their success, and adds, "I wish I had their powers."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 26, 1994 94 APR 26 P10 : 10

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: R. PAUL RICHARD 
SUBJECT: CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS AND DAY OF MOURNING FOR
PRESIDENT NIXON

Today I worked with Phil Lader today on a problem that arose in connection with the National Day of Mourning that you proclaimed in honor of former President Nixon. This afternoon we learned that because of a provision of California law, your proclamation and Executive Order calling for a National Day of Mourning and the closure of executive agencies and departments might subject California to unexpected expenditures. Because you will be meeting with Governor Wilson while you are attending President Nixon's funeral, I thought you should be aware of this issue.

As I understand the problem, California law provides for set holidays, and also recognizes those days appointed by the President as a public fast, thanksgiving or holiday. A court decision in 1954 held that the National Day of Mourning for President Roosevelt was a holiday for state purposes. Similarly, litigation is now underway to determine if the National Day of Thanksgiving proclaimed by President Bush at the end of the Gulf War was a holiday for state purposes, despite the fact that no federal offices were closed.

The State Department of Education is worried that since the Governor has decided to keep the public schools open, the school boards may be subjected to liability for holiday pay.

We explored the possibility of amending either your Proclamation or the Executive Order with the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice (OLC). In their opinion, there was no legal basis for amending the Executive Order since by its terms, it is limited to the federal government. Although OLC had no legal objection to amending the text of the Proclamation, both David Gergen and Phil Lader recommended against changing the language, which is identical on this point with such proclamations issued by previous presidents.

Working with OLC, we are looking for interpretive language to bolster California's argument that holiday pay is not necessary in this instance. However, because of the previous interpretations of the holiday statute by the California courts, we are not convinced that the changes sought by California would have any effect on the court's decision regarding whether or not holiday pay is required.

cc: Phil Lader 

House of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4907

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

David L. Oby
M.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4.26.94

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

Donny
I put the US bus. group
Teewick + Paul American
was supposed to be seen
this morning
As seen
Refers Don

00000000

7th DISTRICT, WISCONSIN

DAVID R. OBEY

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DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE:
JERRY MADISON

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
JOSEPH R. CRAPA
STAFF DIRECTOR

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4907

April 26, 1994

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN:

FOREIGN OPERATIONS AND
EXPORT FINANCING

MEMBER:

LABOR—HEALTH AND
HUMAN SERVICES—EDUCATION

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN

DEMOCRATIC STEERING AND
POLICY COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

2462 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE
BUILDING

PHONE: 202-225-3365

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

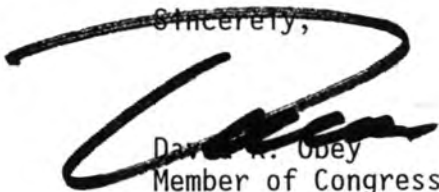
Mr. President:

In hearings yesterday before the House Appropriations Foreign Operations and Export Financing Subcommittee, which I chair, I was asked by Jerome Segal, President of the Jewish Peace Lobby, to pass a copy of this letter on to you, signed by over 800 Rabbis, urging that the United States support educational, cultural, and humanitarian activities that bring Israelis together with Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza.

I believe that this kind of approach should be given greater emphasis.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,



David R. Obey
Member of Congress

RABBIS' LETTER

Dear President Clinton,

Two years ago, acting in a far-sighted manner, both Houses of Congress passed the following language:

It is the sense of the Congress that, in order to promote better understanding and mutual respect between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples, the United States should support educational, cultural, and humanitarian activities that bring Israelis together with Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza.

Further, the Appropriations Committees of both the House and the Senate urged President Bush to fund this program at \$2 million for each of the years 1992 and 1993.

In recent months something quite remarkable has happened which has escaped general notice. On a non-governmental level, Israelis and Palestinians have responded to this new American program with an outpouring of creativity. U.S. officials have received requests totalling over \$3 million to fund some 95 different projects, all of them designed to contribute to greater understanding and mutual respect between the two peoples.

This vigorous grassroots effort to contribute to the peace process includes a remarkably wide range of joint Israeli-Palestinian endeavors ranging from meetings of technical experts to consider how a peace settlement should deal with water issues, to proposals for joint publications, an Israeli-Palestinian women's dialogue on violence, a conference of Islamic, Jewish and Christian scholars on peace in the three religious traditions, an Israeli-Palestinian film festival and cooperative advanced medical and scientific research.

That's the good news. The bad news is that of the 95 projects that have been proposed, U.S. officials have had to turn away all but ten. The reason for this is that the Bush Administration failed to provide the \$2 million for the program that had been recommended by the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. We find this to be shockingly short-sighted.

To make matters worse, it now turns out that President Bush's recommended 1994 budget did not provide any money for the program and that this was not altered when your own budget recommendation went forward. Thus, this remarkable new program is about to be lost, just when it is most needed.

We urge you, President Clinton, to make this program an important part and an inspiring symbol of America's quest for peace.

It is our belief that in the long run the question of peace between Israelis and Palestinians will depend to a large extent on whether the forces for humanization triumph. While a formal peace agreement can only be reached at the negotiating table ("Track I"), these "Track II" efforts on the grassroots level not only make diplomatic success more likely, but will be part of how stability is given to any diplomatic accord. Moreover, the experience the United States will gain from this novel conflict resolution program may have important bearing on how our foreign policy can contribute to conflict resolution in other parts of the world.

We urge you to fund this program, both in 1994 and in subsequent years, at no less than the \$2 million suggested by the Congress. We know that this is a time of budget stringency, but we are convinced that the contribution grassroots Israeli-Palestinian cooperative activities will make to the cause of peace will repay their minor cost a thousand times over.

(signed by over 800 rabbis, signatures attached)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

COPY

April 25, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY JOHN DEUTCH
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

FROM: JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT: BRIGADIER GENERAL LORANGER NOMINATION

I have no problem with the recommended action on the attached, but I do have a question -- why is information, which was briefed to local German Nationals in October and which was used in 15 German newspaper articles, still classified SECRET in mid-December?

Attachment

Overstating the Danger Of North Korea

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-25-94
Bury

In order to create an alarming picture in "North Korea and the Specter of War," Lally Weymouth [op-ed, April 6] grants imaginary strengths to North Korea and suggests nonexistent weaknesses in South Korea. The net, and apparently intended, effect is to create an impression of imminent danger that dictates aggressive action by the United States.

Her major theme is that South Korea is virtually defenseless: "If North Korea were to launch a surprise attack as it did in June 1950, it's likely that its highly mechanized infantry combined with its artillery would overwhelm the joint South Korean-American forces in a few days."

The first question raised by this assertion is how can the North Koreans surprise Gen. Gary Luck, commander in chief of Republic of Korea-U.S. Combined Forces? He has at his disposal an awesome array of intelligence support systems capable of detecting every phase of attack preparations north of the DMZ. No repetition of June 25, 1950, is remotely possible.

More important, how does her declaration that North Korea can "overwhelm" the defenders square with testimony delivered to Congress in 1989 by Adm. William Crowe, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "Our assessments do indicate that South Korea forces are capable of defending themselves against any threat from the North that does not involve either the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China."

Since 1989 North Korea has cut military spending 50 percent, while South Korea has increased its spending 50 percent and is now outspending the North by 6 to 1. Although still outnumbered on the ground almost 2 to 1, South Korea enjoys marked

advantages in the quality of its military equipment, technology, mobility, intelligence and logistic support as well as superior air and naval forces.

Given the unquestioned military advantage of defending vs. attacking, the existing military balance in Korea and the certainty that the full weight of U.S. military power would oppose any aggression from the North, no one in Pyongyang can be thinking in terms of "overwhelming" the South. Any attack would be nothing less than a suicidal act and the end of the nation of North Korea.

On the nuclear question, Weymouth provided only a partial description of the plutonium situation, leaving the reader with an impression that North Korea may now be creating more material for nuclear weapons. In December 1993, then-Secretary of Defense Les Aspin stated categorically that North Korea was not separating plutonium, if in fact it ever had.

There is a genuine concern that North Korea may acquire some spent fuel from an experimental nuclear reactor this year.

Taking Exception

This might then be reprocessed to produce weapons-grade plutonium. But what they may do in the future to create plutonium will still leave them far short of possessing a military capability with nuclear weapons. For this they will need to fabricate reliable "triggers" capable of producing a significant explosion and to configure a nuclear device to fit on a delivery system that they do not now possess. According to a defense representative at a Pentagon press conference

on March 9, such a delivery system was described as a "weapon of the future," not a short-term threat.

Perhaps the dangerous situation Weymouth describes would be more convincing if it was also the view of North Korea's neighbors. South Korea, Japan, China and Russia are the nations that would actually be at risk if North Korea presented a significant conventional or nuclear threat, but they are clearly not supportive of using the stick she recommends. And if they were seriously concerned, they certainly have means of their own to deal with North Korea. South Korea alone has twice the population and 10 times the economic output of North Korea. Why is an American stick necessary to discipline their neighbor?

Without question, North Korea is a relic of the Cold War and no friend of the United States. But it is equally clear that North Korea is a weak, impoverished and deteriorating nation that does not present a major threat to U.S. security or political interests in Northeast Asia.

The wise course to deal with North Korea is to be firm and patient, confident in our strength and the strength of our friends and allies in the region. If out of fear of imaginary dangers we act aggressively by sending more weapons and troops, threatening political and economic sanctions and setting deadlines, we may generate a military crisis where none exists today.

The writer, a retired Navy rear admiral, is director of the Center for Defense Information

Blown Off by Environmental Extremists

We would like to offer a different and often overlooked perspective on the issue of wilderness designation in the California desert ["Senate Acts to Protect Desert Lands," April 14].

First, it needs to be understood that the American taxpayer will be ultimately responsible for the formidable costs involved in purchasing and managing the nearly 8 million acres of California that will be "protected" by S. 21. As The Post noted, this is a 12,109 square-mile area, which is larger than the State of Maryland. It is not clear what the costs will be to obtain and manage the private holdings that now exist within the bill's boundaries, but it is clear that the bill does not provide the funds that will be required to do so.

Second, creating three new national parks at this time (from the existing Joshua Tree and Death Valley National monument, and the East Mojave national scenic area) will result in the further deterioration of the quality of the national park experience for all Americans. The National Park Service, by its own admission, is running a 37-year \$5.6 billion backlog in capital construction and maintenance costs, and a 26-year \$1.2 billion backlog in land acquisition. It is an act of folly to add nearly 3 million acres to the national park system (the size of two Yellowstone) to an infrastructure that is on the verge of collapse.

Third, the bill as passed by the Senate is by and large tailored to suit the narrow interests of the environmental community, not the interests of the people of California. S. 21 ignores the tens of thousands of individ-

ual comments, dozens of field hearings and the rest of the public process that comprised the 1980 California Desert Plan. This plan, which was supported by the Carter administration, was endorsed by all involved interest and user groups, from conservationists to multiple users. It would have created 2.3 million acres of new California wilderness without gutting regional economies. This was a real compromise, because not everyone was entirely happy with it. But it represented the will of the people of California, the same people who were shut out of the negotiation process of S. 21, and the same people who will be shut out of its deserts if the bill becomes law.

