

94MAY 6 P4:20

May 4, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: Jennifer O'Connor *mo*

SUBJECT: Request for the President to serve as Honorary Chair of the 1994 Veterans Day National Committee

Attached is a request from the Veterans Affairs Department for the President to serve as Honorary Chair of the 1994 Veterans Day National Committee. This request includes using his name on their letterhead. We agreed to this last year, apparently, and a copy of last year's letterhead is attached. Let me know if you need any more info and whether we will approve this request. Thanks.

*Sent to
DAN Burkhardt
I vote
yes*



THE SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

*Gen - Please
handle - Crest
w/ Podesta.*

APR 21 1994

MEMORANDUM TO: Christine Varney
Secretary to the Cabinet
FROM: Harold F. Gracey *H. Gracey*
Chief of Staff
SUBJECT: 1994 Veterans Day National Committee

It is our pleasure to extended to President Clinton, the attached invitation to act as the Honorary Chairman of the 1994 Veterans Day National Committee. The Committee also requests permission to use President Clinton's name on their official stationery. This distinctive stationery is used by the Committee for all official Veterans Day business, and the President's endorsement will ensure his commitment to our Nation's veterans.

Last year, the President graciously accepted our request, and attached for your information is a copy of the stationery used by the 1993 Veterans Day National Committee.

If you have any questions, please call Heyward Bannister at 273-4838.

Thank you.

Enclosure



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Christine Varney
Secretary to the Cabinet

SUBJECT: Veterans Day National Committee

I. ACTION - FORCING EVENT:

Invitation by the Veterans Day National Committee for the President to be its 1994 Honorary Chairman and to use the President's name on the Committee's stationery.

II. BACKGROUND / ANALYSIS:

Each year the Veterans Day National Committee uses distinctive stationery to heighten visibility of the Veterans Day Ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery. The stationery is used for all Veterans Day National Committee official correspondence. It will be seen by government, business, education, and community leaders across the country. Inclusion of the President's name as Honorary Chairman on the Committee's stationery will provide greater visibility for Veterans Day and demonstrate his commitment to our Veteran population.

III. RECOMMENDATION:

That the President be the Veterans Day National Committee Honorary Chairman and that he allow his name to be used on the Committee's stationery.

IV. DECISION:

_____ Approve _____ Approve as Amended _____ Reject
_____ No Action

Enclosure (1993 Stationery)



VETERANS DAY

NOVEMBER 11, 1993



NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HONORARY CHAIRMAN
HON. WILLIAM J. CLINTON
President of the United States

CHAIRMAN
HON. JESSE BROWN
Secretary of Veterans Affairs

HONORARY MEMBERS
HON. IRR ARPIN
Secretary of Defense
HON. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER IV, Chairman,
Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs
HON. FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, Ranking Minority Member,
Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs
HON. G.V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY, Chairman,
House Committee on Veterans' Affairs
HON. BOB STUMP, Ranking Minority Member,
House Committee on Veterans' Affairs

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS
CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR SOCIETY
DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS
AMERICAN EX-PRISONERS OF WAR
JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE USA
POLISH LEGION OF AMERICAN VETERANS
CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS
VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
AMVETS
VIETNAM VETERANS OF AMERICA
BLINDED VETERANS ASSOCIATION
ARMY AND NAVY UNION, USA
NON COMMISSIONED OFFICERS ASSOCIATION
THE AMERICAN LEGION
MILITARY ORDER OF THE PURPLE HEART
VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE USA
PEARL HARBOR SURVIVORS ASSOCIATION
MARINE CORPS LEAGUE
MILITARY CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION
WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS VETERANS ASSOCIATION
PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICA
LEGION OF VALOR
MILITARY ORDER OF THE WORLD WARS
THE RETIRED ENLISTED ASSOCIATION

MEMBERS
FLEET RESERVE ASSOCIATION
REGULAR VETERANS ASSOCIATION

MEMBER EMERITUS
UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS

COMMITTEE ADVISORS
STATE DIRECTORS OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
GOLD STAR WIVES OF AMERICA
AMERICAN GOLD STAR MOTHERS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Clon

DATE: 5/7/94

NOTE FOR: Ricki, Mack

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

Information

☒

Action

☐

Thank you.

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

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/7/94

May 6, 1994

94 MAY 6 AM : 33

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
RICKI SEIDMAN

FROM: RICK ALLEN RA
SUBJECT: MAY 12 DGA EVENT IN INDIANAPOLIS

Don Baer indicated to me that the President is scheduled to commemorate Robert Kennedy's speech on the death of Martin Luther King, at a DGA event in Indianapolis on the 12th. I mentioned to Don that it is possible that Ethel Kennedy might be willing to join the President for the event. If this is of interest, please let me know, and I will give her a call (probably the lowest stress way to determine her willingness).

Mr President :

I Believe this is a good
idea . - Your thoughts?

Chief

DO
RICKI SEIDMAN
5/7/94

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Podesta
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

FROM: Anne Bartley *AB*
Office of the First Lady

DATE: May 6, 1994

94 MAY 6 P4:46

The enclosed material was sent to us from Reverend David Jones in Concord, New Hampshire. He is requesting a small version of the Presidential seal to mark the pew of President Franklin Pierce in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, where Pierce's baptism and funeral were held. I have also enclosed a copy of a rubbing of the brass plaque that already marks the historic pew.

Rev. Jones first contacted the Bush Administration about this request, and has obviously been waiting a long time for some kind of response. His request came to my attention through New Hampshire State Senator Barbara Baldizar, who is a friend of the President and First Lady and was very helpful to us on the campaign. She was hopeful that we could do something.

If you are not the appropriate person for this request, please let me know who is. I understand that we may not be able to accommodate his request, but if there is anything you can do, I would appreciate it. Please inform me of the possibilities.

If you have any questions, you can call me at X62398 or Katy Button at X67264. Thank you.

*Marvin
Krislow
Please let me know
what you think
John*



St. Paul's Church
EPISCOPAL

Ms. Anne Bartley
OEOB Room 100
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

March 4, 1994

Dear Ms. Bartley,

Thanks to the assistance of my friend Senator Barbara Baldizar of New Hampshire, I talked today with Ms. Button of your office. She suggested I put in writing our request to you. Thanks for the opportunity to do so.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church is located in downtown Concord, New Hampshire directly across the street from the state capitol building. Our church building has seen a great deal of history and is a integral part of the Concord community and that of the state. Our most notable parishioner was President Franklin Pierce who was baptized and confirmed in this building, who worshipped here in his later years, and whose funeral was held in the church in 1867.

As was the custom in the last century, President Pierce paid rent for pew space at St. Paul's and was provided with a specific pew for his personal use. There is a small brass plaque designating that location on the wall of the church. Enclosed is a pencil rubbing of that plaque. I would very much like to acquire a small (four or five inch in diameter) color version of the presidential seal which we could affix to the wall directly above this plaque to further designate that special place. Given the number of tourists who visit our town, due to the unique place New Hampshire plays in the presidential selection process and due to the historical connection we have with President Pierce, I hope such a request will not seem unreasonable. Furthermore, when President Clinton comes to visit us someday, we will have a special and appropriate place for him to sit.

Thanks for your help. Please let me know if I can provide any additional information.

Faithfully yours,

(The Rev.) David P. Jones



HE WAS FORMERLY AS SET
FRANKLIN P. ROOSEVELT
OF CHANDLER NEW HAMPSHIRE
AND ST. LOUIS LAWYER AND
BRIAN'S GENERAL IN THE NEW
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
FROM 1933 TO 1945

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5.6.94

May 6, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: R. PAUL RICHARD 
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL COMMENDATION FOR GLORIA STEINEM

You requested additional information on the development of the commendation for Gloria Steinem. As you know, there has been a significant campaign to secure the Presidential Medal of Freedom for Ms. Steinem.

At the request of the First Lady, Melanne Verveer called me a few weeks ago to learn which presidential awards are currently available. After consulting with the Executive Clerk's office, I determined that the only awards that did not require a specific background (military or federal service, contribution to science or the arts, etc.) are the Presidential Citizens Medal and the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Melanne then asked if the President could award a commendation or a citation. The Clerk's records indicate that citations or commendations have been awarded to individuals and groups such as R. Sargent Shriver for service as a Peace Corps volunteer (LBJ), Edward Harriman for service as head of the Red Cross for 25 years, the Navajo Code Talkers for their work in cryptography during World War II, and Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams.

Upon learning that there was precedent for issuing a commendation, the First Lady's office drafted the citation for Ms. Steinem that you signed this afternoon.



SPECIAL AWARDS - ESTABLISHED BY THE PRESIDENT

Awards in this category are created by the President on an individual basis. There are no laws or executive orders regulating their issuance. They are used to grant Presidential recognition to individuals and organizations for many worthwhile endeavors. Generally, they are presented to persons or organizations whose service to the Nation or fellow citizens is of an unusual nature, such as extraordinary achievements, sustained and outstanding public service, etc., and particularly to persons for whom other categories of Presidential awards are not appropriate, such as the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the Presidential Citizens Medal.

They may be presented to all persons, including citizens and non-citizens, and to Federal, State, and local government officials. These awards may be presented by the President or by Government officials on behalf of the President.

Recipients are awarded a commendation/citation/certificate signed by the President, and in special cases a specially adapted medal and rosette may also be presented. These medals may be obtained from the Office of Personnel Management. Additionally, there may be an occasion when only plaque is awarded.

The following are a few examples:

PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS

Special Award for Exceptional Service

Joan M. Auten, a British citizen. By President Reagan for her 44 years of service at the U.S. Embassy in England. (Medal, Rosette, and a Citation signed by the President)

Presidential Public Safety Communication Award

Michael Jackson (singer). By President Reagan for his contribution to the National Campaign Against Teen-age Drunk Driving. (Framed Plaque)

Presidential Management Improvement Award

Created by President Nixon in 1970 to recognize a limited number of Federal government employees or groups whose achievements resulted in substantial benefits to the Government. There have been years when this award was not presented. (Plaque and a Certificate signed by the President)

President's Award for Energy Efficiency

Created by President Carter in 1980 to recognize corporations, trade associations, small businesses, civic organizations, and individuals who have made outstanding contributions to the national energy conservation effort. (Certificate signed by the President)

PRESIDENTIAL COMMENDATION

World Hunger. Presented by the Administrator of AID on behalf of the President beginning in 1983 to groups, organizations, and individuals for their leadership in the effort to eliminate world hunger. (Commendation signed by the President)

Pete Rozelle and NFL Charities. By President Bush for their example in meeting civic challenges. (Commendation signed by the President)

Eddie Cantor. By President Johnson for his distinguished service to the Nation. (Commendation signed by the President)

Exceptional Humanitarian Service. Presented by the Vice President on behalf of the President in 1984 to four individuals who rescued Vietnamese from drowning on the high seas. (Commendation signed by the President)

PRESIDENTIAL CITATION

Harlem Globetrotters. By President Ford for their service to the people of all countries. (Citation signed by the President)

Dr. Leland J. Haworth. By President Nixon for his inspiring leadership in nuclear physics at the Brookhaven National Laboratory. (Citation signed by the President)

William J. Hopkins, Executive Clerk, The White House. By President Johnson for his service to six President's since 1931. (Citation signed by the President)

Harry J. Anslinger. By President Kennedy for his outstanding record of achievement in combatting the illegal traffic in narcotic drugs. (Citation signed by the President)

PRESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

Alcohol and Drug Abuse. Created by President Reagan in 1984 to recognize individuals and organizations for their exemplary service to the Nation in the campaign against alcohol and drug abuse. (Certificate signed by the President)

Navajo Code Talkers. By President Reagan for their dedicated service to the Nation in World War II. (Certificate signed by the President)

Edward R. Harriman. By President Ford for his leadership of the American National Red Cross for 25 years. (Certificate signed by the President)

Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr. By President Johnson for service to the Nation and People of the World as a Peace Corps Volunteer.

5-6-94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

APRIL 25, 1994

94 APR 29 P12:13

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Karen Hancox, Legislative Affairs

Subject: Assault Weapons Ban -- Phone Calls

Following is a list of Members who may be moved on the assault weapons vote if they receive a phone call from you.

DEMOCRATS CURRENTLY LEANING YES

✓ Sherrod Brown (OH) -- 225-3401
 ✓ James Clyburn (SC) -- 225-3315
 ✓ Karan English (AZ) -- 225-2190 y
 ✓ Dick Gephardt (MO) -- 225-0100
 ✓ John Spratt (SC) -- 225-5501

REPUBLICANS CURRENTLY LEANING YES

✓ Scott Klug (WI) -- 225-2906
 ✓ Fred Upton (MI) -- 225-3761

→ concerned too broadly written
 HHS, MI used on range for sport shooting
Game factory

DEMOCRATS CURRENTLY UNDECIDED

✓ Mike Andrews (TX) -- 225-7508 → want to be clear on definition (not seeking re-election)
 ✓ Martin Frost (TX) -- 225-3605
 ✓ Tim Johnson (SD) -- 225-2801 → will vote for in C.B. - in separate.
 ✓ Bart Stupak (MI) -- 225-4735 → can't do 4 thing to deer rifle → can't. still
 very moment

DEMOCRATS CURRENTLY LEANING NO

Steven Neal (NC) -- 225-2071 (not seeking re-election)
 Glenn Poshard (IL) -- 225-5201
 Ray Thornton (AR) -- 225-2506

REPUBLICANS CURRENTLY LEANING NO

Hamilton Fish (NY) -- 225-5441 (not seeking re-election)
 Ben Gilman (NY) -- 225-3776

DEMOCRATS CURRENTLY VOTING NO (and not running for re-election)

Doug Applegate (OH) -- 225-6265
 Mike Kopetski (OR) -- 225-5711

~~2.5~~ (Rahm)

2

1

3

5-6-94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1994

94 MAY 4 P6:57

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *LMR RER*

SUBJECT: Follow-up on a Number of Issues

1. Blue Chip Report Suggestions for Boosting Productivity Growth – The Administration is pursuing (in one form or another) 4 of the top 5 suggestions rated most economically sound in the April 10 Blue Chip Report: 1) increasing the quality of education and providing increased financial support for job training; 2) avoiding protectionism; 3) reducing the deficit; and 4) working to lessen regulatory impediments. The fifth suggestion was to encourage increased private savings by modifying taxes on interest income and the elimination of taxes on dividends. The savings rate is a key determinant of long-term growth, and the economic team has spent considerable time on this, but thus far coming up with nothing that is both useful and politically realistic.

We will continue to assess the suggestions in each Blue Chip Report and will bring those that look viable into the NEC process and to your attention.

2. Information from CEOs – While anecdotal information on the economy needs to be treated with care, over the years I often felt that such information was a useful guide to what's happening. Right now, for the first time in a long time, many CEOs say that business is strong and, to them, seems likely to stay strong for quite a while. Although each CEO has his/her own particular gripes, particularly regulation and health care, there is also quite a bit of positive reaction to what we've done. (I will be speaking to The Business Council next weekend, and plan to challenge them to help us on key parts of our agenda that relate to the economy, e.g., GATT, Reemployment Act, inner-city initiatives, and responsible resolution of environmental issues (e.g., Superfund).