We have repeatedly introduced legislation to protect the California desert based on the 1980 plan. However, a fringe of the green community and its allies in Congress have dismissed this proposal as anti-government. We live in and represent the desert areas that are going to be affected by this short-sighted legislation; it will be our communities that will suffer the inevitable economic and environmental hardship. We want to see our deserts protected and managed in a sound manner, but we think that we ought to have a say in determining what is best for our districts and our constituents, but our offers to meet with the proponents of S. 21 to work out an agreement have been repeatedly spurned.

Frankly, it is irritating to have our views and needs, and those of our constituents, belittled and disregarded in order to pacify the always ravenous

environmental community. The frustrations will not just be ours, however, if this bill becomes law. They will be shared by every member of Congress whose constituents will want to know why their national parks are closing early and often, and why a multi-billion-dollar burden has been passed along to the people of America.

AL McCANDLESS
JERRY LEWIS
Washington

The writers, both Republicans, are U.S. representatives from California.

FRIDAY, APRIL 22, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

4-25-94

TO UP

Estelle Fishbein

Superflop

The failure of Superfund, and the flawed plan to fix it.

Fourteen years ago Congress created Superfund to clean up hazardous waste dump sites quickly and to protect human health and the environment. By every measure, the program has failed miserably.

Of the nearly 1,300 Superfund sites identified by the Environmental Protection Agency since the program started in 1980, only 15 percent have been completely cleaned up and removed from the Superfund list. Of \$13.5 billion spent so far on the program, 25 percent has been for legal and consultant fees.

Superfund is now up for reauthorization in Congress. Thus far there is no indication that anyone intends to make changes sufficient to fix what is so obviously wrong.

The bill presented to Congress by the Clinton administration would improve Superfund in some areas, in part by providing more reasonable, attainable cleanup standards. But it falls far short of correcting the most fundamental problem: the financing of site cleanup through retroactive liability.

Under retroactive liability, anyone who sends waste to a government-approved disposal site can be held liable for cleanup costs if that site later becomes a problem and is targeted for a Superfund cleanup. Thousands of innocent businesses, local governments, hospitals, colleges and universities have been branded as polluters under this system, although they did nothing illegal and, in fact, disposed of their waste legally and responsibly. The government wastes enormous amounts of time and money going after cash from these "potentially responsible parties," or PRPs; in fact, most of the work on Superfund sites is done by lawyers rather than by engineers or cleanup crews.

My own university, Johns Hopkins, is a victim of this system. The university sold three functioning electrical transformers to a company in West Virginia in 1980, before Superfund was even passed. It was the only contact Hopkins ever had with the company, which was in the business of reconditioning and reselling used transformers.

Years later, the company's property became a Superfund site. There is no evidence that the three Hopkins transformers contributed anything to the pollution there, but the government sued Hopkins for a substantial part of the \$5 million cost of the cleanup. Although there were about 150 transformers on the site when



BY SUSAN FOSTER

EPA arrived in 1984, the agency has not identified any PRPs other than Hopkins and the owners and operators of the property.

Hopkins also has been named a PRP at a site in South Carolina, a site that—before problems were discovered—was approved for hazardous waste disposal by both the state and federal governments. Hopkins paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to send its waste there because it was an approved site; now it has had to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars toward cleanup of that site, although it acted completely within the law at all times.

Despite the obvious unfairness of singling out innocent parties to pay for waste site cleanups, the Clinton administration's proposed reauthorization of Superfund does not abandon the retroactive liability approach. Instead, the administration has proposed an obligatory, non-binding allocation scheme that would give PRPs the opportunity to settle their "fair share" of liability at a Superfund site. A neutral nonprofit group—not the EPA—would deter-

mine a PRP's fair share. Any PRP, however, that chooses not to accept the group's settlement offer and to fight liability would be subject to financial penalties if it loses.

The administration plan fails to recognize that this type of voluntary, non-binding allocation system actually has been in place, *de facto* if not *de jure*, since Superfund's inception. But it has been very difficult for EPA, or anyone else, to determine "fair shares" of liability at many sites, because waste disposal records detailing who sent how much to a particular place are often incomplete or missing altogether.

More fundamentally, however, the plan fails to recognize that there can be no "fair share" of liability for a PRP that has acted lawfully at all times.

A far more sensible approach than this tortuous identification of "polluters"

and "fair shares" is to replace retroactive liability with a trust fund to pay for cleanups, a trust fund financed by a broad-based business tax.

This approach would resolve the current confusion and unfairness and let the government get on with the job of cleaning up hazardous waste. It would also ensure that businesses, not individual taxpayers, continue to pay for Superfund cleanups.

Many businesses have expressed willingness to pay new taxes to make this new approach work. There is now a diverse coalition of groups interested in fundamental Superfund reform called Alliance for a Superfund Action Partnership. The group, known as ASAP, includes the NAACP, small businesses and large corporations such as Texaco. Congress should listen to these organizations. Superfund has not worked so far; now is the time to make the changes that will make it work.

The writer is vice president and general counsel of the Johns Hopkins University.

Health care is on the agenda, thanks to Clinton's deft maneuver

By NORMAN SUBOTNIK

While critics and foes are hooting with derision over the hash they are making of the administration's proposal to reform health care financing, President Clinton can view with quiet satisfaction his masterstroke in forcing the U.S. Congress to the legislative table.

Not since the passage of Medicare 30 years ago have the nation's legislators been maneuvered, kicking and screaming, into the uncomfortable position of dealing with health care financing. This is an issue that has long worried middle- and lower-income Americans, for whom a major illness can mean financial disaster.

Plenty of room to nitpick

By opening the debate with a 2,000-plus-page plan that offers ample opportunity for nitpicking, the president has recognized the reluctance of Congress to confront a controversial issue — a reluctance which can, and often does, result in infuriating stalemate when the nation wants action.

And by declaring at the outset that he was willing to negotiate any part of his proposal except for universal coverage, Clinton has deftly forced Congress into action this year — before the 1994 elections.

President Clinton is no newcomer to political strategy. Not for nothing was he voted by his colleagues, Republicans and

² SUBOTNIK, who lives in La Jolla, served for 25 years in Washington, D.C., as a senior public information officer in the Department of Health and Human Services, the White House and the U.S. Senate.

Democrats alike, when he was chairman of the National Governors Conference, the most effective governor in the nation.

The president's only non-negotiable provision is for universal coverage.

The central reality is that Americans who now have health insurance through their employers stand a frightening chance of losing that coverage if they lose

their jobs — even if federal law provides that they may continue their health coverage at their own expense. For most, that cost would be prohibitive.

The majority of Americans who now have health insurance are already paying for the health care of nearly 40 million who aren't covered. Through inflated charges for medical care, which increase the premiums for their own policies as well as their own out-of-pocket co-payments, the "haves" are already picking up the bill for the "have-nots" in a manner which is totally uncontrollable.

In addition, as taxpayers, they are subsidizing hospitals through government grants for providing "free" care. A recent study revealed that the average over-billing for a hospital stay was about \$1,400. "We've got to do it to make up for those

who don't pay," was the excuse.

And the taxpayers are also footing the bill for Medicaid, which remains an important factor in the intractable welfare system, because those who receive Medicaid benefits are reluctant to give them up by leaving the welfare system for low-paying jobs.

As it stands now, families can be denied health insurance if one member has a pre-existing condition, or their coverage could be canceled if someone develops an expensive ailment. By drastically increasing the annual premiums, insurance companies eventually force out policyholders who cost too much.

Despite the laments of opponents to the contrary, many people now covered would receive better benefits at lower cost under the president's proposed plan, accord-

ing to an analysis published several months ago by the respected conservative news magazine *U.S. News & World Report*.

Millions of dollars and a blizzard of outright distortion are being poured into the

The average over-billing for a hospital stay is about \$1,400.

health care debate by those who stand to lose most from the passage of a national program: the insurance companies which derive enormous profits from the present system of private coverage, and the providers who oppose a closer examination of their practices and fees.

Those who fear the inefficiency of bureaucracies should recognize that the present system supports an enormous private-sector bureaucracy which processes mountains of paperwork and takes a big bite — maybe 40 percent — of the health care dollar. By law the administration can't spend tax dollars to lobby Congress on legislation, so its meager counteroffensive to date has relied on private funds from unorganized small donors and on the news media which ration the debate in sound bites and column inches.

President Clinton has taken the courageous and necessary first step by presenting a proposal to jump-start Congress and staked his political future on the outcome.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4.25.94

To Hickey



Brenton

good piece

B



Eating Out: The New Designer Restaurants • The Alamo Under Siege—Again

Texas Monthly

He's Brash.
He's Cocky.
He's a...

Son of a Bush

Will He Be the Next
Governor of Texas?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/25/94

From
Bill Burta

GEORGE W. BUSH
GOP Nominee



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1994

94 APR 22 P3:03

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON *WAG*
SUBJECT: LIFELONG LEARNING

I wanted to give you a brief update on the legislative progress of your lifelong learning agenda.

School-to-Work

After receiving final passage in the House on Wednesday with a strong bipartisan vote of 339-79, the conference report on School-to-Work act was accepted by the Senate late last night on a voice vote. The bill is now headed to your desk for signature next Wednesday, April 27. The Department of Labor is working with us to put together a signing ceremony that dramatizes the new opportunities this bill will offer to the millions of young Americans whom you and the First Lady have often called the "forgotten half."

Head Start

In another significant development last night, the Senate approved, by voice vote, the bill containing your Head Start reforms. The House Education and Labor Committee has just completed its markup, and our current information is that the bill will go to the House floor next Tuesday. The House/Senate conference could begin as early as next Wednesday. We are on track for a bill signing now scheduled for May 18th--the 29th anniversary of Lyndon Johnson's Rose Garden ceremony announcing Head Start.

Stop

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/25

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1994

94 APR 21 P5:57 ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK McLARTY

FROM: BILL BURTON

SUBJECT: Betsey Wright call

I spoke with Betsey Wright today. Her primary concern had to do with the story in this week's National Journal, attached, about Bob Rubin and the NEC.

Betsey's take on the article has to do with the anecdote about her, which she labels "another cheap shot from the NEC against Betsey Wright." She said she wishes the NEC would use someone else as an example to show that they can oppose the President's friends. Again, she concluded the conversation by saying, "Just let Mack know that this is exactly the kind of cheap shot against me I talked to him about."

What's the deal on the media's follow up on this?

POTUS -

FBI

Mack

Burton is coming / Betsey over a week / plh

The Labor Secretary said he has fielded complaints from underlings about being excluded from NEC-run meetings and about "spending too many hours at meetings that don't seem to reach closure."

The NEC's informality shows in all sorts of ways. For no reason other than that Rubin values his advice, Lawrence F. Katz, a young Harvard economics professor brought into the Labor Department by Reich, is asked for input on a wide range of matters. Katz fits the model of the sort of people Rubin likes: He's smart, but he is not seen by peers as arrogant, and he doesn't have his head in an ivory-tower cloud. "He's extremely bright, he's very easy to work with, he's knowledgeable about a broad range of issues and he has a practical kind of mind," Rubin said. "A very practical mind."