3. Small Business – As an aside, the Q&A periods after my recent speeches to big business and small business groups suggest to me that we are probably doing reasonably well with big business, with the exception of health care, but that small business has a lot of concerns, especially with respect to sub-chapter S, regulation and health care. We are putting together a meeting with Erskine Bowles, Eli Segal, Sally Katzen and other internal people who can think creatively about how to try to improve our small business relations, though the issues

unfortunately are real. (Erskine, as you know, has an excellent personal relationship and great credibility with small business, and clearly is a tremendous asset.) All of this increases our focus on the upcoming series of meetings over many months that constitute the run-up to the Small Business Conference under Alan Patricof, but Erskine and the White House are working with Alan to try to have this work as well as possible under what may be difficult circumstances.

4. Interest Rates and Economic Growth – I spoke to two of the people I regard most highly with respect to such matters as markets and interest rates. One, who runs one of the largest trading operations in the world, thinks that sometime in the next year we will have a 6.5% interest rate on the long-term bond and slow growth, and the other, who is more of an analyst, thinks that sometime in the next year we will have an 8% yield on the bond, reflecting high growth. I am having lunch today with Alan Greenspan to discuss the fragility of the world markets resulting from the vast positions in derivatives. Although this problem is of great independent concern, it also relates to the risk involved in further increases in short-term interest rates and should be a deterrent.

 **5. Black Male Unemployment** – Our black male unemployment effort, after much constructive and interesting work, including outreach, is developing a conceptual framework and programmatic specifics which will be presented to you when ready. I think you'll find this quite interesting -- but troubling, with regard to the shortage of resources versus the significance of the problem.

6. Paster Memo – In a memo to you from Howard, he mentioned that Europeans are questioning the Administration's free trade credentials. I think this is wrong, but, as we have discussed before in the context of specific decisions, every step we take in trade is under the close scrutiny of the world trade community and the press. We have recently made some decisions that can help us in this light -- Chinese honey, and the proposal for a rule on Venezuelan oil -- but believe we must continue to be vigilant as we think about wheat, oil and gas, Japan, and other specific issues.

 **7. Outreach** – At your suggestion, prior to the G-7 Jobs Conference, the NEC convened several dinners with policy and political people to discuss their views on a wide range of issues, including technology, the inner-city, the big issues of the next decade, an economists dinner, and the like, and we are continuing this practice on a regular basis. Two of the dinner participants, Woody Brock and Felix Rohatyn, recently sent follow-up letters and I wanted briefly to share their thoughts with you.



Rohatyn argues in his letter that neither the private sector nor education, training, and urban economic development initiatives can, by themselves, create enough jobs or training for the large number of unemployed inner-city black males. Rohatyn urges the Administration to design a 10-year, federally-sponsored public construction program. He proposes funding the program with a new, dedicated 2-cents-per-gallon gasoline tax, increased to 10 cents over five years, and supplemented by a 20% state and local contribution. He projects the program would produce between 500,000 and 750,000 jobs per year, 20% of which would be set aside for young, inner-city males, whose training for the jobs would begin while they are still in high school. Whether a dedicated gas tax in this case is politically realistic is questionable, but Rohatyn's idea will be incorporated in the infrastructure proposals that come to you later in the year. (They are all quite controversial, as you'll see.)

As I mentioned in an earlier memo, we will continue our efforts to determine if there are ways to pursue a cost-effective and politically-viable infrastructure bank for the FY96 budget. Funding is not going to be easy.

Woody Brock sent a memo on "A Reconceptualization of Macroeconomic Policy." He makes the point that both fiscal and monetary policy have been rendered less effective by our increased dependence on foreign economies, and that our discretion over fiscal policy is further limited by burgeoning mandatory expenditures. From that basis, Brock draws the conclusion that we can no longer steer the economy at all.

He suggests a third tool to control the economy which he describes as a new "incentive structure" for society, where all regulations and laws should induce rational decisionmakers (individuals, households, and business organizations) to act in ways that help the economy. This is certainly a good idea, but with problems like public goods and imperfect flows of information, it might be extremely difficult to achieve. Much of what we do here in the Government we do because markets don't work perfectly or we don't agree with how markets deal with distributional issues. In any case, we are trying to determine whether or not there is anything here that is useful to us.

Let me see this
B

56.94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May ~~5~~ **5** **P7:24**

RECOMMENDED PHONE CALLS

TO: See attached list of House Members.

DATE: Thursday, May 5

RECOMMENDED BY: Rahm Emanuel and Karen Hancox

PURPOSE: To thank the members (1) for their leadership in getting the legislation to ban assault weapons passed; or (2) for their tough, courageous vote in support of the ban.

BACKGROUND: As you know, the ban on assault weapons won 216-214 in the House today. The attached members were critical in getting the legislation passed, either because of their leadership in rounding up votes, or because they cast tough votes in the final minutes.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: See notes on attached list of members.

CONTACT PERSON: Rahm Emanuel

DATE OF SUBMISSION: May 5, 1994

DEMOCRATS

NOTE: Because you have already spoken with Congressman Chuck Schumer, he was left off this list.

1. Chairman Jack Brooks
(202) 225-6565
Brooks voted against the ban. Your comments to him should focus on the upcoming crime conference.
2. Congressman Douglas Applegate
(202) 225-6265
Applegate switched his vote at the last minute. He had previously announced that he would vote against the ban, but changed his mind on the House floor. He is retiring this year.
3. Congressman Andrew Jacobs
(202) 225-4011
Like Applegate, Jacobs was an announced "no," and switched his vote on the floor.
4. Congressman Sanford Bishop
(202) 225-3631
Bishop also changed his vote from "no" to "yes" at the last minute.

REPUBLICANS

1. Minority Leader Bob Michel
(202) 225-6201
Michel switched his vote at the last minute.
2. Congressman Chris Shays
(202) 225-5541
Shays was one of the Republican whips garnering support for the ban. 38 Republicans voted for the ban.
3. Congressman Castle
(202) 225-4169
Republican whip.
4. Congressman Porter
(202) 225-4835
Republican whip.
5. Congressman Henry Hyde
(202) 225-4561
Congressman Hyde's Judiciary Committee vote in favor of the ban started the momentum. His vote was a courageous one, and gave the legislation credibility, both because he is a Republican and because of his record on gun issues.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 4, 1994 94 MAY 4 P6:18

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF VARIOUS ITEMS FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Please see attached memo from Phil Lader summarizing the status of Presidential Personnel vacancies.

Steve Goldstein's article in The Philadelphia Inquirer, acknowledges your eulogy to Richard Nixon.

Bill Burton followed up with Bob Rubin and NEC staff per your note on the merits of Betsey Wright's complaint about a reference to her in a National Journal article on the NEC. Bob agreed to call Betsey to let her know that her advice is welcome.

-- Bill also talked to Betsey regarding Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities and about how the process will work and the make up of the Board.

You inquired about what Howard Paster said about the Supreme Court in his recent memo to me. Howard recommended George Mitchell.

Stephanie Streett is working on the NCAA Mens and Womens Basketball event at the White House. Due to scheduling conflicts for both the Razorback and Tarheel head coaches, June 10 is the earliest probable date.

Responding to your note about George Soros, we are keeping in touch with him.

Your call to Senator Dick Shelby was a sincere and thoughtful touch -- vintage Bill Clinton.

Jim Burt, President & CEO of Lincoln Bank of North Carolina, wrote expressing his regrets and appreciation for invitation to NCAA final game.

Jack Caldwell forwarded a copy of the letter sent out by Drake Keith, Chairman of the Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, urging Chamber members to contact vendors and trade associations, as well as local and national media, with "good news" about what's happening in Little Rock.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

-2-

Bernard Rapoport thank you note.

Bill Daley said Mayor Daley's support of Dawn Clark Netsch for Governor of Illinois is genuine and strong. Bill believes she has about a 50-50 chance to defeat Governor Edgar.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK McLARTY

FROM: BILL BURTON

SUBJECT: Betsey Wright/NEC Complaint

In response to my recent memo to you on Betsey Wright's complaint about a National Journal article on the NEC which made a reference to Betsey, the President wrote, "~~What's the deal on the merits [of Betsey's complaint]? Let's follow up on this.~~"

At your request, I had a conversation with Sylvia Mathews, who in turn talked with Bob Rubin, Gene Sperling, and Bo Cutter about the matter. All of them expressed concern, and Bob Rubin agreed to call Betsey to let her know that, regardless of that anecdote, her advice is welcome and that she will always have a listening ear at the NEC.

I would hope this would take care of the both the NEC problem the anecdote evidenced and the Betsey Wright problem her call evidenced.

M.A. President -

Per your note to me.

Also noted in the memo of Betsey's
cheat - What's the deal -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK McLARTY

FROM: BILL BURTON

SUBJECT: Betsey Wright/NEC Complaint

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[U.S. President]

Per your note to me.

Also, not to be
in the memory of Betsey's
cheat — like the the deal —

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: 5/2/77 Response needed by: _____

	Action	FYI		Action	FYI
Joan Baggett			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			BURTON	X	
Katie McGinty					

Remarks:

BURTON

Mack asked for a 1 pg
response to The President's
note re Betsey to Mack.
Thank

Response:

TOBACK

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."

Burton
What's the deal on the merits
Let's follow up on this

POTUS -

FBI

McL

Burton is coming
Betsey over a week / pila

What's the deal
on the Merits

Let's follow up on this -

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.

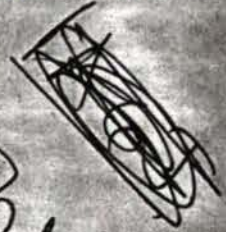
The NEC is hardly a pushover, however. Last year, Washington executive Oliver R. Sockwell, president of the College Loan Insurance Association, hired lobbyist Betty Wright of the powerhouse Wexler Group. Sockwell was shopping a proposal to expand the charter of his congressionally established enterprise; he wanted Wright, Clinton's chief of staff in the Arkansas administration, to open some doors. She got him 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-



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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/6



TO VP
This is when
we started

Stop the Serbs. Now. For Good.

By Margaret Thatcher

Margaret Thatcher is former Prime Minister of Britain.

We have been here so many times before in the Bosnian saga: acts of barbarism by the Serbs, the mobilization of a shocked international conscience, threats of air strikes (or actual air strikes, of the most limited kind), a tactical Serbian withdrawal, more talks aimed at persuading the warring parties to accept a carving up of territory that rewards aggression. Then the Serbs move on to yet another Bosnian community, applying the same mixture of violence and intimidation to secure their aim of an ethnically pure Greater Serbia.

The tragedy of Gorazde may for now at least be over. But there are other towns of equal strategic interest on which the Serbs are now free to concentrate their forces. Yesterday the U.N. intervened to head off a Serbian attempt to expand the Brcko corridor in northern Bosnia, but such interventions merely divert Serbian aggression. It is time to halt it — late, but not too late. We have the justification, the interest and the means.

A sovereign state, recognized by the world community, is under attack from forces encouraged and supplied by another power. This is not a civil war but a war of aggression, planned and launched from outside Bosnia though using the Serbian minority within it. The principle of self-defense precedes and underlies the United Nations Charter. The legitimate Government of Bosnia has every right to call upon our assistance in defending its territory. That is ample justification for helping the victims of aggression.

How to do the job without ground troops.

And both the United States and Europe have real and important strategic interests in Bosnia. Let me note four of them.

First, after all that the West, NATO and the U.N. have now said, the credibility of our international stance on every security issue from nuclear non-proliferation to the Middle East is now at stake.

Second, would-be aggressors are waiting to see how we deal with the Serbs. Our weakness in the Balkans would have dangerous and unpredictable consequences in the former Soviet Union, which has Slavic nationalist forces that closely parallel those of Greater Serbianism. And throughout Eastern and Central Europe there are minorities that aggressive mother-states might be tempted to manipulate to provoke conflict, if that is allowed to pay in the case of Serbia.

Third, Serbia's own ambitions are by no means necessarily limited to Croatia and Bosnia. Kosovo is a powder keg. Macedonia is fragile. Bulgaria, Hungary, Greece, Albania and Turkey all have strong interests that could drag them into a new Balkan war if Serbian expansion and oppression con-

tinue unchecked.

Fourth, the floods of refugees that would cross Europe — particularly in the event of such a wider conflict — would further inflame extremist tendencies and undermine the stability of Western governments.

The West has the means — the technology and the weapons — to change the balance of military advantage against the aggressor in Bosnia. Since the beginning of the Serbian war of aggression, which began in the summer of 1991 in Slovenia, intensified in Croatia and is now consuming Bosnia, I have opposed the sending of ground troops to the former Yugoslavia. But I have said that humanitarian aid without a military response is a misguided policy. Feeding or evacuating the victims rather than helping them resist aggression makes us accomplices as much as good Samaritans.

So I have consistently called for action of two sorts: the launching of air strikes against Serb forces, communications centers and ammunition dumps; and the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia and Croatia so that the Muslims and Croats can defend themselves on more equal terms against the Serbs, who inherited the massive armaments of the Yugoslavian Army.

If such a policy had been pursued when I first proposed it on this page in the summer of 1991, at a time when Sarajevo and Gorazde were under serious assault, thousands of people would now be alive and in all probability the Milosevic regime in Belgrade would have fallen. Because this approach was not adopted, we now find ourselves in a far more complex and dangerous situation: trying to defend almost indefensible safe havens; maintaining a facade of neutrality when all our decisions are based on the knowledge that the Serbs are the threat, and with a large contingent of U.N. personnel whom the Serbs may choose to use as hostages.

The new joint effort by Russia and the West to persuade the Serbs to settle for 49 percent of Bosnian territory (down from the 72 percent they have now occupied) is hardly less rife with dangers. The Serbs will almost certainly not withdraw, and once the guns are quiet the Russians may not wish them to do so — nor may the West be prepared to revive the threat of bombing to force them. Even if they were to withdraw, their 49 percent of Bosnia would still represent a reward for aggression. And in either event, the ensuing peace would be an unjust and fragile one requiring a large contingent of Western (including U.S.) ground troops to enforce it on the victims. If hostilities resume, as is all too likely, these troops would become the target for attack.

So the formula of air strikes and lifting the arms embargo is still the right one to apply. NATO already has the mandate from the U.N. Security Council not just to defend U.N. personnel but to deter attacks on the safe havens. This mandate gives full authority for the requisite launching of repeated large-scale air strikes against Serb military targets wherever these may prove effective. It is a matter for consideration whether strikes should go into Serbia itself.

Air strikes are effective, as long as they are not on a small scale, hedged with political hesitations and qualifications. They can inflict severe and ultimately unsustainable damage. But they have to be part of a clear strategy to shift the advantage against the aggressor. The Serbs must know that they will be carried out with swiftness and determination. Nor may Russian objections be allowed to stand in their way. If the Russians are prepared to support such action, all well and good. But NATO cannot have its policies entirely shaped by Russian sensibilities.

Lifting the arms embargo, as Senators Bob Dole and Joseph Biden have courageously proposed (the Senate is to take up the resolution tomorrow), is also crucial. That embargo was imposed before Bosnia and Croatia were internationally recognized, and its legal standing is at least questionable. The U.S., Britain and France — or if necessary, the U.S. acting alone — should formally state that they do not intend to continue with it.

Such statements might also be supported by a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly. The confederation between Bosnia and Croatia, so skillfully brokered by the United States, now means that supplies of arms will be used against the common aggressor, not against each other, and that they can easily be shipped in through Croatia. A well-armed Muslim-Croatian alliance would confront the Serbs with a quite new and unwelcome challenge. It might even prompt the Serbs to settle.