Rubin also enjoys kibitzing with two other bright bulbs: Lawrence H. Summers, Treasury's undersecretary for international affairs who was Katz's doctoral thesis adviser at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Alan S. Blinder, a member of the CEA on leave from his economics professor's post at Princeton University. On a recent Monday, the trio spent 90 minutes in Rubin's office chewing over such topics as inflation, interest rates and trade. "I took three pages of notes," Rubin said.

At the outset, university economists worried that the NEC would elbow aside the CEA, which traditionally has been a conduit from academia to the White House and an advocate of free-market principles. But Tyson and other CEA members have had ample opportunity to present their views at NEC meetings and other forums. Tyson also has her own relationship with Clinton and seems to

enjoy about as much influence as previous CEA heads have had.

FACTORING IN POLITICS

Striking a balance between good politics and good economics is an unavoidable, sticky problem for any Administration—and is at the heart of what the NEC tries to accomplish. "It is a law that the economics of an issue always run exactly counter to the politics," Cutter said.

Take last year's dustup over whether to extend operating subsidies for U.S.-flagged ships. Economists have long said that the subsidies are a waste of taxpayer dollars that have done virtually nothing to halt the decades-long decline of the U.S. merchant marine. But the subsidies are cherished by maritime unions and by powerful lawmakers to whom the unions have long made generous campaign donations. The unions and the lawmakers are a potent constituency that the Transportation Department ignores at its peril.

And so Transportation Secretary Federico F. Peña wasn't happy when his peers on the NEC, one after another, weighed in on behalf of sharply curtailing the subsidies. Sen. John B. Breaux, D-La., one of Congress's most powerful voices on maritime matters, wasn't pleased either.

But Peña insisted on a meeting in the Oval Office and got it. Clinton ended up giving Peña and Breaux a good chunk of what they wanted.

Cutter took Peña's triumph philosophically. "This is the big leagues," he said. "They throw at your head. . . . Someone brushes you back, you just get back to bat."

Although it's easy to decry the influence of raw political concerns on economic policy decisions, there would be no point in establishing a decision process that produced policy gems with no chance of passing Congress. Early on, the NEC helped give birth to some political losers—the ill-fated proposal for a tax on energy, for example.

After that, Rubin, Cutter and Sperling decided they had to do a better job of making sure that political feasibility was factored into the process. They made some adjustments, such as assuring that proposals bubbling up through the NEC were exposed to the politically attuned ear of Stephanopoulos. And Sperling, who NEC colleagues say has an uncanny knack for divining the President's leanings, is ever on the alert for political boners.

But while these precautions may keep the NEC from hatching a cracked political egg, they also run the risk of enforcing timidity, with the NEC backing away from bold initiatives that could succeed if the President exercised leadership.

"JUST A FEW FOLKS"

The NEC is not a lobbying-free zone; in fact, a steady stream of some of Washington's most prominent K Streeters, clients in tow, flows through its doors. In dealings with lobbyists, NEC personnel seem to take the attitude that many Capitol Hill aides take: They want to know the state of play between rival interests, the better to unmask political arguments masquerading as substance. Lobbyists can also be helpful in exposing bogus arguments made by agency officials.

The easy-access policy, not surprisingly, goes over well with the lobbying community. J. Richard Iverson, president of the American Electronics Association, praised NEC aides Dorothy Robyn and Thomas A. Kalil, a former electronics industry lobbyist, for helping to channel the views of his industry to the President. Another electronics industry lobbyist applauded Kalil for helping to boost Defense Department financing of flat-panel displays research.

The NEC is hardly a pushover, however. Last year, Washington executive Oliver R. Sockwell, president of the College Loan Insurance Association, hired lobbyist Betsey Wright of the powerhouse Wexler Group. Sockwell was shopping a proposal to expand the charter of his congressionally established enterprise; he wanted Wright, Clinton's chief of staff in the Arkansas statehouse, to open some doors. She got him in to see Rubin. But the proposal still sits on the back burner at the NEC.

Some critics fret that Rubin et al. have become slaves to the goal of a fair, inclu-



Richard A. Bloom

Gene B. Sperling, the NEC's 35-year-old whiz kid
Colleagues marvel at his knack for divining the President's leanings.

SAM M. GIBBONS, FLORIDA
J.J. PICKLE, TEXAS
CHARLES B. RANGEL, NEW YORK
FORTNEY PETE STARK, CALIFORNIA
ANDY JACOBS, JR., INDIANA
HAROLD E. FORD, TENNESSEE
ROBERT T. MATSUI, CALIFORNIA
BARBARA B. KENNELLY, CONNECTICUT
WILLIAM J. COYNE, PENNSYLVANIA
MICHAEL A. ANDREWS, TEXAS
SANDER M. LEVIN, MICHIGAN
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, MARYLAND
JIM McDERMOTT, WASHINGTON
GERALD D. KLECZKA, WISCONSIN
JOHN LEWIS, GEORGIA
L.F. PAYNE, VIRGINIA
RICHARD E. NEAL, MASSACHUSETTS
PETER HOAGLAND, NEBRASKA
MICHAEL R. McNULTY, NEW YORK
MIKE KOPETSKI, OREGON
WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON, LOUISIANA
BILL K. BREWSTER, OKLAHOMA
MEL REYNOLDS, ILLINOIS

BILL ARCHER, TEXAS
PHILIP M. CRANE, ILLINOIS
BILL THOMAS, CALIFORNIA
E. CLAY SHAW, JR., FLORIDA
DON SUNDQUIST, TENNESSEE
NANCY L. JOHNSON, CONNECTICUT
JIM BUNNING, KENTUCKY
FRED GRANDY, IOWA
AMO HOUGHTON, NEW YORK
WALLY HERGER, CALIFORNIA
JIM McCRERY, LOUISIANA
MEL HANCOCK, MISSOURI
RICK SANTORUM, PENNSYLVANIA
DAVE CAMP, MICHIGAN

JANICE MAYS, CHIEF COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR
CHARLES M. BRAIN, ASSISTANT STAFF DIRECTOR
PHILLIP D. MOSELEY, MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 4/25

APR 20

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6348

94 APR 22 P5:55

April 18, 1994

Mr. Thomas F. McLarty, III
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. McLarty:

Thanks for the April 12th supply of information about the President's program on taxes last year. Inasmuch as I had cast my district vote against both of the Reagan tax cuts for upper income individuals, I was happy to be one of the supporters of the President's tax legislation.

Here are a couple of illustrations which I think are very helpful. The average - if that is the word - couple with \$200,000 gross income (adjusted gross of about \$180,000) will pay about \$10.00 more a week in consequence of the President's law. But that same couple will be paying about \$20,000 less a year than would be the case with the Internal Revenue Code before the two Reagan cuts for upper income people.

The million dollar a year couple will pay about a thousand dollars more a week and still be paying half of what it would be paying had there been no Reagan tax cuts.

So I think the proper way to describe that part of the President's reconciliation legislation is that it was a repeal of a very small part of the Reagan tax cuts for the high rollers.

Sincerely,

ANDY JACOBS, JR.

AJ/tr

*Stored
Cheli 2/19/94*

*Plutus -
more
positive
feedback*

*Interesting
viewpoint
ms*

W. d



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

Dear Andy:

Thanks for the letter and for letting me know that the information on the President's tax legislation was helpful.

Your support was greatly appreciated, and I found the calculations you sent on the highest income brackets useful. Again, thank you for taking the time to write and please keep in touch.

Andy -
Very insightful
Analysis

Personally,

W. C. C.

41 25 94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

94 APR 21 09:35

April 21, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Ricki Seidman

Subject: Sunday, April 24

Several options you should consider for spiritual enhancement and physical and mental leisure on Sunday:

- (1) Lynn Bergfalk, minister of Calvary Baptist church invited you to participate in the dedication service of their newly renovated sanctuary at 10:45 A.M. You noted earlier, "I'd like to do this if I'm in town" (attached).
- (2) Bill Daley called and said he had discussed playing golf with you at Robert Trent Jones along with Jim Johnson and Tom Rosenberg. they currently are planning to tee off around 9:30 A.M. If you wanted to play with them, but didn't want to go all the way to Robert Trent Jones, my guess is that they'd be happy to play with you somewhere nearby. (Keep in mind that the Cabinet retreat will keep you from playing on Saturday.)
- (3) You have been invited to dinner in honor of Father Leo O'Donovan's 60th birthday at 5:00 at Riggs Library. This invitation came through Melanne. Hillary departs Sunday evening for San Francisco, I'm not sure what time.

(4) As Nancy may have already mentioned to you, David Leopoulos wants to run with you and some other friends. Sunday morning would be the best time, if you don't do it on Friday.

Run

- _____ I want to run with David before church or golf
- _____ Skip the run on Sunday.

Church

- _____ I'll go to my church early in order to get in a full day of golf.
- _____ I'll go to my church at the regular time.
- _____ I'll go to Calvary Baptist.

94 APR 21 09:35
Riggs

Golf

_____ I'd like to play with Bill Daley, et al at Robert Trent Jones

_____ I'd like to play with Bill Daley, et al at Army-Navy

_____ Let the Daley group go to Robert Trent Jones. If I decide to play, I'll make up my own foursome.

Supper

_____ I'd like to go to the dinner for Father O'Donovan.

_____ Please regret the dinner invitation.

Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 04/25/94

THE VICE PRESIDENT
MACK MCLARTY
DAVID GERGEN
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

TO:

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

April 25, 1994 94 APR 25 P 6 : 36

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lloyd Bentsen *LB*

SUBJECT: North American Financial Group

On Tuesday, April 26 Alan Greenspan and I are meeting with our Canadian and Mexican counterparts to inaugurate a new consultative mechanism called the North American Financial Group.

The Financial Group is designed to provide a forum for cooperative discussions of economic and financial policy issues, in recognition of growing stake we have in each other's economies.

I think it will prove to be a useful complement to NAFTA and our bilateral consultations with both countries. We plan to meet once a year, with more frequent meetings at the Deputies level.

We also plan to announce on Tuesday a trilateral foreign exchange swap (credit) facility. This facility will expand the pool of resources available to the monetary authorities of each country to maintain orderly financial markets.

The swap facility has three components:

- The U.S. and Mexico put in place agreements for up to \$6.0 billion, with the Treasury and the Federal Reserve each participating up to \$3.0 billion.

[We put in place a temporary facility of an equivalent amount following Colosio's assassination.]

- The Bank of Canada and the Bank of Mexico expand their existing swap facility to CAN\$1.0 billion.
- The Federal Reserve and the Bank of Canada reaffirmed their existing swap agreement in the amount of \$2.0 billion.

Each party has reciprocal privileges to draw on the other's currency in amounts equivalent to the amounts indicated above.

cc: Christopher, Kantor, Lake, and Rubin

VP
Mack
Gergen

✓
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 25, 1994

BRIEFING TO NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS

DATE: April 25, 1994
TIME: 4:00 to 5:30 PM
LOCATION: OEOB Room 450
FROM: Flo McAfee

~~TOP SECRET~~
TO VP
What do you
think of
OPPOSITE the
(inside)
somewhat
FRA wrong

I. PURPOSE

To provide a briefing on the Administration's key domestic policy issues that are of interest to members of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). OK

II. BACKGROUND

This marks the biennial Washington Insight Briefing for members of the NAE. During their 4-day visit to Washington, the members will receive briefings on public policy from a variety of public and private officials. At the opening dinner, former Congressman Guy Vander Jagt (MI) was the keynote speaker. Today the members will hear from Senators Orin Hatch (R-UT); Richard Lugar (R-IN) and Bob Dole (R-KS). They will also hear from Paul Weynch of the Heritage Foundation and National Empowerment Television (NET). Tomorrow they hear from Robert Maginnes of the Family Research Council; Dee Jepson of the National Coalition Against Pornography and wife of former Senator Jepson; Senators Dan Coats (R-IN) and Don Nickles (R-OK); Governor Carroll Campbell of South Carolina; and Senate chaplain Dr. Richard Halverson.

The National Association of Evangelicals was organized in 1942 as a vehicle for cooperation and compromise among evangelical Christians. NAE represents some 50,000 churches from 80 denominations, as well as hundreds of colleges and seminaries.

Those attending our briefing are denominational leaders and people who work on public policy issues. They hold their biennial meetings in Washington for both inspiration and information on policy issues of interest to their constituency. Of particular interest to the organization is family planning issues from child pornography to OraSure. (They feel the Administration has been non-responsive to approving OraSure. See Attached.) The organization has voiced strong opposition to Surgeon General Elders for her views. More recently the organization has joined to work with the Catholic church to oppose our health care plan because of the abortion issue.

The President was invited to speak at NAE's convention this year, but declined due to a scheduling conflict. Over the past few months, the President has continued to build bridges with members of the organization and has met with many who have attended the various religious breakfasts held at the White House.

III. PARTICIPANTS

150 Participants (See Attached)

IV. PRESS PLAN

There will be several press representatives in the room who are members of the organization.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

4:05 - 4:30 pm	Welcome and Remarks: Phil Lader, Deputy Chief of Staff
4:30 - 4:50 pm	Briefing on Crime Bill and Welfare Reform: Bruce Reed, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
4:50 - 5:15 pm	Briefing on Domestic Issues (focusing on Family Planning and Education): Bill Galston, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

VI. TALKING POINTS

See attached articles and background paper.

Categories

Laypersons:

Warren Anderson, M.D. (and Greta)
Bob McClure, M.D. (and Jan)
John Kie Vining, M.D.
Harold McKenzie, Esq. (and Rhoda)
W.H. Alan Smith, Esq.

Denominational officials:

Graham Smith (and Margaret), Moderator, Evangelical Prebyterian Church
Donald Roth, President, Evangelical Mennonite Church
Duane Adamson, District Superintendent, Christian & Missionary Alliance
Richard Bailey, Vice-President, Christian & Missionary Alliance
Leonard Hofman (and Elaine), General Secretary, Christian Reformed Church
Randy Wilson, Oklahoma official, Free Will Baptist Church
J.D. Simmons (and Lois), Asst. Gen. Supt., Int. Pentecostal Holiness Church

Political:

Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director, Office of Public Affairs, NAE
Sandra Houlihan, County Commissioner, Illinois
John Holmes, Director of Governmental Relations, Assoc. of Christian Schools, Int.
Richard Cizik (and Ginny), Policy Analyst, Office of Public Affairs, NAE
Curran Tiffany, Consultant, NAE
Forest Montgomery, General Counsel, Office of Public Affairs, NAE
Tim Crater, Director, Citizenship Campaign, NAE
Gary Dietrich, Admst. Asst., American Assoc. of Christian Schools

Media:

John Oster, Columnist
Gordon Govier, Editor, "Christian Broadcast", newsletter for Christian radio
Randy Becton, Editor, Upreach, Church of Christ denominational magazine
Bruce Evans, Broadcast manager, "Herald of Truth"
Carl Lawrence, "Haven of Rest" Broadcast Ministries
Ziden Nutt, CEO, Good News Productions, Int'l.
Mike McManus, Columnist, "Ethics & Religion"
Kim Lawton, News Network International
Ed Plowman, National & International Religion Report

NAE Leaders:

Darrell Anderson, Director, Field Services, Wheaton, IL
Paul Toms (and Eva), Evangelical Statesman, (Former NAE President, former World Relief Corp. president, former pastor of Park Street Church, Boston, MA)
Don Duff, Finance Chairman, Board of Administration
Leonard Hoffman, First Vice-President
Sherman Williams, Chairman, Northern California Association (NAE)

Pastors: Approximately 18-20

STATES: 23

AL-2; CA-8; CT-2; CO-2; GA-4; IA-2; IL-23; IN-7; KS-4; MA-2; MD-1; MI-8;
MN-2; MO-4; NY-5; OH-4; OK-5; PA-5; TN-1; TX-3; WI-2; VA-4; WA-1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Flo McAfee, Associate Director of Office of the Public Liaison

FROM: W. Steve Lee, Executive Assistant to the National AIDS Policy Coordinator *W. Steve Lee*

SUBJECT: OraSure HIV Diagnostic Device

Many of the issues raised in the April 2, 1994 letter from Calvin Columbus to President Clinton are valid given the history of the Federal government response to the minority community and HIV infection. It appears though, that this problem is reflective of some larger issues that are being addressed by the White House through this office. I thought a brief background on what I found out about OraSure would help, followed by some comments to put this issue in a broader context.

OraSure is currently under review by the FDA in the Biologics section, where all HIV-related drugs and devices are evaluated. If approved, OraSure would be the first non-blood HIV detection kit for use at home (or outside of a clinical or controlled setting). According to the FDA, there is no adversarial relationship with Epitope, the company that developed the device. The FDA is prohibited from giving me (or anyone) information about the likelihood of approval, so I didn't ask.

Some of the issues that home-test devices raise are:

Consistency and quality of test results (a user issue).

Accuracy (how many false negatives and false positives).

Under the current procedures, counselors can offer people the alternatives for treatment if they are positive and how to stay negative if they are negative.

It is my guess, that these issues may weigh heavily in, and thereby, be perceived as delaying the process.

Memorandum to Flo McAfee
April 8, 1994
Page 2

The larger issues that I alluded to above are related to the changing demographics of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and its disproportionate impact on people of color.

A recent review of the Ryan White Care Act by the Health Resource Services Administration concluded that inadequate evaluation mechanisms are in place to determine if services to minority communities are proportionate to infection/impact rates. HHS, however, is working on an external review process and is drafting the Ryan White reauthorization language to improve access to care.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has documented that prevention resources are not allocated in the community in proportion to the rates of infection/impact. The CDC FY95 budget includes provisions for planning guidelines that require representatives and input from the entire affected community as priorities are established for prevention efforts, and that the process and priorities must be certified by the state.

Of the thirty-six AIDS clinic trial units, three are minority-specific, which just were added in 1991. To alleviate some of these inequities, the National Task Force on AIDS Drug Development will work with federal research agencies to decide which drugs are brought to the trial phase. In addition to researchers, task force membership includes three community members, two of which are men of color with HIV. Presumably, the task force also will look at potential drugs in the context of who the drugs may benefit.

I hope this background is helpful. Please call me at 632-1090 with questions.

cc: Keith Boykin

**EVANGELICAL LEADER JOINS PEOPLE OF COLOR IN CONDEMNING
FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

APRIL 7, 1994

Washington, D.C. -- Richard Cizik, policy analyst, for the National Association of Evangelicals, joined a coalition today of African-American and other communities of color in strongly condemning the U.S. Food and Drug Administration for its three-year long delay in approving the first oral specimen HIV collection device.

Dr. Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Dir.
Office of Public Affairs
1023 15th Street NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202-789-1011
FAX: 202-842-0392

National Office
450 Gundersen Drive
Carol Stream, IL 60188
Phone: 708-665-0500
FAX: 708-665-8575

Dr. Billy A. Melvin
Executive Director

"The consequence of the FDA's deliberate stall in approving OraSure, an HIV test, is that thousands of Americans, even millions of HIV-positive people worldwide will continue unintentionally infecting their loved ones," Cizik said. "How can the FDA possibly justify this misuse of power?" he asked. "Christians around the United States should call the White House opinion line and register their outrage," Cizik stated. The OraSure device painlessly and quickly collects a sample of fluids from the mouth; the sample is later tested for the presence of HIV antibodies in a laboratory using standard diagnostic assays. Its ease of use, accuracy, low expense, safety, and non-invasive qualities should make it a priority item for government approval. Its availability will mean that more HIV-positive Americans and countless others worldwide will learn of their condition sooner and begin treatment; early diagnosis is absolutely essential as well to prevention efforts.

In joining the efforts of the People of Color Consortium Against AIDS, the NAE is only making public what it has been urging privately of the FDA for the last year. "I've always believed that one of the purposes of government is to protect the public safety," Cizik said. "In this case, the bureaucratic arrogance and racial insensitivity of the Food and Drug Administration has contributed to an unconscionable delay in government approval of new HIV testing technologies." The FDA had promised that it would act, one way or another, on AIDS-related products within a time period of twelve to eighteen months. In addition to numerous requests by the NAE to the FDA for action, Cizik indicated that he took the issue to President Clinton and other Administration staff last November after a White House breakfast with clergy as part of World AIDS Day activities. "It's obvious that President Clinton has not acted on the matter. But if he truly cares about the poor and those without adequate health care, he will phone FDA head David Kessler and tell him to act on this case," Cizik stated.

Public health studies about the transmission of HIV within communities of color reveal a growing medical catastrophe. The Center for Disease Control reported last year that HIV infection was the leading cause of death for black men aged 25-44 during 1991-92 and the second leading cause of death for white men in that age group. The death rate was three times as high for black men as for white men aged 25-44 and 12 times as high for black women as for white women.

INSIDE THE BELLWAY

By John McCaslin

United

Coalitions of conservative evangelical ministers and liberal AIDS activists are about as common as April snowstorms, but one was spotted yesterday in Colorado.

As snow turned the Denver streets to mush, about 25 activists from both camps marched outside the Food and Drug Administration building to protest the agency's delay in approving a simple saline test for HIV known as OraSure.

Both parties say the test could help stem the spread of AIDS in black and Hispanic communities, where many high-risk candidates refuse to submit to blood testing.

"These are unnecessary transmissions and unnecessary lives lost," said Carlos Santistevan of the People of Color Consortium Against AIDS in Denver.

Studies by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention have found the tests comparable to the Western blot blood test for AIDS, he said.

"It's an incredible story of bureaucratic arrogance and racial insensitivity on the part of the FDA," said Richard Cizik, policy analyst for the National Association of Evangelicals.

Clinton courts evangelicals, tries to convince them he's no liberal devil

By Julia Malone
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — President Clinton, a Southern Baptist who quotes from Scripture in speeches and openly talks about his own faith, is conducting a quiet missionary drive into religious territory long dominated by Republicans.

The president hosts breakfasts that draw conservative preachers and openaments the retreat of religion in American public life.

As a further sign of outreach, Clinton recently gave an interview to ABC-TV on his spiritual outlook. "I do not believe I could do my job as president in the absence of my faith in God," he said to applause from some in the religious community.