I do not claim that this approach is without dangers. It would require diplomatic and military skills of a high order. It is unlikely to bring immediate peace — though it might. Some disruption of the aid effort is inevitable. But what the people of Bosnia now need is a permanent peace that allows them to return to their homes and live without fear. What the West needs is to restore its reputation and secure its interests. This is the only way those aims can be realized. □

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Betty Currie

RE: Phone call from Senator Packwood

DATE: May 5, 1994

*L. Currie
need to try
you with his said*

Senator Packwood called you twice today. You stated that you would return the call later tonight. The White House Operators have number(s) to reach Senator Packwood.

5/6

Proletary

Clinton critic has little evidence for Whitewater charges

■ Robert Pittman



The Whitewater affair has faded, and no wonder. Since it produced no credible accusations of wrongdoing by President Clinton, and most of the reporting was about events that did or did not happen 10 to 15 years ago in Arkansas, there was little to sustain public concern.

One of the reasons it continued for as long as it did was the reputation of the president's chief critic. Rep. James R. Leach, 52, is not a hot-blooded bomb-thrower in the style of House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich. Instead, he is known in both Washington and his hometown of Davenport, Iowa, as a moderate, responsible Midwesterner who is the top Republican on the House Banking Committee.

But once this affair finally is finished, that reputation seems likely to change.

A careful reading of Leach's speeches and statements shows that he uses his image of moderation when it is to his advantage. At other times he has made wild and unproved accusations.

For instance, in an 11-page letter he wrote to constituents in Iowa, Leach uses careful and precise language to argue his case. He said he raised the Whitewater issue "with great reluctance." If there is a fire in this smoke, he wrote, "it is likely to be a campfire, not a forest fire."

But in a House speech March 7, he cast aside his moderate posture for that of a partisan accuser. He falsely accused Clinton of "involvement with a breaching of the vaults of an Arkansas S&L." He said Clinton's campaign "has been sullied by illegal contributions from an S&L," which charge has not been proved. Leach's partisanship was loud and clear when he charged that Clinton refused to pay his fair share of taxes, and therefore could not credibly "ask the people to pay taxes, let alone raise them."

I experienced Leach's two-sided tactics recently when he spoke to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The speech was a model of political responsibility in saying that the president should be given the benefit of the doubt at every turn. No one would be happier than he when this issue was put to rest.

Then in answer to a question, Leach said:

"It has been suggested that some of our documentation is weak. One is that the president saying that they lost his money. All I can tell you is anybody here can come up and look at the documents we have and the addition comes out to more than they say they lost."

That statement brought to my mind immediately the image of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy in Wheeling, W.V., on Feb. 9, 1950, saying:



Rep. James Leach's accusations have hurt his reputation.

"... I have here in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the secretary of state as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department."

So I asked Leach after his speech to show me the documents. He said he did not have them, but one of his employees did. He pointed out the employee, whom I asked for the documents. He said he did not have them, but that if I would give him name and address he would mail them. A week later an inch-thick stack of papers arrived, including

was Leach's claim in early April that the Clintons profited from their Whitewater investment. When the Associated Press conducted a careful analysis of Leach's charges in April, it discounted that claim, saying it didn't "stand up to closer scrutiny." Leach had lumped in every financial transaction he thought was related to Whitewater, including several that had nothing to do with the failed real estate development.

In a rebuttal, Leach argued that the relationship between Madison Guaranty, the failed S&L, and Whitewater Development Co. was "seamless." That is the heart of Leach's technique. He tries to take the years-old sins of James McDougal, the former aide to Arkansas Sen. William Fulbright who became a high-flying S&L operator, and lay them on President Clinton, whose mistake was in investing in an unsuccessful real estate venture.

For Leach, it hasn't worked. He has hurt his own reputation. Whitewater is fading while the nation awaits the finding of an objective inquiry, that of special counsel Robert Fiske.

■ Robert Pittman retired in 1991 as editor of editorials of the Times.

St. Petersburg Times
5/3/94

5/6/94

Podesta - Rye R



WHY THE MEDIA ATTENTION?

Whitewater distractions

by James M. Wall

BY NOW the Internal Revenue Service should have in hand details about your personal existence as defined in financial terms. This knowledge is now also available to future researchers, so take warning all ye who contemplate public life. How you handle your finances can and will be held against you. My return this year indicates that I gave a used car to a charity and claimed a tax deduction for the value of the car. It was either do that or sell the car and pay tax on the sale. I chose the gift route. If I ever run for public office two questions

could be raised: First, did I claim too much for a 1984 vehicle? And second, why did I, presumably a God-fearing person of the cloth, claim a tax deduction on a gift to others?

I have answers, but if those questions were to be raised in some future political contest, my answers probably won't matter. Informing voters of my scandalous tax deduction, my opponents would suggest that I am a pious fraud who overstated the value of an automobile and whose greed led him to take money from the American taxpayers. This would not be fair, of course, but fairness seems irrelevant these days.

One gets a sense of the atmosphere of American politics from talk radio, which apparently is the outlet for the fears and frustrations of a segment of Americans who do not feel represented by mainstream media. The major dailies, the news weeklies, network television, and all the local outlets that follow their lead largely adhere to a worldview that can be described, perhaps, as that of moderate to liberal secularism. Talk radio, available to anyone with access to a microphone and some commercial sponsors, has—with little concern for fairness or balance—rushed in to fill a void for those citizens who feel left out of the debate. One of the best-known purveyors of this style of communication is Rush Limbaugh, whose television and radio diatribes against mainstream America have attracted a huge following. Limbaugh is

to media what Ross Perot was to politics, a voice for those who feel society is controlled by "others" who don't care about their values or their concerns.

Political columnist Molly Ivins, speaking at a public library convention in Atlanta recently, made this sweeping but nevertheless illuminating remark: the religious fundamentalists who are fighting to remove books from library shelves "are the most frightened people we have in our society today." They are frightened, she said, because they don't like the way society is treating things they consider important, and they will violate the First Amendment in trying to do something about it.

When Hillary Rodham Clinton threw out the first ball to open the baseball season at Chicago's Wrigley Field, she received the boos that greet all politicians at sports events. But later in the game she encountered more than boos. As the First Lady moved from her seat behind the third-base line to visit friends near the bleachers, she was greeted by angry shouts: "Whitewater, Whitewater!" and "Rush is right; Rush is right!"—an obvious reference to Rush Limbaugh's attacks.

These were not friendly chants; they were ugly and hostile, unlike anything I have heard in more than 20 years of traveling with political candi-

dates and officeholders. The only thing comparable I can recall is the Sunday I traveled in Vice-President Walter Mondale's motorcade with then Mayor Harold Washington, an African-American, on a visit to a largely white Polish neighborhood in Chicago. I suspect that the racism that provoked the verbal attacks on Mondale and Washington reflected the same fear and frustration that is cultivated by Limbaugh's brand of radio hooliganism.

Limbaugh himself does not appear personally frightened as he ridicules "political correctness" with heavy-handed humor. But he knows his audience well enough to know what concerns them, and he exploits their fear of "pushy, aggressive" females (like Hillary), supporters of gay and lesbian lifestyles (like her husband), politicians who used to be soft on communism (most Democrats and moderate Republicans), and just about anyone who would champion the rights of minorities.

In a recent conversation with some clergy and their spouses I referred to the poisonous environment in which the Clintons are working for health care reforms, and I indicated that I greatly admired what the Clintons are trying to accomplish. I was asked: Why are you so sure of them? What about Whitewater?

Why would these people, most of whom would consider time spent listening to Rush Limbaugh to be wasteful and degrading, have this concern about

Whitewater? The answer, I suggest, is not because of the importance of something that happened 16 years ago, but because the issue of the Clintons' "character" has been raised—and raised not by their performance in the White House but by right-wing think tanks and radio talk show hosts who treat all public activities as soap opera plots to be savored. In short, I think my conversation partners are being duped into assuming that it is important to "clear up" what happened in Arkansas 16 years ago before we can get on with

Powerful interests are eager to push public discussion away from health care.

the nation's business. After all, we do want to be "fair" about all of this, don't we? But who determines what it is we want to be fair about?

Columnist Anthony Lewis, back from an extended overseas trip, writes that on his return he found not a Whitewater crisis for the Clintons but a crisis of confidence in the media: "Magazines, television and newspapers have taken stories that deserve modest attention and blown them up to hyperbolic proportions."

What drives this journalistic carelessness and hyperbolic coverage? Lewis suggests it is the media's "competitive zeal to get out front on the Whitewater story" in contrast to their "slumbering performance in the Iran-contra affair before the Reagan Administration disclosed it." The irony, says Lewis, is that Iran-contra was "the grossest abuse of the Constitution in modern times," when "a president, or men acting in his name, claimed a right to do what they wished abroad no matter what the law said."

In contrast, "Whitewater at worst involves petty financial juggling and favors years before Bill Clinton became president. There is no constitutional issue, no great question of the separation of powers." And yet, stung by the Clintons' reluctance to turn over relevant documents covering business practices of 16 years ago, intrigued by the suicide of Vincent Foster (a death which Limbaugh continues to label mysterious), and lulled into thinking Whitewater has to be important because respected Republican moderate Congressman Jim Leach of Iowa says it is, the media have pursued Whitewater with the zeal of puppies chasing a green snake across the backyard.

An unholy alliance has created this media feeding frenzy: politicians who oppose the Clinton program, right-wing investigators and fax-wielders who hate the Clintons, and talk show hosts, all of whom profit from and exploit the discontent, fear and anger in the land. They set the agenda for national conversation, which seems to be topped by this question: what is the truth about Hillary?

The truth about Hillary is that she and her husband want to change the

health care system of the only major Western democracy in the world that does not have universal health coverage. Powerful corporate and professional forces that profit from the way we currently run health care, and who control one-seventh of our national economy, stand to lose vast sums of money, which is why they are eager to push national discussion away from health care toward questions about the Clintons' finances.

Citizens who lose their health care because they change jobs or because they have a pre-existing condition will not be able to pay their bills with Whitewater clippings. One day, says Lewis, the media will "regret its hysteria." I wonder if we can get on with the nation's business and leave Whitewater to the special prosecutor—who, I wager, will eventually tell us that we have been force fed a great deal about very little. ■

FALLOUT AT SOUTHWESTERN SEMINARY

Lone Star Baptists

by Bill J. Leonard

TRUSTEES at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth initially offered no reason for firing President Russell Dilday. Dilday himself reported that trustee chairman and Dallas attorney Ralph Pulley told him, "We don't need a reason. We can do it. We have the votes, and we will." The March 9 firing and its accompanying indignities sent shock waves throughout the Southern Baptist Convention, creating yet another battleground in the 15-year conflict between moderates and fundamentalists for control of the denomination. Although other agency heads have been hastened toward retirement or resignation, Dilday is the first chief executive to be summarily fired. (Two editors of Baptist Press were fired in 1990.)

Response to the firing was rapid and explosive. Indeed, the fallout may be more than the fundamentalists anticipated. Numerous Texas Baptists, pastors and laity alike, called for redefining the relationship between the Texas Baptist Convention and the SBC. Some, in traditional Texas fashion, even raised the specter of "secession."

With more than 3,500 students, Southwestern Baptist Seminary is the largest theological school in the world. The Fort Worth-Dallas metroplex is home to the largest configuration of Baptists anywhere in the world. The Baptist General Convention of Texas

numbers some 5 million members. Although Southwestern attracts a national and international student body, its identity is solidly linked to Texas, a region known for its fierce independence in politics and religion.

Dilday's firing came at the end of a stormy trustees meeting in which most of the president's recommendations were rejected by the seminary's governing board. Trustees refused to approve an administrative reorganization program and also voted to rescind Dilday's earlier invitation to Keith Parks to speak at a seminary commencement. Parks, former executive director of the SBC's Foreign Mission Board, was himself forced to resign over conflict with Mission Board trustees. He now serves as missions director for the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, a fledgling society organized by moderate Southern Baptists in 1991. Seminary trustees objected to Parks's association with the CBF, which last year received some \$12 million from Southern Baptist churches and individuals. Trustee Miles Seaborn, a Texas pastor, commented that Parks "is openly, actively recruiting personnel and money in opposition to the Cooperative Program," the denomination's collective financing plan.

As tensions between Dilday and the board increased, a proposal was made that called for the president's immediate retirement with a finan-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *5/6*

Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 371-3200 • Telex. 6306377182 • Fax (212) 754-4073

May 5, 1994

Bundy

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have just been battering Vernon Jordan with advice on Haiti, and he told me to put it on paper for you direct, so here goes.

The worst thing we could do now is make the mess in Haiti all ours by putting in a lonely U.S. force by your U.S. decision. That would make their mess our mess for years. Haiti is not the Dominican Republic—and the U.S. landing there was dangerously overdone in '65 (I had a share in it). There are now good leaders in the Caribbean who can help carry the load, and also a good new man at O.A.S. This load can be shared, and it will work much less badly that way. U.S. money, U.S. asylum, and U.S. patience are all relatively easy, and vastly cheaper than U.S. invasion. Together they can help engage others to work with us and with everyone else on a political resolution in Haiti.

If you know all this already, forgive the intrusion. If you doubt it, ask your own excellent Latin Americanists.

With great respect,

Sincerely yours,

McGeorge Bundy
McGeorge Bundy

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/6

To Lee Ann
for dispatch
cc: Cutler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 3, 1994

94 MAY 4 9:57

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD N. CUTLER
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

cleared by
LNC Griffin

SUBJECT: SENATOR HEFLIN'S ALJ BILL

I have reviewed the draft of the proposed letter for your signature in reply to Senator Heflin's request for support of his Senate-passed ALJ bill in the House. I have also discussed it with Sally Katzen and Chris Edley, who prepared the draft.

OMB, the Department of Justice, and all the affected agencies continue to be firmly opposed to the Heflin bill in its present form. However, they do concede that some useful improvements can be made in the quality and independence of the ALJ corps, along the lines of a report made a year or two ago to the Administrative Conference of the United States by a committee headed by Paul Verkuil, an expert in the field who until recently was the President of the College of William and Mary. A summary of Verkuil's recommendations is attached.

Sally, Chris and I therefore propose that you respond to Senator Heflin along the lines of the attached draft. This would give you a few weeks to put together a specific reform program, part of which could be carried out by executive order and the balance by legislation you would recommend.

☒ APPROVED ☐ APPROVED AS AMENDED ☐ REJECT ☐ NO ACTION

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Howell:

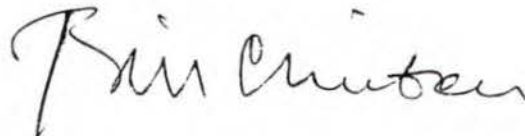
I appreciate your bringing directly to my attention S. 486, the Reorganization of the Federal Administrative Judiciary Act. I fully support the principle of maintaining both the reality and the appearance of impartiality in agency decision-making, as well as the importance of improving the accuracy and efficiency of administrative adjudication. I commend you for your years of work on these concerns.

As you know, senior officials in my Administration, representing virtually every agency employing administrative law judges, have registered serious objections to S. 486 as currently drafted. In light of your concerns, which I share, I have directed my staff to work with senior agency officials over the next few days to begin to develop a framework for a set of legislative and administrative actions that strike an appropriate and fair balance between the need to improve the quality and independence of administrative law judges and the need to maintain the consistency and efficiency of each agency's adjudicatory functions. I will have the results of this initial review within a few weeks and will at that time have my staff begin discussions with your office about how to best address the concerns we both have in this area.

I look forward to working with you to improve our system of administrative adjudication.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping underline.

The Honorable Howell Heflin
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

April 28, 1994

**Possible Executive Branch Actions
to Improve Administrative Adjudication**

Recommendations of the Administrative Conference of the United States

I. ALJ Selection:

A. OPM should continue to administer the process for determining whether applicants are qualified to be on the register of those eligible for ALJ positions and for rating such applicants. OPM should ensure that all applicants appearing on the register are in fact qualified to fulfill the duties of an ALJ under applicable law, including that they have the capability and willingness to provide impartial, independent fact-finding and decision-making. To the extent that this may require revising the examination process, OPM should make the appropriate changes.

B. OPM and the hiring agencies should give a high priority to expanding recruitment of women and minority applicants for ALJ positions. OPM also should review its ALJ application criteria to determine whether its current method of assessing litigation experience is appropriate.

II. ALJ Evaluation and Discipline:

A. Each agency that employs more than one ALJ should designate a Chief ALJ, who is given the responsibility within the agency to do the tasks assigned to the Chief ALJ.

B. OPM should provide guidance and assistance to aid Chief ALJs fulfilling the responsibilities given to them.

C. OPM and the agencies should ensure that Chief ALJs in particular are insulated from improper agency influence when carrying out their responsibilities.

D. Chief ALJs should be given the authority to:

1. Develop and oversee a training and counseling program for ALJs designed to enhance professional capabilities and to remedy individual performance deficiencies.

2. Coordinate the development of case processing guidelines, with the participation of other agency ALJs, agency managers and, where available, competent advisory groups.

3. Conduct regular ALJ performance reviews based on relevant factors, including case processing guidelines, judicial comportment and demeanor, and the existence, if any, of a clear disregard of or pattern of non-adherence to

properly articulated and disseminated rules, procedures, precedents, and other agency policy.

4. Individually, or through involvement of an ALJ peer review group established for this purpose, provide appropriate professional guidance, including oral or written reprimands, and, where good cause appears to exist, recommend that disciplinary action against ALJs be brought by the employing agency at the Merit Systems Protection Board, based on such performance reviews.

III. Complaints about ALJs: Each agency that employs ALJs should set up a system for receiving and evaluating complaints or allegations of misconduct by an ALJ, including bias or prejudice.

A. The Chief ALJ in each agency, individually or through involvement of an ALJ peer review group established for this purpose, should be given responsibility for receiving and investigating such complaints.

B. If a Chief ALJ determines that ALJ misconduct occurred, the Chief ALJ should recommend that the agency take appropriate corrective action, or, in appropriate cases, recommend that disciplinary action against the ALJ be brought by the agency at the Merit Systems Protection Board.

C. If a Chief ALJ determines that further investigation by another authority is warranted, he or she should refer the case to that authority.

D. Each agency should make known to interested persons in an appropriate fashion the existence of such complaint procedure.

E. Where allegations of misconduct implicate a Chief ALJ, they should be referred to OPM for such investigation and recommended action.

F. Complainants should be given notice of the disposition of their complaints.

IV. Complaints by ALJs: Each agency that employs ALJs should set up a system for receiving and investigating allegations of unlawful agency infringement on ALJ decisional independence or other improper interference in the fulfillment of ALJ responsibilities. Such a system should be subject to OPM oversight. Where investigation reveals the probable occurrence of such an impropriety, the matter should be referred to the appropriate authority for review and recommended action designed to remedy the situation and prevent recurrence, including the issuance of oral or written reprimands and other appropriate sanctions.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/15/94

April 15, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

In response to your question on the letter to Senator Hefflin, the outgoing correspondence was drafted by Sheila Anthony's office, and was approved by Sally Katzen and the Attorney General.

Do you want more information from Sally or to provide her with more guidance?

Paul
R. Paul Richard

*Hefflin
Strongly
6/15/94*

*Lloyd Curren
Pls review
Do you agree with this?
B.C.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

April 11, 1994 94 APR 11 P6:49

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
SUBJECT: LETTERS TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Attached are letters for your signature which respond to various letters from members of Congress.

~~The following is a brief description of each letter:~~

- 1) Howell Heflin (D-AL), concerning S. 486, a Bill to create a unified Administrative Law Judge Corps; and
- 2) Harris Wofford (D-PA), birthday greeting;
- 3) Bill Hefner (D-NC), birthday greeting;
- 4) Howard Berman (D-CA), birthday greeting.

*Howell Heflin
and only when
sent it to see Mr -*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Howell:

I appreciate you bringing directly to my attention S. 486, a bill to create a unified Administrative Law Judge Corps. That bill addresses matters that I know have been concerns of yours for many years.

My Administration shares your goal that Administrative Law Judges be impartial in their decision-making and that adequate safeguards be in place to maintain the appearance as well as the reality of impartiality with respect to the cases they hear. Moreover, as you know, I am fully committed to innovative efforts to improve the efficiency of the federal government, through such initiatives as Vice President Gore's National Performance Review.

However, a number of members of my Cabinet with direct responsibility for overseeing the administrative process have suggested that establishing a separate cadre of administrative law judges may not be the proper approach to reform. Your letter of March 14 argues the "[t]he gut issue is that the bureaucracy wants to 'control its judges.'" Notwithstanding whatever views career government employees may have, Secretary Donna Shalala and Secretary Robert Reich, among others in my Administration, have taken a fresh and unbiased look at S. 486, and they oppose S. 486 for a number of reasons.

To separate Administrative Law Judges entirely from their agencies would cause those agencies to lose control over their own docket of cases, as well as their rules of procedure. Disruption of the timing and priority of cases could impede the implementation of important Administration policies and goals. There would be a diffusion of accountability. Administrative Law Judges are not entirely autonomous; they are specialized, expert decision-makers who play a vital and integral part of the adjudication process at many agencies. They are not independent policy-makers, but are governed by the rules, precedents, and policies of the agency which they serve and their decisions normally are subject to review by the head of the agency.

Although U.S. District Court judges are generalists, as you note, their usual role in the administrative process is to review the results of expert agency adjudication, based on a full

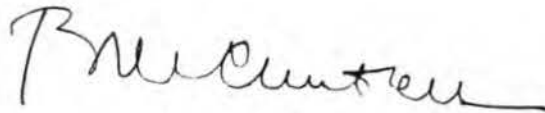
administrative record. The Administrative Law Judges, by contrast, are precisely the ones who preside over the process of assembling that record and rendering a decision interpreting and applying the complex statutory and regulatory provisions governing their agency that have become well known to them. In our view, the present system of decisionmaking by expert Administrative Law Judges at more than 30 different agencies has clear advantages over a system of generalist decisionmakers.

Furthermore, there is some real doubt that S. 486 would fulfill its promise of enhancing government efficiency. With respect to Social Security cases, which account for the large majority of matters before Administrative Law Judges, Secretary Shalala strongly believes that S. 486 would instead have the effect of impeding administrative efficiency, increasing costs, and reducing the consistency and accuracy of administrative decisions. This is even a greater concern for smaller agencies which would have no assurance that Administrative Law Judges with specific expertise would be assigned to handle their cases.

For these reasons, it would be preferable to consider more narrowly focused efforts to ensure the integrity and status of Administrative Law Judges under the present system of agency-based adjudication. Such a measured approach would produce the benefits of reform without the risk of making disruptive changes in the administrative decision-making process.

Thank you again for bringing your concerns to my attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

The Honorable Howell Heflin
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5594

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1994

MR PRESIDENT:

Attached is a decision memo from Carol Rasco, Bob Rubin, Jack Quinn and Leon Panetta on a recommended approach for dealing with unfunded mandates legislation that is likely to be marked up by Senator Glenn's Government Affairs Committee by the end of the month.

Two principal alternatives have been introduced, a Kempthorne bill that your advisors regard as unacceptable, and a more moderate bill known by its acronym: FAIR.

Carol, Bob, Jack and Leon are seeking your approval to open up discussions with the key sponsors of the FAIR bill to see if they would agree to certain modifications in exchange for Administration backing. Marcia Hale and the NEC principals support this strategy.

I have circulated this memo to George, Gergen, Gearan, Marcia, Pat Griffin and Katie. I am sending it up to you now because I understand that you are meeting with Leon and Bob this afternoon.

Approve discussions___ Disapprove___ Discuss___

Todd Stern
Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-94

May 4, 1994

94 MAY 5 All : 03

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: CAROL RASCO
ROBERT RUBIN
JACK QUINN
LEON E. PANETTA

SUBJECT: UNFUNDED MANDATES LEGISLATION

ACTION-FORCING EVENT

Later this month, Senator Glenn is planning to markup unfunded mandates legislation that we believe is likely to pass the Senate this year. In the House two bills are coming close to having enough cosponsors for a discharge petition. The National Governors Association (NGA), U.S. Conference of Mayors, and other State and local organizations have been seeking our position on a variety of legislative proposals. While all the bills introduced to date have considerable drawbacks, we believe it is important that the Administration become engaged in the process. The objective would be to propose amendments to more moderate bills that would make them acceptable to the Administration, improve their chances for passage, and therefore, prevent more extreme legislation from moving through the House and Senate.

BACKGROUND

As you know, there has been growing support on Capitol Hill for legislation that would stop (or at least slow down) federal legislation and regulations that impose unfunded mandates on State, local and tribal governments. The momentum is being fueled by conservative Members of Congress (who are not great fans of the underlying legislation that provoke unfunded mandates in the first place); the associations of state and local elected officials (including the NGA and the U.S. Conference of Mayors) who are under great pressure to meet increasing demands with increasingly limited resources; and, more recently, some of the more moderate Members of Congress who want to be able to cast a vote against federal mandates and/or in favor of local prerogatives before facing reelection this fall.

Kempthorne Bill

The most popular is Senator Kempthorne's bill, which now has 54 cosponsors in the Senate and 221 cosponsors for the House counterpart. This bill provides that a state or local government need not comply with a Federal unfunded mandate unless the Federal Government pays the direct cost of the mandate -- i.e., no money, no mandate. The White House advisors who have followed this issue agree that this is totally unacceptable.

FAIR Bill

Several more moderate Members of Congress (Moran, Goodling, Dorgan and Domenici) have sponsored an alternative entitled the "Fiscal Accountability and Intergovernmental Reform Act" (the "FAIR Act"), which has some real problems but is clearly preferable to the Kempthorne bill. The sponsors of the FAIR bill (which has 243 cosponsors in the House and 6 in the Senate) believe that if the Administration supports their bill, they can attract enough of the moderates to enable FAIR to be a viable alternative to Kempthorne. They are willing to make some changes to their bill to get our support, but they warn that there is not a lot of room to negotiate because some of their supporters are already saying that the FAIR bill is too weak in comparison with Kempthorne.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

We set forth below a list of proposed changes to the FAIR bill which we believe would limit its potential for creating Congressional gridlock. It must be recognized that if some of these are accepted by the FAIR sponsors (we have no illusions that all would be accepted), the Administration would be expected to announce its support for the modified FAIR bill. While Administration support for FAIR may please some Governors and Mayors, only your support for Senator Kempthorne's bill would satisfy them completely. In addition, endorsing FAIR or Senator Kempthorne's bill will not be well received by the public interest groups and the more liberal Members of Congress, even if we undertake a substantial outreach effort.

Provisions Relating to the Legislative Branch

Title I of the FAIR bill involves legislation and requires that Committee reports accompanying bills with unfunded mandates include a Congressional Budget Office (CBO) analysis of 1) compliance costs for State and local governments and for private businesses, and 2) the effects on economic growth and competitiveness. The analysis is required if the costs exceed \$50 million in three years or \$100 million in five years. Lack of the CBO analysis would subject a bill to a point-of-order.

Proposed Changes

- Specify that only bills with unfunded mandates that exceed the dollar threshold of at least \$100 million per year would require an estimate of the cost of the mandate -- This would be consistent with the dollar threshold in the Executive Order on Regulatory Planning and Review.
- Delete the requirement to study the macroeconomic effects -- the effect would hardly be measurable unless the bill had effects of billions of dollars a year.
- Delete the requirement to study private sector costs -- the focus of the legislation should be on reducing mandates on State and local governments.
- Modify the point-of-order provision to require the committee(s) that report the bill to provide an estimate of the costs; charge CBO with the responsibility of reviewing that estimate and reporting back to the Congress; permit a point-of-order if the CBO review is not completed within 30/45 days after the bill is reported -- otherwise non-elected officials could block elected officials from voting on important legislation indefinitely); clarify that the point-of-order can be overruled by a simple majority; and provide an escape clause for emergency legislation.
- Add as a requirement an analysis of the benefits to the public of imposing the proposed unfunded mandate and the cost to the public of not imposing the mandate -- to ensure that the floor debate includes consideration of the advantages of the mandate and is not based solely on cost data.
- Delay the effective date of the Act for one year or until the term "mandate" is defined and protocols are developed for estimating the costs/benefits of such mandates -- there are very difficult questions of definition, methodology and development of data bases, some of which we have asked the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) to study.
- Include a three year sunset provision after the effective date of the Act.

Provisions Relating to the Executive Branch

Title II of the FAIR bill requires agencies to prepare for each notice of proposed rulemaking and each final regulation, and for each "other major federal action affecting the economy" an estimate of the effects of the proposed rule or action on local government resources, an estimate of the costs of private sector compliance, and the effect on economic growth, full employment, and international competitiveness.

Proposed Changes

- Impose a dollar threshold -- \$100 million annual effect on the economy, the same as in our Executive Order.
- Delete the requirement to study the macroeconomic effects -- see above.
- Delete "other major federal action affecting the economy" -- too broad, covering enforcement actions, etc.
- Provide that nothing required by this section can be the basis for judicial review -- standard protection from nuisance suits or generally clogging the courts with process-based suits.

RECOMMENDATION

It is our recommendation that the Administration immediately begin discussions with the chief sponsors of the FAIR bill -- to be preceded by a consultation with the NGA and Conference of Mayors -- to see if they would be willing to accept our proposed changes to the legislation. In return for consenting to our changes, we would offer our support for FAIR as modified. We have discussed this approach with Marcia Hale and the NEC principals, and they concur in this recommendation.

DECISION

Please indicate below how you would like us to proceed.

_____ Approve
 _____ Discuss Further

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1994

94 MAY 4 P6:10

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
SUSAN BROPHY *LB*

SUBJECT: Response to Representative Borski on Your
Trip to Poland

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Representative Borski

Background

Representative Borski urged you to invite prominent Polish-American businessman and philanthropist Edward Piszek to accompany you during your July trip to Warsaw. Lane Kirkland plans to accompany you to Warsaw and we may wish to invite other private citizens such as Mr. Piszek. However, rather than respond piecemeal to individual requests, we recommend an interim response to Representative Borski now and consideration of the size and shape of an accompanying delegation at a later time.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached response to Representative Borski.

Attachments

Tab A Draft Response to Representative Borski
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

*cc Port
Brophy
Ricki*

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bob:

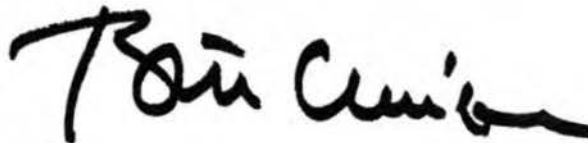
Thank you for your letter suggesting I invite Edward Piszek to accompany me on my July trip to Warsaw.

I appreciate your support for continued excellent U.S.-Polish relations. As you know, I am committed to continued support of political and economic reform in Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. We want to continue to maintain close relations with Poland.

I am aware of and greatly appreciate Mr. Piszek's philanthropic work in Poland, his energy and commitment. Although plans for my Warsaw trip are still in a preliminary stage, I will keep your suggestion very much in mind as planning proceeds.