The president speaks more about his religious views in an interview to be published this month in Christianity Today, an evangelical magazine.

For the Arkansas native whose Baptist upbringing has been flavored with a collop of Jesuit teachings from his studies at Georgetown University, such discussion seems to be natural.

And some observers suggest it's not

bad politics, either.

For more than a decade, the conservative religious community and especially evangelical Christians have been flexing their voting power on behalf of Republicans. Now moderate Republicans are slipping away from the religious right, which was blamed for damaging the GOP in the last presidential election.

Evangelicals make up as much as one-fourth of the electorate, said John Green, an expert on religion and politics at the University of Akron. In 1992, Clinton chipped away at the Republican dominance in that group by stressing a moderate image.

"The evangelical community is a worthy target for votes," said the Rev. Richard Cizik, an official with the National Association of Evangelicals.

Cizik was among those invited for a White House session last November to discuss the war on AIDS. It was just one of several gatherings between Clinton and religious leaders in the last several months.

After Clinton had breakfast with a dozen evangelicals last October, he was rewarded with comforting words even from conservative Jack Hayford, pastor of the 8,000-member Church on the Way

in Van Nuys, Calif.

Hayford wrote later of telling the president that "God flooded my heart with a genuine love for him" and that "it is God's will for him to be president."

But the so-called "gang of 12" breakfast also stirred a bitter division in the religious community, especially among those who were enraged by Clinton's moves to lift abortion restrictions and ease rules against homosexuals in the military.

Phillip Yancey, a columnist for Christianity Today, has been stung by the hundreds of angry letters attacking his chatty report on his breakfast with Clinton. Several compared the session to a meeting with Hitler.

Yancey was invited for the interview with Clinton that is to be published in the magazine in late April. But watching the religious community become polarized, he now has doubts about the White House outreach. "It may even have been counterproductive," he said.

Overall, Green gives Clinton's outreach a mixed grade. "He's not been tremendously successful in that he hasn't yet brought a lot of evangelicals into his fold," he said.

"What he has succeeded in doing is

to blunt the image he developed early in his administration as a liberal," Green continued, recalling Clinton's early actions on abortion and homosexual rights.

But the list of Clinton offenses is growing in the eyes of many in the religious community.

"Many evangelicals believe that Bill Clinton's administration has been the most aggressive assault on biblical values that this nation has ever witnessed," said James Smith, director of government relations for the Christian Life Commission, which is the public policy agency for the 15 million-strong Southern Baptist Convention.

Smith ticks off issues ranging from condoms in schools to "disturbing" questions about Clinton's personal ethics.

The White House is undeterred. Fle McAfee, the president's liaison to the religious groups, plans to set up meetings for the president every month or so.

"We will continue to make sure we reach out," she said. If the criticisms do not subside, she said, "it won't preclude us from extending the invitation."

Presidential piety



President Clinton, like his most recent Democratic predecessor, is a Baptist.

Their religious affiliation

- Bill Clinton: Baptist
- George Bush: Episcopalian
- Ronald Reagan: Episcopalian
- Jimmy Carter: Baptist
- Gerald Ford: Episcopalian
- Richard Nixon: Quaker
- Lyndon B. Johnson: Disciples of Christ
- John F. Kennedy: Roman Catholic
- Dwight D. Eisenhower: Presbyterian

HIS PUBLIC EMBRACE OF RELIGION . . .

In his most recent foray into the Bible Belt, even as he was angered by a clatter of questions about whether he's still deserving of the citizenry's trust, President Clinton showed the cultural suppleness that has made him so resourceful as a politician.

In the cross talk about Whitewater and health care reform at his recent "town meeting" in Charlotte, N.C., Clinton took swift advantage of an opening. Asked about all the divorce, drug abuse and violence "since the Supreme Court ruling took prayer out of schools," he replied that the landmark 1962 decision "has been carried to an extent I don't agree with." He said he agreed with the Court's narrow holding that state legislators can't write prayers to be read daily in every schoolroom, but not with its 1992 ruling against prayers at a graduation ceremony unless they're the work of the students.

"If you're praying at a graduation exercise or a sporting event, it's a big open-air thing and no one's being coerced," he said. Then he intruded even more deeply into typically Republican rhetorical turf. "I've been advocating for nearly a decade now," he said, "that there ought to be a set of civic values that everybody can agree with that ought to be taught in our schools. . . . You just can't have a value-free society. You can't do it."

Clinton's comment, in perfect pitch for the Bible Belt, was merely the latest in a succession of episodes of public religiousness. He had superevangelist Billy Graham deliver the invocation and benediction at his inauguration. As President, he's been prone to quote the Bible. Clinton gave to Stephen L. Carter's *The Culture of Disbelief: How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion* (Basic Books, 1993) the sort of fame that President Reagan conferred on Tom Clancy's techno-thrillers. Clinton's wife lent a burst of attention to "the politics of meaning."

His advisers insist there's nothing purposeful about Clinton's public devotions, but they acknowledge the political benefits. "It was great," senior adviser George R. Stephanopoulos said of the two-part report on Clinton's religious faith that ABC News ran on March 22-23. Clinton jumped at the chance when Peter Jennings, the network's anchorman, suggested it; his soul-baring interview with Peggy Wehmeyer, the first reporter to cover religion for a television network, was

scheduled for 45 minutes but lasted an hour and a half.

He couldn't have looked better to religious voters if he'd bought the 10 minutes of coverage himself. "I try not to pray for personal advantage, but to think of others, [to] help me to do a better job tomorrow at being President, at being a father, at being a husband," he told Wehmeyer. "It's a very humbling job, this job."

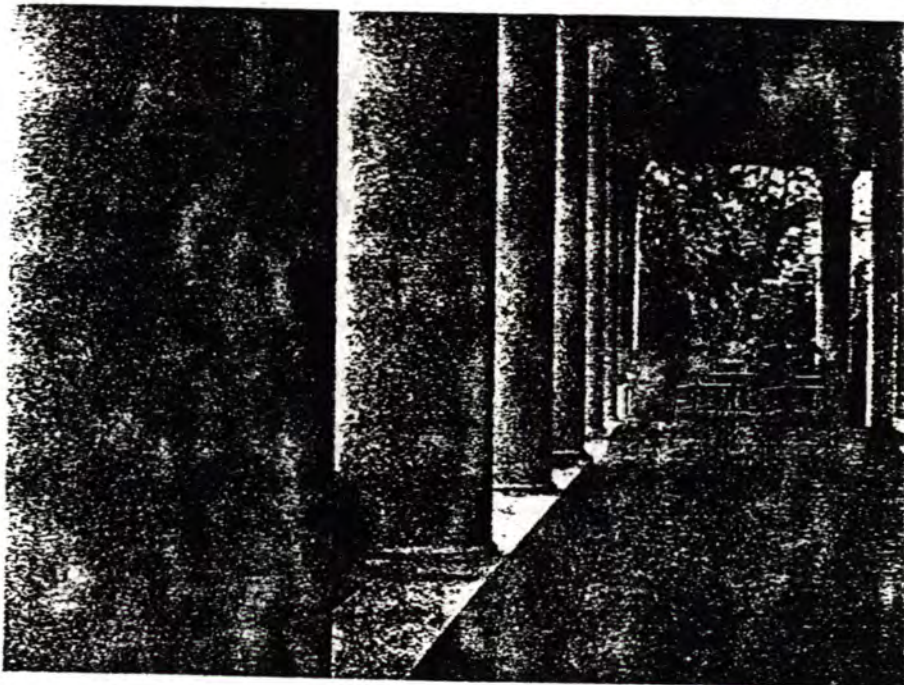
Clinton poses "a serious dilemma," Wehmeyer reported, to evangelical Christians: Most of them voted against him, but he "is one of them." He hasn't been heard to describe himself as an evangelical. But he's an active Southern Baptist who belonged to an evangelical church in Little Rock, Ark., and attended a Pentecostal revival each summer. (See *NJ*, 12/18/93, p. 3014.) His style of speaking uses the rhythm and the emotional rhetoric of an evangelical preacher. In his interview on ABC News, "he sounded like an evangelical," Richard Cizik, a policy analyst at the National Association of Evangelicals, said. "Those were the answers evangelicals give."

This should give Republicans reason to worry. Though a majority of evangelicals voted as Democrats until a decade ago, they've swiftly become a crucial part of the Republican base. With 30-40 per cent of the Republican electorate—"by far the largest single" GOP constituency—evan-

gelicals have supplanted mainline Protestants at the party's core, according to James L. Guth, a political scientist at Furman University. An erosion of evangelical support could hurt the Republicans, with their smaller base, even more than a defection of black voters would damage the Democrats.

For Clinton, a spiritual demeanor serves as an antidote to a persistent political poison: the questions about his character, stirred by the financial machinations of the Whitewater affair and the accusations about past philandering. It could also mean millions of additional votes. Evangelicals, by various estimates, account for between an eighth and a third of all voters; nearly half of the Protestants polled in a CNN-USA Today survey last month described themselves as born-again or evangelical Christians.

In 1992, exit polls found, Clinton drew support from only 23 per cent of white born-again Christians, compared with 61 per cent for President Bush. It wouldn't take much of a shift to have an electoral impact. James Carville, Clinton's specialist in political instinct, said that a bullish economy, Clinton's knowledge of Scripture and the appeal of his "trial by fire" could add 10 percentage points to his share of the evangelical vote in 1996. That would have been enough, he said, to put North Carolina and probably Arizona



... GIVES CLINTON A POLITICAL BOOST

in Clinton's column in 1992. "Not a sea change," Carville called it, "but a pretty good tide."

Even religious conservatives concede the potential of Clinton's appeal. Among church-going evangelicals and Catholics, Clinton's religious strategy offers "the chance to peel off a few more percentage points, which especially in a three-way race in '96 could make the difference," said Gary L. Bauer, the president of the Family Research Council, who was once Reagan's top domestic policy adviser.

Clinton and his advisers haven't been shy about trying. As many as 100-125 evangelicals are expected at the Old Executive Office Building on April 25 for a briefing by, among others, Philip Lader, a deputy White House chief of staff whose wife is from a prominent evangelical family. David C. Wilhelm, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, was booed when he spoke last fall to the Christian Coalition, televangelist Marion G. (Pat) Robertson's group. ("I believe and trust in Jesus Christ, and I am also a Democrat," Wilhelm said.) Clinton was interviewed at a roundtable of religion reporters last December and later by a columnist for *Christianity Today*, an evangelical magazine. He's met maybe a half-dozen times with religious leaders, including last September with top officials from the fundamentalist-dominated

Southern Baptist Convention, which has fought openly with Clinton. "He's been very open to these discussions," a senior White House aide said.

"Some of the programs the President has espoused, as well as the values he expresses, [such as] on school prayer, probably reach many people within the evangelical movement," Joan N. Baggett, the White House's political affairs director, said.

At times, in fact, he seems to be trying too hard. "He doesn't come walking out of church on Sunday with a Bible in his hand for nothing," Cizik, the evangelical official, said. After his years in the secular Sodoms of Yale Law School and Oxford University, Clinton returned to his religious roots only when it was politically useful, after Arkansas voters deemed him too modish and denied him a second term as their governor in 1980. Instead of joining the socially progressive Baptist church in Little Rock, he chose a theologically conservative one that put him in the center of the choir on the state's top-rated television show at noontime on Sundays.