Your letter was most welcome. I look forward to working with you on these and other matters.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bob Cini". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping underline.

The Honorable Robert A. Borski
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

ROBERT A. BORSKI
3D DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

COMMITTEES:
PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION
CHAIRMAN—SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INVESTIGATIONS AND OVERSIGHT

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3803

April 8, 1994

2988

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
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FAX: (202) 225-4628

DISTRICT OFFICES:
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PHILADELPHIA, PA 19135
(215) 335-3355
FAX: (215) 333-4508

2630 MEMPHIS ST.
PHILADELPHIA, PA 19125
(215) 426-4616

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have recently learned that you are planning a trip to Poland to meet with President Lech Walesa and other officials. I commend you for maintaining the excellent relationship between the U.S. and Poland, and for working to strengthen the process of political and economic reform in Eastern European countries. I wish you success on your trip, and I would like to strongly recommend that you consider allowing Mr. Edward Piszek to accompany on your visit. A good friend and one of my constituents, Mr. Piszek could be an invaluable asset to you while in Poland.

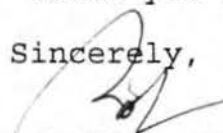
Mr. Piszek is a prominent Polish-American, whose philanthropic work in Poland has earned him international recognition. Mr. Piszek spends a significant part of every year in Poland, and works on behalf of important causes there. In doing so, he has become well-known to Polish citizens and leaders, many of whom consider him a personal friend. As you may know, Lech Walesa stayed at Mr. Piszek's home on his most recent trip to the United States.

Among his most noteworthy endeavors, Mr. Piszek and James Michener established a Young Polish Writer's Workshop for aspiring young authors in Poland. Mr. Michener's book Pilgrimage recounts his travels with Mr. Piszek and his visits with two of Mr. Piszek's long-time friends, Pope John Paul II and Lech Walesa.

In addition, Mr. Piszek has raised money and collected resources to found libraries and promote education here in the U.S., as well as in Poland. One of his projects, Peace Corps Partners In Teaching English, works on behalf of the Peace Corps to help send English teachers to Poland and other European countries to teach the host country's teachers the English language. This project is the first alliance of it's kind between a government agency and a private sector organization.

Mr. Piszek's reputation and intimate familiarity with Poland could serve you well on your visit. Please give Mr. Piszek's request serious consideration. If you have any questions about this matter, do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


ROBERT A. BORSKI
Member of Congress
PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

RAB/jcm

Trimming Down GOP Governors Push Big New Tax Revolt —At the State Level

Now Leading the Way Is
New Jersey's Whitman;
Mandates Pose Problems
Some Local Levies May Rise

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
TRENTON, N.J. — Sitting at her very small desk inside her very large office in the New Jersey Statehouse, talking in polite tones about fiscal policy, Christine Todd Whitman hardly cuts the figure of a revolutionary.

But Gov. Whitman is, in fact, in the vanguard of a kind of minirevolution: the 1990s Republican tax revolt. Unlike the 1980s tax revolution promoted by Ronald Reagan, though, this one isn't being masterminded in Washington. It's breaking out in statehouses around the country.

In state after state, Republican governors are pushing through tax cuts, even in places where they seem to be risking big trouble down the road, or are using the tax code as a social-policy tool.

Gov. Whitman is pushing perhaps the most radical plan by making good on her campaign promise last fall to cut state income taxes by as much as 30% over three years. The first 5% installment is already in place, and the next 10% has been proposed. Gov. Whitman has even set up a special mailing address to take in citizens' suggestions on how to save money, and she promptly accepted one's advice that two state-owned marinas be sold off.

"There has to be a basic philosophical change in approaching government, which is that you have finite resources and you can't keep going back to taxpayers for more," she proclaims.

Many Similar Moves

Gov. Whitman has a lot of GOP company on the front lines:

- In Arizona, Fife Symington has just signed the third tax cut of his three-year tenure.
- In Massachusetts, William Weld is proposing a modest income-tax cut, on top of five other tax cuts enacted in recent years, and proposes exempting more low-income people from taxes.
- In South Carolina, Carroll Campbell, who already has cut corporate, personal and capital-gains taxes, now has proposed doubling the tax deduction for children.
- In California, Pete Wilson proposes giving businesses a \$1,000 tax credit for each new full-time job created.
- In Mississippi, Kirk Fordice just pushed through a measure abolishing state capital-gains taxes on investments in Mississippi companies.
- And in Michigan, John Engler has capped off a drive by Democrats and Republicans alike to wipe out property taxes for school funding by pushing through a plan to substitute sales taxes. The swap, which set off nationwide rethinking of school funding, will create an overall tax reduction of hundreds of millions of dollars in the next few years, the governor's office and outside experts estimate.



Christine Todd Whitman

"There's no question that almost all the innovative thinking in the Republican Party these days is going on out in the state capitals, not in Washington, D.C.," declares Stephen Moore, an analyst at the libertarian Cato Institute who recently completed a state-by-state study of governors' tax and budget policies.

National Significance

The governors' stratagems are important, partly because they often are a leading indicator of national trends. Three of the past four presidents, after all, had been governors, and several GOP governors now cutting taxes are considered potential 1996 presidential candidates. Moreover, state governments are major economic forces themselves; every state would rank in the Fortune 500 if it were a business, Mr. Moore notes.

Yet the magnitude of the tax revolt in the states can be overstated; the tax dollars involved don't rival those put into play by the Reagan-era federal cuts. And, ironically, much of the Republicans' current tax cutting is possible only because President Clinton, a Democrat, is presiding over an economy robust enough to help fill state-government coffers. That has prompted some Democrats, such as Pennsylvania's Bob Casey, to propose tax cuts, too. However, things could get dicey for all these governors if the economy eventually sours, revenues dry up and tax cuts drain off rainy-day reserves.

Some critics deny much really revolutionary thinking is going on; they discern crass politics and irresponsible buck-passing. City and county officials complain that when taxes and spending are curbed at the state level, the burden of paying for mandatory environmental and social programs is often simply pushed down to local governments, which then have to raise property taxes or find other new tax sources.

"This could be the Achilles' heel of a lot of Republican governors," warns Steven Gold, director of the Center for the Study of the States. "They can hold the line on state taxes, but they may be fostering higher local taxes."

In Arizona, Phoenix Mayor Paul Johnson, himself a Democratic candidate for governor, complains that while the state is enacting politically appealing tax cuts, his city isn't getting much help coping with a potential \$90 million tab to meet new federal environmental requirements for city waterways. At the recently completed state legislative session, he asserts, "about the only thing that was accomplished was that the legislature made a wholesale gain in buying votes with a tax cut that doesn't do much to create jobs."

Similarly, officials in Cherokee County, S.C., complain of having to contemplate a 20% to 25% rise in property taxes, largely to meet state and federal demands for a new landfill and jail. Meanwhile, state aid has dropped 20% since 1987, County Administrator Joseph Preston says.

But both Gov. Symington in Arizona and Gov. Campbell in South Carolina argue that the federal and not the state government puts the biggest burdens on cities. Mr. Campbell adds that "we're raising hell about that" with Washington.

In fact, with both the White House and Congress controlled by Democrats, Republicans are hoping to use their stewardship of state budgets to draw a contrast with President Clinton's 1993 budget plan and its deficit-fighting tax increase. "Clinton was promising a middle-class tax cut," Gov. Symington says. "I thought I'd deliver on a middle-class tax cut."

Gov. Campbell, who will leave office after this year, clearly is considering parlaying his economic record into a run at the presidency in 1996. He argues that his state, aided by an economic boom, has lifted its revenues 11% since 1987 despite his tax cuts. "We're building an economy down here," he says, especially noting the coming opening of a big BMW auto plant. Many Republicans suspect that Gov. Weld of Massachusetts has similar ambitions.

Seeking Social Policy

Creative use of state-tax codes, some Republicans hope, will help the GOP develop a new reputation on social policy, not

just fiscal policy. Several governors, for instance, are toying with lopping many lower-income taxpayers off the state rolls entirely and claiming they are helping the underclass, or increasing tax exemptions for children and claiming they are strengthening families.

In many ways, the governor who will be watched most closely on all these fronts is Gov. Whitman here in New Jersey. She attracted national attention last year by announcing, late in her campaign against incumbent Gov. Jim Florio, that she would push through an income-tax cut of as much as 30% if she won. The proposal was met with a wave of skepticism but eventually helped her win a narrow victory over Mr. Florio, who had pushed into law a big tax increase to address a budget crisis.

Upon taking office early this year, Mrs. Whitman tried to promptly satisfy skeptics by proposing that the first 5% installment of her tax cut be implemented immediately and that some low-income residents be dropped from the rolls. The Republican-controlled legislature went along.

Now she has proposed a new state budget that includes the second, 10% income-tax cut. (Actually, she proposes a 30% reduction only for families earning up to \$80,000 a year; those earning \$80,000 to \$150,000 annually would get 25%, and those over \$150,000 would get 20%.)

Unlike Republicans in the 1980s, Mrs. Whitman isn't preaching pure supply-side economics. She predicts that her tax cuts will spur economic growth, but she doesn't contend that they will produce enough revenue to offset themselves. "I think it would be very hard for people to believe that now," she says.

Instead, she says she has found enough executive-branch spending reductions to offset her tax cuts; among other things, she has proposed eliminating two cabinet agencies, privatizing a public-television network and closing some state armories.

Several Complaints

Democrats complain that Mrs. Whitman has balanced her budget only through accounting gimmickry, such as ending advance payments to state pension funds, and by finding one-time savings that can't be repeated. But the most emotional issue in the state is the Democrats' persistent assertion that her income-tax cuts will inevitably lead to an increase in New Jersey's already-high property taxes.

"All they're doing is shifting taxes," charges John Lynch, Democratic leader in the state senate. "New Jersey, by its constitution . . . has all of our income-tax money dedicated to public schools and property-tax relief. When you cut income taxes, you are by definition raising property taxes." Sen. Lynch predicts that Gov. Whitman's policies will cause property taxes statewide to increase more than 8% this year alone.

The Whitman program may well rise or fall on whether such predictions come true. The governor insists that property-tax increases can be avoided and says her mission is to convince local governments that they can prevent such increases by doing the kind of belt-tightening she plans at the state level.

But there are some signs of trouble already. Confronted by a prolonged legal fight over inequities in New Jersey's school-finance system, Gov. Whitman has proposed a one-third cut in a special category of aid that had been going to 265 school districts in order to shift \$28 million into the state's 30 poorest districts. And a commission she appointed recommends overhauling the school financing system by putting more of the tax burden on local governments rather than the state.

Gov. Whitman also acknowledges that, even if this year's tax-cut installment is passed, things will then get much tougher. Her big obstacle, she says, is a \$1 billion increase in costs the state faces annually to just to pay for federally required programs and regulations. That expense will force serious cutting and even risk a public backlash, she concedes.

"I've said there's going to be pain," she says, sitting in the same office where Woodrow Wilson honed his reputation as a political reformer. "It's going to be tough for three years; then, by the fourth year, we should be out of the woods. It can get very rough between now and then."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/4

✓ DeGroot / at the
a lot of them have
cut + been on the
by — Will Miller
shown for many 4/9
report —

Justices Decide Incinerator Ash Is Toxic Waste

7-2 Ruling Could Raise Municipalities' Costs

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2 — In a decision that could substantially increase the cost of waste disposal, the Supreme Court ruled today that any toxic residue created by burning household and industrial waste in municipal incinerators must be treated as hazardous waste and not dumped in ordinary landfills.

The 7-to-2 decision interpreted a Federal law, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act of 1976, governing hazardous waste. For years the law has been the subject of administrative and judicial confusion over its application to the ash left by the new generation of municipal incinerators that burn trash and produce energy.

Hazardous waste requires storage in specially constructed leak-proof sites and other handling that can be several times more expensive than that of conventional waste. Fearing such higher costs, a large coalition of municipal, county and state governments had urged the Court to interpret the law as exempting the ash from regulation as hazardous waste.

Many of these operators said that the ruling would not force the closing of any incinerators, and that they were trying to estimate how much their expenses would increase. The operators and groups that oppose the incinerators said that the ruling might derail plans for new incinerators, including one planned for the Brooklyn Navy Yard. [Page A18.]

Justice Antonin Scalia, writing for the majority, said Congress had not created an exemption for the ash. He noted that while Congress explicitly exempted municipal incinerators from Federal regulation under a variety of circumstances, the law did not mention ash and "simply cannot be read" to support the cities' argument.

The decision was a victory for the Environmental Defense Fund, a Washington group that had sued to have the ash deemed a hazardous waste. The Environmental Protection Agency has changed its mind several times on the meaning of the law. In its latest policy, adopted in 1992 in the closing months of the Bush Administration, the agency concluded that municipal incinerator ash was exempt from regulation.

The Clinton Administration told the Justices that while the statute was "ambiguous," the agency's latest interpretation was reasonable and should be accepted by the Court.

Reflecting the widespread confusion over the law, the Environmental Defense Fund had received opposing and nearly simultaneous rulings on the issue from two Federal appeals courts. That judicial conflict set the stage for the Court's ruling today.

This case was an appeal by Chicago from a 1993 ruling by the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit. The appeals court had held that the ash generated by the city's Northwest Waste-to-Energy Facility had to be tested for toxicity and handled as hazardous waste if it exceeded Federal standards for elements like cadmium and lead.

Earlier Rulings Conflict

In a case that the Supreme Court did not review, the Environmental Defense Fund lost a virtually identical suit against the operator of a Westchester County incinerator in Peekskill, N.Y., when the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in Manhattan, ruled that the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act's requirements did not apply to incinerator ash.

The New York metropolitan area has a high concentration of energy-converting incinerators. In Connecticut, six incinerators that burn 6,000 tons of trash a day account for 62 percent of the state's trash, by far the highest proportion in the country. The Chicago incinerator handles 14 percent of the city's solid waste, while producing steam that Chicago sells for \$1.5 million a year. Nationwide, there are some 125 of these incinerators, with 40 more being planned.

In its Supreme Court appeal, Chicago warned that it would cost more than 10 times as much to dispose of its incinerator ash in a special hazardous waste landfill, which would charge \$453 a ton while an ordinary landfill charges \$42 a ton.

Calculating the actual impact is more complex. A recent Environmental Protection Agency study said the cost of hazardous waste landfills was not 10 times greater but somewhat more than 3 times greater than ordinary landfills.

Costs May Be Limited

Further, the ruling today does not mean that all the ash will automatically be considered hazardous waste. It is now up to the municipalities to test the ash for compliance with Federal standards. Karen Florini, a lawyer for the Environmental Defense Fund, said in an interview today that municipalities could take steps to lower the toxicity of the residue.

Ms. Florini said the main source of the dangerous chemicals in municipal trash was discarded batteries and electronic equipment, which can be separated from the trash before incineration. She also said that the ash that remains at the bottom of the incinerator is usually much lower in toxins than the ash that rises to the top. Although most municipalities automatically combine two types of ash, that step can be avoided, she said.

"This is not brain surgery," Ms. Florini said. "This decision gives municipalities pollution-prevention incentives that are realistically available."

The source of confusion in the law is Section 3001(i), which exempts municipal incinerators from Federal hazardous waste regulation in a complex series of provisions that arguably apply to the incinerator residue as well as the incinerator itself. But finding that Congress failed to mention the residue, Justice Scalia concluded, "The provision quite clearly does not contain any exclusion for the ash itself." Under Justice Scalia's approach to interpreting statutes, that "plain meaning," rather than the law's history or the agency's view, determined the outcome.

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Anthony M. Kennedy, David H. Souter, Clarence Thomas and Ruth Bader Ginsburg joined the opinion, Chicago v. Environmental Defense Fund, No. 92-1639. Justice John Paul Stevens dissented in an opinion that Justice Sandra Day O'Connor joined. They

said that given the ambiguity in the law, the Court should have deferred to the Environmental Protection Agency's view.

There were also these developments at the Court today:

Gotti Appeal Rebuffed

Without comment, the Justices turned down appeals today in three high-profile criminal cases. The Court refused to review the murder and racketeering conviction of John Gotti, the Mafia boss who received a life sentence in 1992 for conspiring to commit several murders. His conviction was upheld last year by the Second Circuit (Gotti v. U.S., No. 93-1400).

The Court also turned down an appeal by Raymond J. Patriarca, a prominent organized crime figure in New England who was challenging the nine-year sentence he received for racketeering offenses to which he pleaded guilty in 1991 (Patriarca v. U.S., No. 93-1350).

Finally, the Court rejected an appeal brought by a doctor, Cecil B. Jacobson, who ran a fertility clinic in Vienna, Va., and used his own sperm to impregnate as many as 75 patients while telling the women the sperm was from anonymous donors. He also used hormone injections to make create symptoms of pregnancy in patients who were not in fact pregnant. He was found guilty in 1992 on Federal mail fraud and perjury charges and was sentenced to five years in prison (Jacobson v. U.S., No. 9301275).

Drug Tests

Without comment, the Court refused to hear an appeal brought by the University of Colorado from a ruling that its random drug-testing program for student athletes was unconstitutional. The Colorado Supreme Court ruled last year that the program violated the students' right against unreasonable searches as well as their right to privacy (U. of Colorado v. Derdeyn, No. 93-1410).

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/4

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A.M.A. Backs Size Limit For 'Employer Mandates'

Compromise Position on Health Coverage

By ROBERT PEAR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 3 — Taking a compromise position on a central question in the health care debate, the American Medical Association said today that companies with 100 or more employees should be required to buy health insurance for workers, but that smaller companies should be exempt from the requirement.

Dr. James S. Todd, executive vice president of the association, reaffirmed the group's commitment to health insurance for all Americans, but offered a new twist. For several years, the association supported an employer mandate, requiring all employers to provide coverage for workers, but in December it backed off amid complaints from some of its more conservative members.

Many doctors are small employers. A recent survey by the association found that one in three doctors' offices did not provide health insurance for employees like nurses, receptionists and laboratory technicians.

In a speech at the annual meeting of the Health Insurance Association of America, Dr. Todd said today that people working for companies with fewer than 100 employees should be subject to "an individual mandate" requiring them to buy their own health insurance. Government subsidies would be available to help lower-income people, he said.

Furor From Small Businesses

Lorrie McHugh, a White House spokeswoman, said she was pleased that the association supported an employer mandate for large companies, but disappointed that it opposed such a requirement for smaller businesses. President Clinton wants to require all employers to buy health insurance for workers, but this idea has encountered fierce opposition from many small businesses. Representative John D. Dingell, Democrat of Michigan, the chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, has proposed exempting businesses with 10 or fewer employees.

The Small Business Administration says about 40 percent of workers in private industry are employed by companies with 100 or fewer employees. Twelve percent work for companies with fewer than 10 employees, it says.

Dr. Todd said the proposed insurance requirements should be put into effect gradually so that 95 percent of Americans would have health insurance within six years. Mr. Clinton proposes a more ambitious timetable: coverage of all Americans by January 1998.

In an interview, Dr. Todd said: "Employer mandates don't seem to be going anywhere. Indeed, opposition seems to be increasing. Individual mandates don't seem to be going anywhere. So how do we achieve the goal of universal coverage? It makes sense to use a combination."

Alternative Proposal

Under Mr. Clinton's proposal, all Americans would be assured of coverage for prescription drugs. Merck & Company, the world's largest pharmaceutical concern, today proposed an alternative way of providing such coverage for Medicare beneficiaries

without any of the price regulation envisioned by Mr. Clinton. Medicare finances health care for 32 million elderly and 4 million disabled people.

Merck said that managed-care companies, like its own Medco Containment Services unit, should bid for the opportunity to manage pharmacy benefits for people in Medicare.

Under Merck's proposal, the nation would be divided into 10 regions, and the Federal Government would choose three companies to manage drug benefits in each region. The companies could control drug costs for Medicare as they now do for private health plans: by encouraging doctors and pharmacists to prescribe and dispense lower-cost, including generic, drugs; by offering mail-order pharmacy services and by negotiating discounts with drug makers.

Dr. P. Roy Vagelos, the chairman of Merck, said: "Our proposal will immediately reduce drug costs for the elderly. The Administration's plan for a Medicare drug benefit swims against the tide of market-based reform already taking place through the growth of managed care."

"Under the President's plan, there is no way to manage the utilization of drugs," Dr. Vagelos said in an interview. "It's a fee-for-service plan, with a mandatory 17 percent rebate and

Requiring health insurance is a delicate issue for doctors.

other mechanisms to control the prices of drugs — mechanisms that would also deter investment needed for the discovery of important new drugs."

Competitive Advantage Seen

Rival drug companies and many retail pharmacists say Merck's proposal would give Merck a significant competitive advantage: the right to promote the sale of its own products to Medicare beneficiaries. Under the proposal, each pharmacy benefit manager would use a formulary, listing drugs preferred or required for specific purposes like lowering cholesterol, controlling high blood pressure or treating ulcers.

But Dr. Vagelos said: "An independent committee would select the drugs that are most cost-effective, whether they be Merck drugs or someone else's drugs. We recommend that there be three different pharmacy benefit managers in each region, so there would be competition. People could select any of the plans and could change once a year if they were not satisfied."

The pharmacy benefit manager would also monitor the use of drugs, to make sure Medicare patients took them as prescribed. Managed-care companies use similar techniques to control drug costs and to review the use of drugs by millions of people who work for large companies and government agencies.



Handwritten notes: "Huh", "Interesting", "5/4"

Handwritten number: "8"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 MAY 4 P5:35

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: DAVID VON DREHLE

Fax Number:

334-5451

Phone Number:

334-7407

FROM: John Podesta's office

SUBJECT: Bio as requested

DATE: 05/04/94

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 2

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JOHN D. PODESTA

John D. Podesta serves in the Clinton Administration as Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary. He also serves as a member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States.

Before joining the Administration he was President and General Counsel of Podesta Associates, Inc., a Washington, D.C. government relations and public affairs firm.

He has had extensive Capitol Hill experience, serving as Chief Counsel to the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry and as Chief Minority Counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee Subcommittees on Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks; Security and Terrorism; and Regulatory Reform.

He served as a trial attorney in the Department of Justice's Land and Natural Resources Division and as a Special Assistant to the Director of ACTION, the federal volunteer agency.

He has written and lectured extensively on intellectual property, privacy and technology issues. In the Spring of 1991, he chaired a Task Force on Privacy and Technology for the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology and the Law which made recommendations to the Senate on updating the Electronic Communications Privacy Act in light of new technological developments.

His publications include Protecting Electronic Messaging: A Guide to the Electronic Communications Privacy Act of 1986 and Access to and Use and Disclosure of Electronic Mail Company Computer Systems: A Tool Kit for Formulating Your Company's Policy, with David Johnson.

He is a 1976 graduate of Georgetown University Law Center and a 1971 graduate of Knox College.

BIG MONEY

Gingrich and the GATT Pact

✓ Rubin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/4

Silliness About Sovereignty Threatens a Good Trade Deal

By James K. Glassman
Special to The Washington Post

After last year's fight over the North American Free Trade Agreement, most trade watchers figured that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT, would be a piece of cake. Instead, it looks like *déjà vu* all over again.

The new GATT—the most sweeping international trade agreement in history—is the result of negotiations that began in 1986 in Uruguay and concluded April 15 with an official signing in Marrakech, Morocco. It does great things for Americans—lowers world tariffs; protects our copyrights; brings services, a big U.S. export, under its rules for the first time; cuts agricultural

subsidies, and opens markets that used to be closed to our goods.

Still, there's opposition in Congress—and not just from mercantilists who'll do anything to protect businesses in their districts from global competition. The powerful new complaint is that GATT would sacrifice U.S. sovereignty and give too much power to pesky little countries that make trouble for us in other world forums.

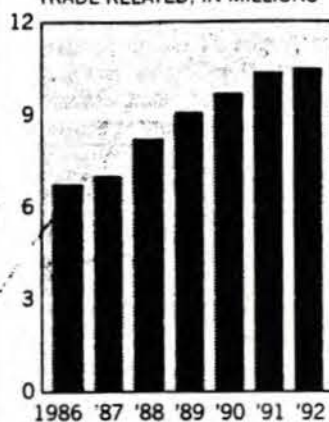
Under the old GATT, if a dispute panel concluded that a country had violated trade rules, that country could veto its own punishment. Under the World Trade Organization, or WTO, that's set up under the new GATT, only a super-majority can overturn a penalty. A super-majority can also change WTO rules and make

See BIG MONEY, D2, Col. 3

THE EFFECTS OF TRADE

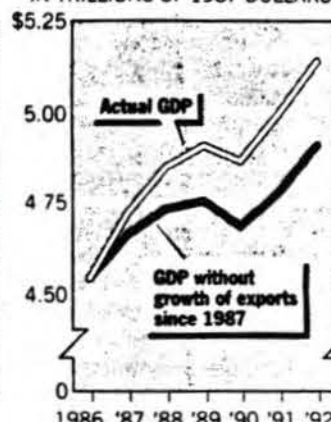
On jobs . . .

TRADE RELATED, IN MILLIONS



. . . and the economy

IN TRILLIONS OF 1987 DOLLARS



NOTE: Both charts refer to exports of goods and services.

SOURCES: Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, Commerce Department

THE WASHINGTON POST

Sovereignty a Late Starter in GATT Debate

BIG MONEY, From D1

binding decisions—even ones we may not like.

There's an irony here. "We have complained for 20 or 30 years that we couldn't get justice" from GATT because individual violators of trade rules would simply veto its decisions, said Claude Barfield, the American Enterprise Institute's director of trade policy studies. The WTO kills that veto power—but for the United States as well as for everyone else.

"That means that when findings go against us, we have to go along," said Jagdish Bhagwati, a Columbia University economics professor and former adviser to GATT. Bhagwati, a top economist on world trade, applauds the new GATT for replacing negotiated back-room deals with clear rules that everyone has to follow. "We should be opening bottles of champagne," he said.

But keeping his champagne firmly corked is House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), whose support was essential in approving NAFTA.

On April 19, Gingrich met with a friend and financial backer, Roger Milliken, who heads America's largest private textile firm. Milliken, a fierce NAFTA foe, has good reason to oppose the new GATT since it forces an end to highly protectionist textile policies that have benefited him for years.

In his campaign to change or kill GATT, Milliken hired Steven Hofman, a former Republican Labor Department official who backed NAFTA. Hofman, in turn, commissioned a memo from the Washington law firm of Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher that described in stark terms the new powers small countries would have under the WTO.

Gingrich was impressed and raised his objections on NBC's "Meet the Press": "If you look at the mess in Bosnia and the U.N.'s incompetence, this World Trade Organization will have 117 member nations with one vote each. So, in effect, we could be outvoted by Antigua or by Botswana or by Venezuela."

Barfield, who calls the new GATT "a triumph," said he believes these worries are foolish. "It's the small countries," he said, "that will get hurt if this thing gets out of hand."

Bhagwati agrees: "We have so many tools" to apply to small countries to make them see our way on trade. "It's a crazy notion" that the United States would be pushed around.

But Gingrich is not so sure. He said his concern is what he calls the Clinton administration's "subordination to multilateral systems." In other words, he's seen America's foreign policy practically turned over to the United Nations; we can't seem to act in the Balkans or Somalia or even Haiti without the broad approval of other nations. Now will our trade policy be turned over to other countries as well?

U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor was on the telephone with Gingrich yesterday afternoon, trying to persuade him to back GATT.

"He's deeply committed to world trade and doesn't want to scuttle the agreement," Kantor said in an interview. "He's looking at it carefully. There's nothing wrong with that."

Kantor doesn't want to appear annoyed with Gingrich, but the truth is that he should be. This is a little late in the game to be bringing up worries about sovereignty. After all, it was Congress that directed the GATT

negotiators in 1988 to find a tough way to resolve disputes—after 47 years of wimpishness.

"For years we have complained about the toothlessness of GATT," said Pietro Nivola, a Brookings Institution senior fellow who is an expert on trade sanctions. Finally, we have a solution—though it's true that the solution involves some risk. Other countries could indeed gang up on us, and we could roll over and play dead. Even Kantor concedes that "no one can assure that any administration won't give away its rights or sovereignty." This one won't, he says, but who can tell the future?

Problems on other fronts are cropping up. Rep. Lane Evans (D-Ill.) has gotten 53 Democrats and two Republicans—the usual anti-free-trade suspects, including House Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.)—to sign a letter asking Clinton to postpone GATT until next year, citing a host of reasons, including environmental and labor issues.

Meanwhile, House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) "is supportive of GATT, but he has concerns about how to pay for it," said a spokesperson. Under budget rules, even though GATT will be a boon to the economy, Congress has to find \$14 billion over the next five years in new revenue to make up for the tariff income that will be lost.

One target group for that revenue is farmers—and their senators and representatives are squawking.

"I don't see this as a NAFTA-like fight," Kantor insists. Unfortunately, it's getting to be that way.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 4, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

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Jury by 'trial

George F. Will

Writing for the Supreme Court majority, announcing the conclusion that lawyers may no longer base peremptory challenges to potential jurors on their sex, Justice Blackmun says the conclusion is "axiomatic." By that he means, judging from his opinion, that the conclusion is so self-evident as to need no constitutional argument. But so flimsy is his opinion, and so foolish is the ruling, that both are demolished by, of all things, a concurring opinion.

In an Alabama paternity trial a Tennessee salesman was found to be the father of a child and ordered to pay child support. The state, on behalf of the mother, used its peremptory "strikes" to produce from a pool of 36 jurors (12 male, 24 female) an all-male jury. The salesman appealed, arguing that the logic of a 1986 ruling, in which the court held that peremptory strikes solely on the basis of race violate the Constitution's equal protection guarantee, should also proscriber strikes on the basis of sex.

In this Alabama case concerning the exclusion of men from a jury,

Blackman waxes indignant about injustices to women, arriving at the thought that peremptory challenges arising from "gender stereotypes" reinforce retrograde thinking about "the relative abilities of men and women." Actually, what is at issue is not abilities but different inclinations in certain trial contexts. Never mind. The vote was 6-3, with Stevens, Souter, Ginsburg, Kennedy and O'Connor siding with Blackman.

However, O'Connor's strange concurring opinion actually sheds the decision its ostensibly is concurring in. After expressing perfunctory agreement with the majority concerning the equal protection clause, she enumerates the costs and contradictions of this ruling.

With this latest intrusion of new rules constitutionalizing the jury selection process, she says, the court "increases the number of cases in which jury selection—once a side-show—will become part of the main event." And the decision erodes the role of the peremptory challenge.

which for centuries has been considered a contribution to fair trials.