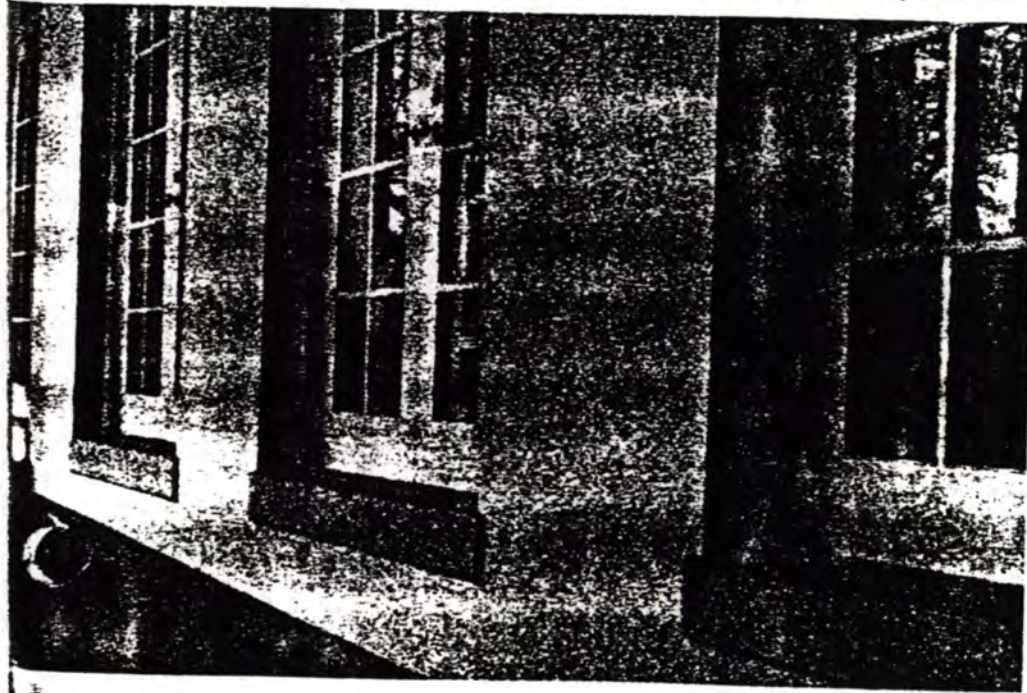
"There is widespread skepticism in evangelical circles . . . about his evangelical beliefs," former Reagan aide Bauer said. And many evangelicals have qualms about his personal conduct. "At some point, you conclude he's a willful sinner," a conservative Republican operative said.

But more than Clinton's character, "his problem in making inroads is his policies," Cizik said. Many evangelicals saw disingenuousness or worse in Clinton's unwillingness to take a highly unusual step and order the Justice Department last fall to withdraw a Supreme Court brief that was seen as soft on child pornography. Especially among the one-third or so of evangelicals who are considered part of the Christian Right, the concerns center on abortion, gay rights and other so-called pelvic sins. At a news conference in Washington last month, officials of the Virginia-based Christian Action Network urged Clinton to fire four appointees they branded "the four horsewomen of the apocalypse." They meant Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders, White House AIDS coordinator Kristine Gebbie, National Endowment for the Arts chairwoman Jane Alexander and Roberta Achtenberg, the openly gay assistant Housing and Urban Development secretary for fair housing and equal opportunity.

Political leaders in both parties are trying "to appease pro-family forces with reassuring rhetoric while actively promoting a radical sexual and social agenda," Martin J. Mawyer, the group's president, said. "The level of deception was barely tolerable during the Bush Administration. We simply will not put up with the hypocrisy of the current crowd."

Asked about the sincerity of Clinton's faith, a White House aide said, "I just have to tell you, it's real." He reported that Clinton talks about God in private and wasn't told by anyone to take the Stephen Carter book on his summer vacation.

But Clinton's advisers also acknowledge a gap between the President's rhetoric and his actions. When the Senate overwhelmingly endorsed "constitutionally protected" prayer in schools in February, the White House was nowhere to be found. It didn't file a brief in the current Supreme Court case about a school district set up for Orthodox Jews in New York. Officials cite reasons for such reluctance besides wanting to separate church and state. Because religious issues are so polarizing, especially among Democrats, Clinton will fare better with his religious efforts if he keeps them "less legislative and less policy [oriented] and more rhetorical," an official explained. A politician can be sincere about his faith, in other words, and still pursue it to his political advantage. ■



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 APR 22 P 6:55

April 22, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

CHRISTINE A. VARNEY
Secretary to the Cabinet

SUBJECT:

Summary of Weekly Cabinet Reports
April 22, 1994 through April 29, 1994

CABINET-WIDE ACTIVITY

HEALTH CARE

This past week Members of the Cabinet continued their high level of activity on behalf of your health care reform proposal. Eight Cabinet Officers participated in eleven events in targeted Congressional Districts, and conducted numerous radio and print interview's on a daily basis.

This coming week, Cabinet Members will focus their activities around the "Employer Responsibility" theme. From May 5-12, the Cabinet will commemorate Mother's Day by highlighting women's health issues and benefits for women under the Health Security Act.

FOOD SAFETY AND PESTICIDES

On Tuesday, April 26, USDA, EPA, and FDA will hold a news conference on Capitol Hill to unveil the Administration's food and safety pesticide reform legislation. Secretary Espy, Administrator Browner, and Commissioner Kessler have invited the Chairs of the four Committees and two Subcommittees with jurisdiction to participate in the announcement.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The Cabinet this week continued to keep the Administration's anti-crime efforts in the press, while also lobbying House Members for passage of the Crime Bill. Secretary Riley participated in several media events, including a Larry King Live show in which young people and college students called in to talk about violence and schools. The Vice President, Attorney General Reno, Secretary Bentsen, Dr. Brown and Deputy Secretary Deutch

announced several Administration crime and technology announcements at the DEA, this past Wednesday.

Today, Secretary Cisneros and Acting Associate Attorney General Bryson participated in a field hearing in Chicago on crime sweeps in public housing. Secretary Shalala visited Hexagon House, a shelter for battered women, with Congresswomen DeLauro, Roybal-Allard, Harman, Morella and Norton. Secretary Shalala and the Congresswomen also conducted a town hall meeting on violence prevention and the portion of the Crime Bill dealing with Violence Against Women.

Many Members of the Cabinet also made phone calls to the Hill this week -- first to Republicans and then to moderate Democrats -- to urge their support on the Motion to Recommit and on the final passage of the House bill. Several Secretaries, particularly Secretary Espy, turned around some key calls with just minutes notice when the Motion to Recommit was up for a vote and it was unclear to the Administration's legislative staff whether we would have the votes to pull through.

Next week, Cabinet Members will focus on the assault weapons ban. During the mark-ups in the House, the Cabinet will be participating in regional media and some targeted travel to raise public interest in the ban. Late in the week, they may do direct phone lobbying as well. In addition, the Attorney General will testify in at least two Congressional hearings on the prevention aspects of the Crime Bill. She will also focus on violence in a school visit, and she will celebrate National Crime Victims Week in a Department of Justice ceremony. Dr. Brown will be travelling as well, focussing on assault weapons and crime in addresses to the Illinois Legislature and Eastern Illinois University.

PRESIDENTIAL MEETING WITH TRIBAL LEADERS

Each Department has spent part of the last two weeks gathering information and developing issues in preparation for your meeting with tribal leaders next Friday. In addition to your meeting, which many Cabinet Members will attend, Secretary Shalala and Secretary Cisneros will address visiting tribal leaders and representatives at a breakfast session the same day.

PERSIAN GULF MYSTERY ILLNESS

Next week, a "Workshop on the Persian Gulf Experience and Health" will be held at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD. The workshop is sponsored by the Departments of Defense, Health and Human Services, Veterans Affairs and the Environmental Protection Agency. The workshop will examine information on environmental exposure of troops serving in the Persian Gulf, to determine whether an increased incidence of unexpected illnesses occurred, and to develop a working case definition for the illness. On April 27, the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on this topic as well.

** ** *

DEPARTMENT SUMMARIES

Department of the Treasury

- **G-7 and International Monetary Fund Annual Meeting:** This Sunday through Tuesday, Secretary Bentsen will host the annual meeting of the G-7 Finance Ministers and the International Monetary Fund in Washington. Key issues for discussion will be world economic growth, multilateral trade issues, and liberalization in Russia and the other formerly communist States. The Secretary will also have bilateral meetings with Japan, Germany, Russia and the European Union.
- **U.S.-Saudi Joint Commission:** Secretary Bentsen will meet with Saudi Finance Minister Abalkhail on Wednesday, April 27 under the auspices of a joint U.S.-Saudi Commission to facilitate increased trade and investment between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia.

Department of Commerce

- **Major OSHA Fine:** Last Monday, Secretary Brown delivered an OSHA citation and notice of imminent danger to the Dayton Tire Co. The company is being fined over \$7 million for egregious and willful failure to comply with certain OSHA safety standards. The company continues to refuse to comply with OSHA's citation which ordered the company to implement safety measures for machine repair. A federal district court will hear testimony May 10 on Labor's request for a preliminary injunction ordering the company to comply with safety standards. The company has suggested that it might close the plant for an extended period as result of this penalty.
- **School-to-Work:** The School-to-Work Opportunities Act passed the Congress this week. A bill signing is scheduled for the South Lawn on ~~Wednesday, April 28.~~

Department of Transportation

- **NAFTA Transportation Summit:** On April 28 and 29, Secretary Pena will convene a summit with his counterparts from Mexico and Canada to review border infrastructure and facilitation issues critical to facilitation increased trade in the post-NAFTA era. They will also discuss the development of an integrated North American transportation system.

Department of Justice

- **Rocky Flats Case:** Yesterday, the Attorney General announced the completion of the Department's review of the Rocky Flats case. The review found that no basis existed for Congressional charges that prosecutions in connection with environmental violations at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant were mishandled. The Attorney

General met with Congressman Dingell and the Department briefed other interested Members of Congress prior to the announcement. As was expected, the Members would have liked a more critical report.

- **ATM Antitrust Case:** Yesterday, the Attorney General announced the filing of an antitrust suit against Electronic Payment Systems, Inc. the operator of the largest regional automated teller machine network in the United States. The suit alleges that EPS engages in monopolistic and exclusionary practices which cause more than a thousand banks to pay higher, non-competitive prices for ATM services.
- **Abortion Clinic Access Case:** On Wednesday, April 27, the Solicitor General will present oral argument in Madsen vs. Women's Health Center, the Florida abortion access case. The Department is supporting the State of Florida in the appeal of its injunction against petitioners and others who engaged in and threatened to continue to engage in blockades of an abortion clinic.
- **Homosexuals in the Military Case:** On Friday, April 29, a hearing is scheduled in Able vs. U.S., the first challenge to the military's new homosexual conduct policy. The Department will argue for the dismissal of the case.
- **Criminal Alien Budget Amendment:** Today, the Department, in conjunction with OMB, announced the Administration's submission of a \$350 million budget amendment to fund a new state criminal alien assistance program to help states pay for the costs of incarcerating illegal alien felons.