She notes that the court has hitherto held that the "essential nature of the peremptory challenge is that it is one exercised without a reason stated, without inquiry and without being subject to the court's control." By making peremptory challenges less discretionary and more challengeable, "we also increase the possibility that biased jurors will be allowed onto the jury, because sometimes a lawyer will be unable to provide an acceptable gender-neutral explanation even though the lawyer is in fact correct that the juror is unsympathetic."

Furthermore, O'Connor says, in jurisdictions where lawyers must make peremptory challenges in open court, they may be deterred from using their quota of such challenges because if they are unable to justify them to the trial court's satisfaction, the court will sit a juror who knows the lawyer thought him or her unfit. And, says O'Connor, the Supreme Court "has now added an additional burden to the state and federal trial process, taken a step closer to elimi-

nating the peremptory challenge, and diminished the ability of litigants to act on sometimes accurate gender-based assumptions about juror attitudes."

For example, in rape cases female jurors are more apt to convict. Nevertheless, even where sex may be a predictor of juror behavior, it is now an unconstitutional basis for peremptory challenges by a lawyer trying to do his duty in an adversarial process.

O'Connor notes that reasons for peremptory challenges often "cannot be stated, for a trial lawyer's judgments about a juror's sympathies are sometimes based on experienced hunches and educated guesses." She says we cherish peremptory challenges as they have been exercised for centuries precisely because we know good lawyers often will have intuitions they cannot explain. But, as we add, layer by layer, additional constitutional restraints on the use of the peremptory, we force lawyers to articulate what we know is often inarticulable.

New layers may be coming, as

justice Scalia argues in his dissent, in which Rehnquist and Thomas joined, and O'Connor should have. What other restrictions will be coming on peremptories based on "impermissible stereotypes? Religious stereotypes, for starters. And there are many other possibilities for new rules concerning biases about group characteristics.

Scala wonders: The majority must assume that the man in this case suffered some harm. But what can be had been, given the court's postulate that male and female jurors must be regarded as fungible? In any case, the man now can have a new trial, whereas another jury will hear about the blood test that established his paternity with 99.92 percent accuracy. And in future trials concerning rape, spouse abuse, sex harassment and other matters, prosecutors and defense attorneys will be inhibited in working for the sort of juries they think best.

Still, "it was a famous victory for women, the Constitution and justice," Blackmun says that conclusion is "axiomatic."

Any Volunteers?

Michael Kinsley

If anything is clear about President Clinton's Bosnia policy, it is that he will not insert U.S. ground troops into the war there. But many armchair strategists say that air strikes alone will invariably fail. What's more, Clinton is still committed to using U.S. troops to help police any peace settlement, if it comes. And even air strikes put American pilots at risk.

Thus there's no avoiding the question whether Bosnia is worth American blood. But there might be a better way of deciding—or rather, of deciding who decides.

The eternal moral dilemmas that old people make the decisions about war but young people pay the price is heightened these days by two developments. One is the end of the Cold War, which seems, at least, to make the use of military force more optional. America's vital national interests are not so clearly at stake. The second development is a president who famously avoided military service in his own youth. That makes it harder for him to decide to send today's youths unto battle.

Both these developments need to be qualified. The Cold War hawks who are now born-again doves didn't used to sneer, as they do now, about "merely" humanitarian motives for U.S. intervention. And their standards for perceiving an American national interest didn't used to be so high, either. They saw an interest worth 50,000 American lives in Vietnam, for example, yet can't find an interest worth a single one in Bosnia.

As for Clinton's personal baggage, it's useful to remember that something like 19 out of 20 Americans of the Vietnam generation never served in Vietnam. And this at a time when military service was supposed to be universal, at least among males. Furthermore, Clinton avoided service in a war he thought was wrong. Logically, if not emotionally, that should not deter him from using American force when he thinks it is right.

Nevertheless, deciding to risk other people's blood in war is surely the most difficult decision any president must make. Need it, though, be as difficult as it is now? Need it paralyze

policy, as it seems to have done in the case of Bosnia? Must it leave America in a position where we cannot use our military might to do good in the world—or even to serve less-than-paramount national interests?

A letter to the editor in the *New Republic* last July had an interesting proposal for cutting through the moral agony of sending other people to fight and die in foreign wars. Why not ask for volunteers? Why not a volunteer expeditionary force for Bosnia?

There may be practical complications, but the principle is a fine one. It is perfectly suited to the post-Cold-War world, where potential uses of American force are likely to be smallish and discretionary. Let no American be placed at risk against his or her will. But let America not be paralyzed by fear of American bloodshed.

To be sure, the United States military is already composed exclusively of volunteers. But even in the all-volunteer force, each member didn't volunteer for any particular military action, and each may well have a different philosophy of intervention

from the president (especially when the moment comes). The beauty of the volunteer expeditionary force idea is that every soldier would have volunteered for this particular mission. To appeal to conservatives, you

could call this a "market-oriented" approach to the problem of intervention. For any use of force to occur, it would have to attract enough "customers" willing to "pay" for it by putting their own lives on the line.

I suspect that in most cases it would not be difficult to find recruits. There are two obvious sources. One is true believers in this or that particular cause, like the Americans who fought in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. The other is people who simply long for adventure, enjoy the thought of military derring-do, and don't mind risking their lives in search of it. There is nothing ignoble or irrational about this. Many occupations carry risks that their practitioners think are worth taking.

Indeed, as you start thinking about this notion, you find yourself reinvent-

ing the wheel of the all-volunteer standing army itself. Why not, for example, a permanent, volunteer expeditionary force explicitly committed to being available for service in humanitarian interventions where American national interest may be involved but is not necessarily paramount? Yet how different is that from the various commando units we have now? Do these courageous soldiers really hope to sit out their entire careers, never using the skills they've developed, unless there's a frontal attack on the United States itself? Somehow I doubt it.

Let the soldiers themselves decide whether the cause they are fighting for is worth risking their own blood. Of course that still doesn't make war a completely voluntary affair. Even volunteer soldiers will be killing people who haven't necessarily volunteered for the honor. Some national leader will still have to decide that a particular cause is worth the deaths of foreigners. But that, perhaps sadly, is an easier decision.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/7/94

Pamela Harriman
Ambassador of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President

This is a poem that was written in memory of
those who died on D. Day.

"Went the day well
we died & never knew
But well or ill
Freedom, we died for you"

You might care to use

it on one of the D. Day events in
Washington. I look forward to
being with you in June.

Affectionately

Pamela

Yoder Column
on Nixon -
I can send to
P ~~Berg~~ Bauer

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/4/94

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^bc-yoder-column advIMMEDIATE<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(For IMMEDIATE RELEASE--Normally Advance for Wednesday, April 27, 1994)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--''Speak only good of the dead'' is a golden rule for the living, because we are all flawed creatures and because charity and taste enjoin it in the face of the great democracy of death. But, let's face it, it's a hard rule to observe at the death of Richard M. Nixon, 37th president of the United States.

Few managed to achieve urbanity on the subject of Nixon during his lifetime. He was too gifted for dismissal, too accomplished for neglect, too quirky, partisan and furtive for affection. One who did achieve this rare urbanity was Vermont C. Royster, the former Wall Street Journal editor. I once heard Royster introduce the former president to a Washington audience as ''this most unusual and interesting man.'' Nixon was such that he invited careless adjectives. For once the adjectives were right. He was indeed unusual and interesting.

Most political men are gregarious to a fault; they feed on crowds and people. Nixon was monastic to the point of reclusiveness. Intimates told of his emotional exhaustion caused by routine visitors at the White House. Vivid pictures come back--Nixon alone in the little Lincoln study with his yellow pad, thinking private thoughts while the air conditioning and fireplace both go full blast; Nixon the isolated figure, walking the beach at San Clemente in a white shirt and tie, business suit and black shoes.

His tenacity was unlimited, even for a public man. You could see it at the beginning and the end. Alone among the members of the House

(more)

Un-American Activities Committee in 1948, the young freshman from California pursued Alger Hiss when others were ready to desist. They had concluded that Hiss' accuser, Whittaker Chambers, was a fabulist and that his tales were empty. Nixon thought otherwise and stuck doggedly to his guns. And he was right.

After he resigned from the presidency in August 1974, Nixon would not accept decorous exile or silence. He beavered away at his books, with their yearning anecdotes about monumental figures like Churchill and de Gaulle. He liked to associate himself with such men. They too, after all, had had their ups and downs.

He went wherever opportunity beckoned as a sort of elder-statesman/political-sage/strategic-pundit, acting for all the world as if his forced exit from the presidency had been normal. So tenaciously did he play this role--and he was not lacking in the actor's gifts--as very nearly to blot from memory the disgraceful faults that ended his presidency. The American people are generous to the fallen. Nixon availed himself of their indulgence with an air of entitlement.

And he was certainly interesting--far more so than most politicians. There was, for instance, his raw, visceral partisanship, oddly coupled with a tendency to fawn upon those he had attacked. If you admired Adlai Stevenson or Harry Truman or Dean Acheson, Nixon's graceless performances in the role of partisan hatchet man in 1952 and 1954 left a lasting distaste. Yet if he often invited contempt as a public man, as a private man one could eventually feel something like pity after his great fall. For in many ways he incarnated Aristotle's definition of the tragic hero--the man of high capacities undone by a tragic flaw, rousing us who watch, said the greatest of philosophers, to pity and fear. Nixon's distinctive flaw was a certain doubleness or duplicity. And because he assumed hypocrisy to be a universal trait, his compulsive plotting and furtiveness became his undoing.

As one came, gradually, to view him in human terms, one couldn't help feeling that it all went back to those hard early years in the

(more)

little California town amid the orange groves--to the stern, artless grocer father and the dour, tenacious Quaker mother. Her withdrawal from the young Richard Nixon's life to nurse his consumptive brother Arthur left a wound too grievous to be admitted, a wound so deep that he disguised it from himself in tearful tributes to the saintliness of the absconding mother. Things got so twisted in his personal mythology that when Nixon spoke of his early life you could often get closer to the truth by assuming the reverse of what he said.

It is often our flaws, more than our virtues, that make us interesting, especially in politics; and so it was finally with Richard Nixon. But because he was so unusual, and always so fascinating, this is going to be a drabber country now that this lonely, sly, intelligent, furtive, wise, visionary and yet desperately parochial, calculating and transparent man is gone. He shared as a central figure in the triumphs and tragedies of his time, embodying its glories and its pities alike.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{5/4}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 MAY 2 P7:36

May 2, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Linda Moore, Political Affairs

Subject: Election of New Hampshire State Democratic Party Chair

I thought you might be interested in seeing the attached news clips reporting Joe Keefe's unanimous election as the new Party chair in New Hampshire.

*Also put on
cellular*

Joe Keefe

SUNDAY MONITOR May 1, 1994



LOCAL & STATE

Keefe's the man for Democrats

Lawyer replaces Spirou as leader

► A litany of party faithful jumps on the Joe Keefe's bandwagon, in search of unity — and election success — in the upcoming political season.

By M.L. ELRICK
Monitor staff

Manchester lawyer Joe Keefe was unanimously elected chairman of the state Democratic Party yesterday at a

state committee meeting, which looked more like a lovefest than the slugfest last November when Democrats met to talk about unifying the party.

At that unity convention in Manchester, some Democrats turned on former party chairman Chris Spirou, who had been elected to a second term by beating retired Marlborough banker Charlie MacVeagh 82-55 in February 1993. Critics, including Rumney Sen. Wayne King, accused the party leadership of not defining itself on the issues.

But yesterday it was standing room only on Keefe's bandwagon.

"I think he will bring us together for a change and he will bring us change," King said in one of the half-dozen speeches seconding the 40-year-old Keefe's nomination.

The scope of speakers underscored Keefe's support since he emerged last month as the consensus choice to replace Spirou, who resigned the party chairmanship to pursue business opportunities here and in Greece. Spirou was in Greece again yesterday on business.

Katrina Lantos-Swett, House Democratic Leader Rick Trombly of Boscawen, Cornish Rep. David Allison (speaking for Arnie Arnesen who could not attend because of a prior commitment), Terry Shumaker of the Democratic Leadership Council and former U.S. Senate candidate

John Rauh of Sunapee all hailed Keefe as the man who could bring the party together.

Other members of the Democratic Leadership Council, which has strong ties to President Clinton, were at the meeting, signaling their return to the state party that DLC members like John Broderick had abandoned under Spirou.

Unity is a theme Keefe has been preaching since Spirou announced his resignation. Democrats have embraced party unity and echoed its virtues in the weeks since anointing him.

"It is no secret that at times this party has been divided," Keefe told about 200 Democrats assembled in Representatives

■ See KEEFE — Page B-8

SUNDAY MONITOR May 1, 1994

■ KEEFE *Continued from Page B-1*

Hall at the State House. "As of today all of that is over and we are a new party."

He said Democrats must concentrate on fighting Republicans and not "consuming" each other. He also said the party must remain the party of labor but also make room for businesspeople. Keefe stressed that Democrats must meld conservative ideas with their liberal tradition to forge a stronger party.

Keefe also said that Democrats must begin to define and refine their message so Republicans no longer put them on the defensive and control the tenor of campaigns.

"This election is going to be dictated on our terms," Keefe told the crowd.

He later said Democrats would make the economy their top issue, linking it to education, economic development and quality of life in New Hampshire.

"We've got to speak to these real visceral concerns and if we don't do that we're not going to succeed," Keefe said.

He will have his work cut out for him. The state convention is approaching and candidates for races statewide must be drafted and trained soon. And Democratic campaign coffers are far from flush, although Spirou worked hard to reduce the debt left after the 1992 campaigns.

Democrats hope two-term Second District Congressman Dick Swett's presence near the top of the ticket will help bolster their

candidates, but they face several tough races for the state senate, where a coalition of 11 Democrats and two liberal Republicans has given them strength beyond their numbers.

In the governors race, King must run a top-notch campaign to unseat first-term Republican Gov. Steve Merrill, who continues to enjoy a high approval rating.

And yesterday Merrill again proved that he is no political slouch.

After many of the Democrats had filed out of Representatives Hall to a reception in the State House cafeteria, the governor came over from his corner office and congratulated Keefe, but, Keefe said, gave him no advice.

"I would have taken it," he said, laughing.



Dick Morin/Union Leader

WINNING — Katrina Swett, wife of U.S. Rep. Richard Swett, nominates Joseph F. Keefe as chairman of the New Hampshire Democratic

Party in Concord yesterday. Keefe accepts the unanimous win with a call for party unity.

Democrats Plead for Unity

Attorney Joseph F. Keefe Accepts State Party Chairmanship

By **PAT HAMMOND**
Sunday News Staff

CONCORD — Joseph F. Keefe accepted the chairmanship of the state Democratic Party yesterday with a commitment to unify the fractured party and help elect Democrats to more top offices.

Immediate past party chairman Chris Spiro, whose resignation prompted the special election, was absent, celebrating the Orthodox Church Easter in Greece. His name came up but once in the slightly more than an hour-long session. Former U.S. Senate candidate John Rauh lauded him for the spirit and vision he brought to the party and the state, but there was no applause.

The mood was upscale as the delegates conducted their business in Representatives Hall. Speaker after speaker called on the party to unify, amidst repeated rounds of applause and standing ovations.

Keefe, a Manchester attorney and former congressional candidate, called the Democrats to battle for election victories in an off-the-cuff acceptance speech following the unanimous vote for him.

Keefe was nominated by Katrina Swett (representing her husband, U.S. Rep. Richard Swett), with seconds by state Sen. Wayne

King, state Rep. Rick Trombly, veteran party activist Anita Freedman (representing Bill Verge), state Rep. David Allison (representing Annie Arnesen), Terry Shumaker and Rauh.