Health and Human Services

- **Social Security Personal Earnings and Benefits Estimates:** Next week, the Social Security Administration will send to all Members of Congress a letter and a fact sheet in a test mailing of the Personal Earnings and Benefits Estimate Statement. This statement provides individuals with information about their Social Security contributions and expected future benefit levels. Legislation initiated by Senator Moynihan and enacted in 1990 mandates that these statements be sent to workers age 60 and over by FY 1995, and to virtually all individuals by FY 2000.
- **Oklahoma Appeal:** On Tuesday April 26, Governor Walters will meet with Secretary Shalala to discuss Oklahoma's appeal of a Health Care Financing Administration decision that resulted in a loss of a potential \$5.6 million in Medicaid matching funds.

The fact that we can get this report to all Americans in 1995 is a victory.

- **Welfare Waiver for Massachusetts:** On Friday, April 29, Governor Weld will meet with Secretary Shalala to discuss the Massachusetts waiver. Under this proposal, all AFDC recipients will be required to spend 40 hours per week in some combination of work, job search, and/or community service. (Disabled individuals and minor parents in school are excepted.) Families who do not meet this requirement will lose their AFDC benefits.
- **World Health Assembly:** At the end of next week, Secretary Shalala departs for Geneva, Switzerland to lead the U.S. delegation to the 47th World Health Assembly.
- **Indian Health Service Funding Restoration:** Today, OMB is announcing the restoration of \$125 million in funds to the Indian Health Service from the Public Health Service. As some of the transferred funds are coming from the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service, the Office of National Drug Control Policy is working with HHS to minimize the impact of the fund shift.

Housing and Urban Development

- **Crime Sweeps:** Secretary Cisneros is following up on the new crime sweeps policy by participating in a field hearing in Chicago today and once again spending the night in the Robert Taylor Homes.

Veterans Affairs

- **Racial Bias Study:** A VA sponsored study, published in the Journals of the American Medical Association this week, found that black patients were less likely than white patients to undergo invasive cardiac procedures at VA hospitals. Secretary Brown is continuing this research to determine the causes for the variation in treatment among racial groups.

Department of Education

- **Pell Grants for Prisoners:** The House overwhelmingly passed an amendment to the crime bill sponsored by Congressman Bart Gordon (D-TN) to eliminate eligibility for Pell Grants for incarcerated individuals. The Administration opposed this amendment.

Department of the Interior

- **Grazing:** This week, Secretary Babbitt appeared before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee to discuss the draft regulations on rangeland reform. The hearing lasted five hours and went very well. The Committee plans to hold two or three additional hearings in the West within the next few months. During the coming weeks, Secretary Babbitt plans to travel to New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming to meet once again with roundtable participants. In addition,

the BLM and the Forest Service, will hold 57 district hearings on the draft rule on June 8. The close of the comment period on the proposed rule is July 28.

Department of Agriculture

- **Canadian Wheat:** Negotiations in Morocco between U.S. and Canadian officials to attempt to resolve outstanding wheat, dairy and poultry issues ended with no agreement. As a result, the United States will begin the process of invoking GATT Article 28 to renegotiate our tariff bindings with Canada on wheat and barley.
- **Safe Handling:** On May 3, USDA will launch its safe handling and cooking educational postcard campaign targeted at young children and their parents. The postcard will focus on tips for handling meat products (hamburgers in particular) and will be distributed in schools across the country by nurses and by USDA Extension Service Agents. In September, USDA will begin another major distribution effort in schools.

Department of Energy

- **Super Collider:** Yesterday, an amendment was offered Congressman Boehlert (R-NY) to legislation moving through the House Science and Technology Committee that would prohibit DOE from expending any funds to settle the State of Texas' claim resulting from its investment in the SSC. DOE strongly opposes this amendment. A compromise amendment was offered that would have allowed DOE to achieve settlement, while maintaining the prohibition on expending funds for other activities in the state. Members of the Texas delegation rejected the compromise and Congressman Boehlert decided to take the amendment to the floor where he will attempt to attach it to the DOE labs bill. The amendment will be germane because the SSC was a DOE lab. DOE believes the amendment could be adopted.
- **Foreign Reactor Shipments:** DOE completed its Environmental Assessment on the impact of accepting approximately 400 fuel rods from overseas research reactors. The study concluded that there would be no significant impact from accepting this fuel. This fuel was originally highly enriched uranium sold by the U.S. to foreign nations; the nations now have no available storage for the material. The rods will enter the country at Sunny Point, North Carolina (a DoD port) and be transported by train and stored at the Savannah River Site in South Carolina. Secretary O'Leary has spoken with North Carolina officials including Governor Jim Hunt and Congressman Charlie Rose and South Carolina officials including Governor Carroll Campbell, Senators Thurmond and Hollings and Congressmen Butler Derrick, John Spratt, Arthur Ravenel and Floyd Spence. All of these officials will be silent or publicly oppose the policy but none, with the exception of Governor Campbell, will attempt to prevent its implementation. Governor Campbell may litigate to stop the spent fuel from entering the state.

This action to accept the rods represents a major advance in non-proliferation policy. The NSC, State Department and DoD strongly support the policy. Arms control and non-proliferation organizations will also support the action.

Environmental Protection Agency

- **Superfund:** Within the next few days, Administrator Browner expects to work with other Agencies and the White House to finalize a compromise legislative proposal on Superfund cleanup standards. The compromise was reached by industry groups in negotiation with Chairman Swift. If this proposal receives strong support Chairman Swift has indicated he will proceed with mark-up.

Department of State

- **South Africa:** On April 19, de Klerk, Buthelezi, and Mandela agreed to a formula that brings the Inkatha Freedom Party into the April 26-28 elections at both national and provincial levels. The agreement is expected to reduce election-related violence. Four to five thousand official and unofficial observers will be in South Africa for the elections, including approximately five hundred Americans.
- **Japan:** Foreign Minister Hata has emerged finally as Japan's next Prime Minister. Although Hata has more experience in government than Hosokawa, the new government is likely to be another loose alliance of diverse parties. The Department believes it will continue to have difficulty addressing the issues that concern us.
- **Population Policy:** The Pope is extremely concerned about positions he believes the U.S. is advocating, particularly our positions on abortion and traditional family structures. These issues are likely to be high on the Pope's agenda when he meets with you at the Vatican on June 2nd.
- **North Korea:** North Korea told us and the IAEA on Wednesday, April 20 that it can no longer delay refuelling its reactor. The IAEA will accept Pyongyang's invitation to monitor the process and put the spent fuel under safeguards.

United Nations

- **Bosnia:** The Security Council is working on a resolution for the end of April increasing the U.N.'s authorized strength from the current level of 38,000 troops to approximately 45,000.
- **Rwanda:** The Council is negotiating a resolution which would reduce the U.N. Mission in Rwanda to a Special Representative and a handful of advisers protected by a force of several hundred soldiers. We expect a vote on the agreement today.

- **Lebanon/Iraq:** Following the assassination of an Iraqi opposition leader in Beirut, Lebanon broke off diplomatic relations with Iraq, whose embassy masterminded the operation. Though the assassins confessed to Lebanese authorities, as accredited diplomats they are immune from prosecution. The Lebanese know they have U.S. support if they choose to bring the issue to the UN.
- **Peacekeeping:** Conferees from the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committee reached agreement this past week on legislation to authorize \$670 million in funds for UN peacekeeping operations for fiscal year 1994. This is a step forward although our estimated overall requirements for the year will exceed \$1 billion.

Department of Defense

- **Accident Over Iraq:** DoD is proceeding with investigations into the causes behind the shooting down of the Black Hawks. An investigation team is presently at Incirlik Air Base in south central Turkey interviewing personnel and reviewing tapes. It will be several weeks before the investigations are complete and we will withhold our findings until then.
- **Former Yugoslavia:** The U.S. Air Force lifted 177 U.S. troops and 255 tons of equipment into Skopje, Macedonia earlier this week. Twenty-six tactical vehicles were also moved in by rail. The troops are augmenting the approximate 220 U.S. forces already in Macedonia and replacing Nordic troops re-deploying to Bosnia.
- **FY'95 Budget Resolution:** Dr. Perry remains actively involved in efforts to persuade the Conference Committee to restore full funding for your budget. DoD is also developing a Floor strategy once the conference report is out of Committee.
- **Turkey/Greece:** In his recent trip to Turkey Dr. Perry suggested that the Turks take an initial step toward reducing tensions with Greece by removing live ordnance from Turkish aircraft flying missions over the Aegean Sea. Turkey has since issued such orders and is now hoping for Greece to respond in kind.

United States Trade Representative

- **Japan Developments:** Ambassador Kantor met with Japanese Foreign Minister Hata in Marrakesh, and although no commitment was made to reopen the Framework talks, both sides expressed satisfaction that some progress was made. USTR stressed that the U.S. door is open to new Japanese proposals to get the talks off the ground and left the ball in Japan's court. On Friday, April 29, USTR will proceed with the designation of Japan for discriminatory practices unless there is a break-through.

- **North America:** Ambassador Kantor held two intensive negotiating sessions with his Canadian counterparts in Marrakesh, but no agreement was reached to limit exports of subsidized Canadian grain to the U.S. Although lines of communication remain open between the two countries, Canada has announced intentions to retaliate against U.S. wine, apple and chicken imports if the U.S. proceeds with a GATT Article 28 notification to implement sanctions. The deadline for negotiating a favorable agreement is April 22.

cc: Vice President Gore
Mack McLarty



Building The
Wireless Future™

94 APR 22 P2:02

April 21, 1994

CTIA

Cellular
Telecommunications
Industry Association
1250 Connecticut
Avenue, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-0081 Telephone
202-331-8112 Fax
202-736-3213 Direct Dial

Thomas E. Wheeler
President / CEO

Mr. John Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

11/24
To Track
Guinn
seems worth
considering
John

Dear John:

Attached is a letter I have sent to Vice President Gore inviting him to participate in the announcement of an innovative joint venture between the PBS MATHLINE math education project and the wireless industry's CTIA Foundation, called "Telecommunications In Support Of Education."

This joint program, supported by a \$3.2 million grant from the CTIA Foundation, uses wireless laptop computers and wireless networks to permit teachers and students to tap into a new national electronic math resources center. My letter to the Vice President gives more details.

I'd appreciate it if you would recommend that the Vice President take part in this worthwhile and high-visibility event.

The Vice President's participation will do several things for the Administration --

(1) Demonstrate its commitment to providing access to the Information Highway to all Americans; (2) Remind the public of its support for new programs which help achieve the aims of the recently-signed Goals 2000 legislation; (3) Send the message that the Administration welcomes cooperative efforts between public and private organizations to solve the nation's challenges.

"Telecommunications in Support of Education" is scheduled to be announced on May 10 in Washington in order to take advantage of the presence of more than 20 CEO's of major wireless service providers and manufacturers who will be here for a meeting. However, we can be flexible on the date and time in order to fit the event into the Vice President's schedule.

Mr. John Podesta

Page 2

April 21, 1994

I'm enclosing an information kit on both the "Telecommunications In Support of Education" project and the CTIA Foundation. Please call if you have any questions.

Very truly yours,


Thomas E. Wheeler



*Building The
Wireless Future.*

CTIA

Cellular
Telecommunications
Industry Association
1250 Connecticut
Avenue, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-0081 Telephone
202-331-8112 Fax
202-736-3213 Direct Dial

Thomas E. Wheeler
President / CEO

April 21, 1994

The Hon. Albert Gore Jr.
Office of the Vice President
Old Executive Office Building
Washington D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I'm writing to invite you to take part in the announcement of "Telecommunications In Support Of Education," an exciting joint venture between the PBS MATHLINE math education project and the wireless industry's CTIA Foundation to help achieve the aims of Goals 2000.

America's wireless telecommunications providers (cellular, ESMR, PCS) have created the CTIA Foundation to specifically apply wireless technologies to the challenges facing our country today -- education, health care, and job creation. The PBS MATHLINE project, funded with a \$3.2 million grant, is the first project of the new foundation.

As FCC Chairman Reed Hundt has observed, there are thousands of buildings in America without rudimentary communications capabilities...they are called schools. Wireless telecommunications leapfrogs over those problems without the need for costly (and asbestos-laden) new cabling to classrooms.

"Telecommunications In Support Of Education" will enable both students and teachers to improve their skills by using wireless laptop computers and wireless networks to tap into a new national electronic math resources center far more advanced than anything in their own school. Because of the Clinton Administration's commitment -- and your own personal commitment -- to making sure that all Americans have access to the Information Highway, I hope you will agree to take part in the announcement of this venture.

It will be a high-visibility event to dramatize the importance you and the Administration place on applying modern wireless telecommunications technology to improving education, health care, and job creativity/productivity. As a participant in last summer's "Wireless Expo" on the South Lawn of the White House (coordinated by CTIA), you saw only a small sample of the promise of this new technology.

Vice President Gore

Page 2

The tentative date for the official public announcement of "Telecommunications In Support Of Education" is May 10, when nearly two dozen of the CEO's of major cellular and other wireless telecommunications carriers and manufacturers are in Washington for a meeting. However, that date can be adjusted to fit your calendar.

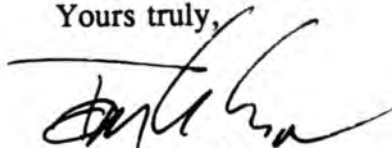
MATHLINE was developed by PBS in consultation with the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics in support of National Education Goal #4, "achieving world preeminence in mathematics achievement." Using satellites, wireless services, and other new technologies, MATHLINE has two aims: first, teaching the nation's one and a half million math teachers a new curriculum and new techniques for the 21st century; and second, bringing modern technology into the classroom so students can tap into remote resource centers, lesson plans, sample problems, and cooperative learning with other schools.

Your participation in an event calling attention to this cooperative joint venture in high-tech education between Public TV and a private foundation could have many benefits to the White House, as well as publicizing the administration's commitment to Goals 2000 and to assuring access to the Information Highway.

I understand that Ervin Duggan, the president of PBS, has already proposed White House participation in the announcement of "Telecommunications In Support Of Education."

I am enclosing an information kit on the PBS MATHLINE project, and on the CTIA Foundation. After you've had a chance to review this proposal, I'll call your office to answer any questions you may have and provide additional information.

Yours truly,



Thomas E. Wheeler

ROUTING SLIP

94 APR 22 All : 58

DATE: 4, 22, 94

FROM: Ricki Seidman
Assistant to the President
and Director of Scheduling and Advance

SUBJECT: Ceremony for Medals of Honor
TO:

JOAN BAGGETT _____

REBECCA CAMERON _____

MARK GEARAN _____

DAVID GERGEN _____

CINDY GIRE _____

MARCIA HALE _____

ALEXIS HERMAN _____

NANCY HERNREICH _____

HAROLD ICKES _____

PHIL LADER _____

ANTHONY LAKE _____

BRUCE LINDSEY _____

MACK McLARTY _____

PAT GRIFFIN _____

JOHN PODESTA _____

JACK QUINN _____

CAROL RASCO _____

BOB RUBIN _____

PATTI SOLIS _____

GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS _____

ANN STOCK _____

CHRISTINE VARNEY _____

DAVID WATKINS _____

ANNA WINDERBAUM _____

MAGGIE WILLIAMS _____

MELANNE VERVEER _____

JOE VELASQUEZ _____

TONY WILSON _____

FILE: in memo + Ricki's
Return to Colleen

CC: _____

FOR YOUR
INFORMATION _____

ADVICE X _____

ACTION _____

COMMENTS:

Please give me your opinion and advice
Return to Colleen.

*We should
do this.*
Total
*Best not to
wait too
long*

Schedule Proposal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

date 4 / 20 / 94~~94 APR 20 25:16~~

ACCEPT

REGRET

PENDING

TO:

Ricki Seidman
Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM:

Anthony Lake *AK*

REQUEST:

Ceremony to award Medals of Honor

PURPOSE:

To recognize the conspicuous gallantry demonstrated by Master Sergeant Gary I. Gordon and Sergeant First Class Randall D. Shughart in the fighting in Mogadishu, Somalia, in which they were killed in action on October 3, 1993.

BACKGROUND:

The President approved the posthumous award of the Congressional Medal of Honor to Sergeants Gordon and Shughart on April 12. The two Sergeants volunteered to descend from their helicopter to go to the assistance of the crew of another helicopter that had been downed by Somali gunmen. The Sergeants knew the mission probably meant certain death. After fighting their way into the crash site and protecting the injured crew members (including CWO Michael Durant, who was captured but later released), Sergeants Gordon and Shughart were killed by hostile fire. Their extraordinary heroism saved CWO Durant's life, but at the expense of their own.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

None. These will be the first Medals of Honor awarded since the war in Southeast Asia.

DATE AND TIME:

TBD, but before June 1 departure for D-Day commemoration activities.

DURATION:

30 minutes

LOCATION:

East Room

cc: Stephanie Streett

PARTICIPANTS: Families and close friends of the two Sergeants
 Congressional leadership
 Chairman and Ranking Members of the congressional defense committees
 Representatives of veterans organizations
 William Perry, Warren Christopher, Jesse Brown, Anthony Lake, John Shalikashvili, The Service Secretaries, Major General Tom Montgomery, Wayne A. Downing, James T. Scott, Samuel Berger, Leon Fuerth & Senior NSC staff.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President and First Lady would meet first in the Residence privately with the widow and children of Sergeant Gordon and the widow of Sergeant Shughart. The audience would be seated in the East Room with an Army band playing appropriately subdued but patriotic music. The band would conclude its pre-ceremony program and the President, First Lady and the two widows would be introduced by a narrator and enter the East Room. The President would make brief remarks. The citations to accompany the Medals of Honor would be read by Secretary West. The widows would be presented the medals by the President. The band would play "America the Beautiful". The President and First Lady would depart. After an interval during which the audience would greet the widows in a receiving line, military aides would escort the families from the room.

REMARKS REQUIRED: The President would make brief remarks (10 minutes) paying tribute to the Sergeants' valor and explaining that they did not die in vain.

MEDIA COVERAGE: White House Press

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Yes

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Yes

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: As desired

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

CONTACT: Robert Bell (395-3330)

Chen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

4/24/94

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

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

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



MEMBER

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

April 22, 1994

94 APR 22 P7:29

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN S. BLINDER *Alan*

SUBJECT: Interest Rates and the Stock Market, Week Ending Friday, April 22, 1994

Long-term interest rates fell slightly this week. Both short- and long-term interest rates rose on Monday after the Fed announced a further tightening of monetary policy. But long-term rates fell during much of the rest of the week, ending lower on balance. Changes in Treasury borrowing rates were as follows:

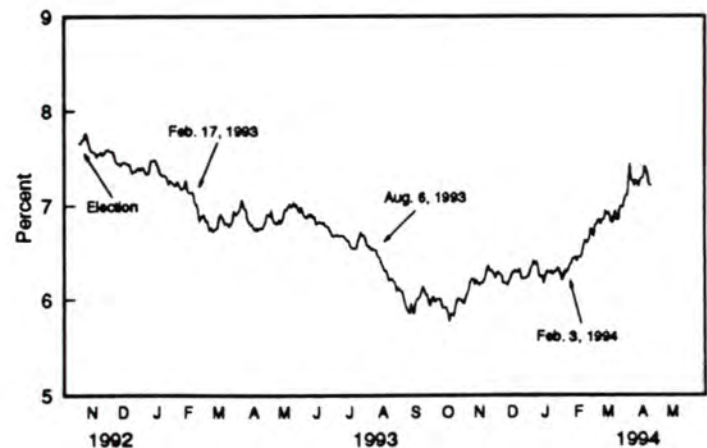
	Close 4/15/94	Close 4/22/94	Change
3-month bills	3.59	3.75	+0.16
10-year notes	6.97	6.93	-0.04
30-year bonds	7.29	7.21	-0.08

The stock market closed mixed for the week. The broad-based S&P index closed Friday at 447.63, up 0.3 percent from the preceding Friday's close. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed Friday at 3648.68, down 0.3 percent for the week.

Three-Month Rates



Thirty-Year Rates





MEMBER

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

94 APR 22 P7:29

April 22, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALAN S. BLINDER *Al*
SUBJECT: Foreign Economic Developments

Exchange Rates: The dollar fell this week despite the Fed's increase in short-term interest rates, which would normally be expected to raise the dollar's value.

Value of the Dollar in terms of:	Week Ending 4/15/94	Week Ending 4/22/94	Percent change from:	
			Week ago	Year ago
Deutschemark	\$1 = 1.7125 DM	\$1 = 1.6880 DM	-1.4%	+5.0%
Yen	\$1 = 103.60 Yen	\$1 = 103.25 Yen	-0.3%	-6.1%
Multilateral (March 1973 = 100)	94.94	93.92	-1.1%	+3.8%

European Interest Rates: ► The central banks of Belgium, France, and Spain cut key short-term interest rates this week, following last week's cuts by the Bundesbank and several others.

Japan: ► March's trade surplus was \$13.9 billion, essentially unchanged from a year ago.

Europe: ► West German producer prices rose 0.1 percent in March, and are just 0.3% higher than a year ago.

► France's consumer prices rose 0.2% in March and are only 1.5% above a year ago. Low inflation and a trade surplus were cited by Bank of France governor Trichet as reasons for a slight reduction in short-term interest rates despite the fact that the franc fell below its old ERM floor. GDP fell by 1.0% in 1993.

► British unemployment fell to 9.7% in February. Producer prices rose 0.1% in March and are 2.7% higher than a year ago. Retail sales rose 0.8% in March, and are 3.8% above a year ago.

Other Countries: ► The Canadian economy continues to look strong. Retail sales rose 0.9% in February and are 6.4% above a year ago. The index of leading indicators rose 0.7% in February and is 8.5% above a year ago.

► China's GDP grew rapidly in the first quarter and is 12.7% above a year ago.

► Poland's first quarter industrial production is 10.6% above a year ago.