"It is no secret that this party has been wracked by divisiveness," Keefe said. "All of that is over. We are new again, as in 1960 when John Kennedy put the two wings on the bird and it flew."

Keefe said the Democrats are the party of labor and business, of working Americans and the poor, of liberals and the Democratic Leadership Council, the politically moderate group that supported Clinton's Presidency.

Keefe characterized the Republicans as the party of slogans, clichés and rhetoric as opposed to the Democrats' as a party of solutions and courage.

Referring to Gov. Stephen Merrill and Republican Party Chairman Steve Duprey, Keefe said, "Hell, Wayne and I can handle those two."

Keefe said the issues are equal educational opportunities for all children, fair taxes, streets safe from crime, environmental protection, jobs and fighting spousal abuse.

"We will not only dictate the terms of the debate. We will win the elections," he said.

The absence of three major party players — U.S. Rep. Swett, 1st Congressional District representative candidate Verge, and former gubernatorial candidate Arnesen — had no noticeable effect on the ebullience of the more than 175 Democrats.

King didn't want to talk about his gubernatorial hopes to a reporter. "This is Joe Keefe's day," King said, but acknowledged he will announce his candidacy on May 16.

Republican Gov. Merrill, in informal attire, swung by the hall for a laughing, backslapping exchange with Keefe.

Merrill turned serious when asked what he thought of the new chairman.

He acknowledged that it was good to have a vibrant two-party system and that as long as taxes, education and economic development are among the issues discussed, the citizens of the state will be well served.

U.S. Rep. Thomas Lantos, D-Calif., Mrs. Swett's father, attended.

Spiro's name never came up when references to the need for unity were made. A recent statewide unity conference was the scene of some turbulence when delegate after delegate rose to criticize Spiro for spending too much time on business trips to Greece and allegedly failing to give adequate support to the Democrats who lost in recent national, state and local elections.

Mrs. Swett, wearing her trademark bouffant hat, called on the Democratic Party to unite around the differing philosophies of its membership. "A bird needs two wings," she said. "In this pluralistic society we have no choice but to govern from the center."

King, in seconding Keefe's nomination, said Keefe's dialogue would be a welcome contrast to the "hollow rhetoric of Steve Duprey."

"I agree that a new day has dawned for the Democratic party in New Hampshire," King said, echoing the sentiments of other speakers.

Trombly, who is Democratic leader in the House, said, "The time has come when Democrats no longer fight with Democrats. We may squabble, but we won't fight with each other in the future. The real problem in New Hampshire is not the Democratic Party, it's the Republican Party, which is out of touch, out of ideas, and, in November, will be out of town."

Rauh said he supported his "brother" Joe Keefe because, "The party needs a chair to be bold and to enunciate values that are fundamental to the soul," he said.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 3, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALEXIS HERMAN
SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA INAUGURAL DELEGATION

Attached is the new final list of the 45 member South Africa Delegation. We have taken into account your earlier comments and included a Big City Mayor/ Supporter, GOP Hill representation, and Religious Leadership.

From the attached list, we would like for you to:

1. Select a Religious leader.
2. Provide feedback on alternates list from which we will substitute for anyone else who is not able to attend.

~~Richard Mays and Maurice Templesman~~ who were on the original list you received, cannot attend for personal reasons. Harry Belafonte declined invitation because of our Haiti policy.

We have added the following new names to the delegation:

✓ David Stern, NBA Commissioner
• Madelyn Haas-Russell, California Supporter
✓ Ernest Green.

We are still holding one slot for Randall Robinson.

We would like to announce the delegation on Wednesday, May 4, 1994.

Attachment

List of Religious Leaders

Bishop William H. Graves
The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Memphis, TN

Bishop E. Lynn Brown
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Los Angeles, CA

Bishop Decatur Ward Nichols
African Methodist Episcopal
New York, NY

Bishop Fred C. James
African Methodist Episcopal Church
Washington, D.C.

Alternates List

Rodney Slater
Clarence Avant
David Wilhelm

South Africa Inaugural Delegation

Vice President Gore
Mrs. Gore
The First Lady

Cabinet

Secretary Espy
Secretary Ron Brown

State Department

George Moose
Richard Moose

White House Staff

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

Members of Congress

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA)---Early senator supporter against South Africa.

Senator Paul Simon (D-IL)---Chairman of Subcommittee on African Affairs and a senate supporter of sanctions against South Africa.

Senator Carol Mosley-Braun (D-IL)---Invited at the personal request of the Vice President and lead efforts in her home state of Illinois for the state to divest in South Africa.

Senator Paul Lugar (R-IN)---On Senator Foreign Relations Committee.

Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-CA)---House co-sponsor and floor leader on sanctions against South Africa.

Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-MD)---Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus.

Rep. John Lewis (D-GA)---Chief Deputy Whip and early Clinton supporter. During the past Easter recess, he lead a delegation of House members to South Africa.

Rep. Maxine Waters (D-CA)---Member of the Board of TransAfrica. As a California Assemblywoman, lead the fight in the California legislature for sanctions against South Africa.

Rep. Harold Ford (D-TN)---Voted for sanctions against South Africa and a member of the Vice President's state delegation.

Rep. Elizabeth Furse (D-OR)---The only South African born member of Congress.

Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY)---Early sanctions supporter.

Rep. John Conyers (D-MI)---Early sanctions supporter.

Others

John Tyson---A friend of the Vice President.

Coretta Scott King---An active supporter of the free South Africa movement.

David Dinkins---Former mayor and recommended by the President.

Ann Jordan---Recommended by First Lady.

C. Payne Lucas---Head of AfriCare and influential individual involved in U.S. aid to Africa.

Madelyn Haas-Russell---California donor; with Levi Strauss.

Linda Johnson Rice---President of Johnson Publishing Company and daughter of John Johnson. Their publications were instrumental in keeping Americans informed about the anti-apartheid movement.

Ben Chavis---President of the NAACP which organized grassroots anti-apartheid efforts.

Bill Lucy---African American labor leader and long-time supporter of the free South Africa movement. Supported (financially, etc.) South Africa labor movement.

Franklin Thomas---President of the Ford Foundation and worked with recent South African negotiations.

Colin Powell---Former Chair of Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Rev. Leon Sullivan---Founder of the Sullivan principles and among the early African American leaders to be banned from South Africa by the apartheid government.

Rev. Jesse Jackson---Recommended by the President.

Mayor Kurt Schmoke---Major city supporter. He recently lost his brother who was working in South Africa.

Quincy Jones---Early supporter of South Africa sanctions.

Bill Gray---UNCF president and former member of congress who introduced sanctions against South Africa.

Clarence Avant---DNC Finance Committee member; President of Motown.

David Stern---National Basketball Association commissioner and early supporter of South Africa sanctions.

Ernie Green

Reich
Reich never
gave a response to
this - what's his
deal? - Has appeal
as heart to federal
prisoners. B

SECRETARY OF LABOR

91 APR 26 1992: 28

To: The President
from: RBK

You asked me last Saturday to send you a copy of the memo which you had been sent 6 months ago on the subject of targeting federal resources at high-unemployment regions. Here it is...
I never heard back.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich BR

Date: October 23, 1993

RE: Attached memorandum on budget-neutral economic initiatives

I want to bring your attention in particular to the first option (I-B), giving limited preferences to high-unemployment regions for discretionary economic development and investment programs. This could be an important initiative for the following reasons:

1. The recovery is unusually spotty by historic standards. Certain regions (California and much of New England) lag far behind, in part because of the extra burden of defense build-downs. Other areas (the Pacific Northwest and the flood-stricken Mississippi) are suffering unique problems.
2. Regional variations on this scale are unlikely to even out any time soon because real estate values in depressed areas are so low that workers there are finding it difficult to relocate.
3. Defense build-downs will continue to place special burdens on particular regions, and we have not yet devised a "conversion" plan up to the task of re-employing those who will lose their jobs.
4. Our "California strategy" will appear fairer if premised on the neutral criterion of high unemployment; other states or regions with high unemployment, although not as high as California (Connecticut, for example), would qualify for some targeted assistance as well.
5. We're already giving extra help to high-unemployment areas. Many formula grants already include state or regional unemployment rates among the statutory criteria. Under non-formula programs, departments and agencies often consider unemployment rates. The only differences contemplated under this proposal are:
 - a more explicit and more visible bundling of discretionary resources toward areas of high unemployment; and
 - a special emphasis on regions rather than on states. Employment rates tend to be regional, rather than state, phenomena. Southern California's economy is different from northern California's; the New York metropolitan area, the southern Mississippi basin, the Pacific Northwest, all have unique economic characteristics transcending state borders.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 21, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD BENTSEN, RON BROWN, BOB REICH, LEON PANETTA,
LAURA TYSON AND BOB RUBIN

SUBJECT: Possible Economic Initiatives with Little or No Budgetary Impact

This memorandum briefly summarizes several budget-neutral or low-cost measures which might be taken to improve the performance of the economy in the short- to medium-term (these are in addition to the components of your investment program, which all have substantial budgetary impact). None of this reflects any particular view of the economy, but is simply consistent with our effort to do everything sensible to promote economic growth.

We all felt that this carefully culled list was worth bringing to your attention, as providing the potential for contributing usefully to increasing economic growth and creating jobs. However, we differ as to our recommendations on the effectiveness of each of these measures. Thus, the memo notes briefly the pros and cons of each measure, and seeks your guidance as to which options, if any, you would like us to pursue further.

We could schedule a meeting with you to discuss these options, or you might just indicate on this memo which options you think merit further consideration.

The various measures we have reviewed are grouped into six categories.

I. PURSUE REGIONAL ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

Need: Certain regions lag behind the national economy and continue to suffer from relatively high unemployment, particularly the Northeast and California. Changes in federal policy (particularly base closings and defense downsizing) have contributed to this situation.

Options & Analysis: The Administration might propose a package of policies aimed at encouraging economic recovery in high-unemployment regions. "High-unemployment regions" could be defined as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) with an average 1993 unemployment rate in excess of 12.5% of the national average. Such a definition would include roughly 50 SMSAs, including 11 in California; 6 total in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut; 5 total in Michigan and Illinois; 5 each in West Virginia and

Texas; and 3 each in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Such a regional economic package might include:

- **Option I-A: Incentives for commercial lending in distressed regions.** FDIC premium relief could be linked to increased lending in distressed regions through amendment of the Bank Enterprise Act.
- **Option I-B: Limited preferences for distressed regions within certain discretionary economic development and investment programs.** The various departments could provide expedited treatment and a limited priority to areas with unemployment rates in excess of 125% of the national average. ✓
- **Option I-C: Reinforcement or expansion of existing federal procurement preferences for distressed areas.** Existing procurement regulations provide a preference for bidders operating in high-unemployment areas. Through an Executive Order, this regulation could be enforced more systematically or expanded to include an additional preference for firms in severely distressed regions (a definition for severely would need to be developed).

General Budgetary Analysis: Option I-A would require legislation and a modest pay-as-you-go (PAYGO) offset. Option I-B and Option I-C could be executed without legislation and would be budget-neutral.

Other Considerations: A converse consideration is that relative regional performance varies over time, and perhaps we should rely on regional evening out over time rather than trying to compensate for these disparities. Moreover, compensating might detract from maximizing economic performance for the whole country; even this type of compensatory program can create all kinds of controversy, and the time lag and other problems on compensatory programs may make them relatively ineffective. It is worth noting that the concentration of spending in some regions unavoidably entails reduced spending in others, although that problem is lessened where the program is "place-neutral".

II. EXPAND HOUSING AND HOMEOWNERSHIP

Need: The most recent monthly numbers on housing starts and permits were encouraging, but there is considerable unmet demand for affordable multi-unit rental housing in some markets.

Options & Analysis: The Administration might propose a package of policies aimed at expanding housing and homeownership opportunities. Such a package might include:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/4

Taylor Branch
1806 South Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21209

✓ 5/2 ac
Taylor Branch

MR. ~~PRESIDENT~~:

Your Haiti policy is now much stronger in substance than in public perception. Rather than allowing it to slip out quietly from the UN, I suggest that you explain and embrace the change from the White House. Make it real. Perhaps allow candidly that you should have taken these steps months ago, but above all say you mean business. Only the personal stamp of your authority can regain impact on the recalcitrant Haitian military, and preserve trust in your leadership among the forces of democracy in and out of Haiti. Secondarily, the more credible your determination to restore constitutional government, the more defensible are the subsidiary refugee policies that delay and receding confidence make immoral. These things rise or fall together, and I believe they fall when left in the backwater.

No response needed.

Taylor
Taylor Branch

cc: Tony Lake
4/29/94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 05/03/94

TO: NSC

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

Please prepare a response for
the President's signature and
return to my office ASAP.

Thanks.

05/03

The Vice President's office passed this
on to the President's office.

Per Nancy H., She would like a response
done ASAP and sent back up for signature.

s

TO NSC? yes



A NATURAL GAS EXPLORATION & PRODUCTION COMPANY

ROBERT A. HEFNER III, CHAIRMAN

94 MAY 3 P5:43

May 3, 1994

Via Telefax: 202.456.2883

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

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for responding to my letter regarding China's MFN status. Indeed, it is a very difficult decision, so let me add a few more thoughts as you approach the deadline.

I hold that 1) throughout most of the 21st century, like Great Britain in the 19th century and America in the 20th century, China will be the principal economic engine and 2) that the best possible course for the 21st century order will be forged principally by mutually advantageous, peaceful, bilateral relationships between the two great world powers of the era - China and the United States. Therefore, you and your Administration could not treat history better than by 1) recognizing the multiplicity of issues involved in the reality of this global balance, and 2) setting a fresh new diplomatic course to engage China in the full breadth of what this implies. Global leadership requires such an all encompassing, all engaging vision.

Mr. President, there is simply no upside to either polarizing our relationship with China to the single issue of human rights or to the revocation of China's MFN status. Rather, your Administration should engage the Chinese and American people in the building of new and lasting bridges between our two great nations. At home we should work to repeal the outdated Jackson-Vanik legislation which clearly is not appropriate for the post cold war era. Your Administration would gain great strides in stature worldwide by embracing the entirety of issues with China. Break out of the limits you inherited and put campaign rhetoric behind you; what is called for in this rapidly changing new era is a fresh look at the issues and visionary leadership. The issues include:

- trade;
- human rights;
- near and long-term global strategic alliances; and
- discussions regarding mutual roles in the 21st century world order.

KAHIII/mjr 05/02/94
MAY294.DOC

THE GHK COMPANY

3030 NORTHWEST EXPRESSWAY LOWER LEVEL OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA 73112-5467 USA
TELEPHONE: 405 / 948-9800

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THE GHK COMPANY, A NATURAL GAS EXPLORATION & PRODUCTION COMPANY

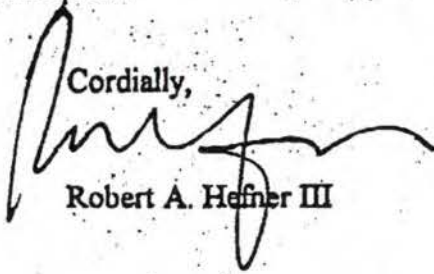
You were elected to put into place new ideas and set us on a new course for the 21st century. I believe such an all encompassing China initiative would be recorded in history as the first major step toward defining the 21st century global order.

Mr. President, if I have but one talent, it is the accuracy of my long-term strategic predictions, which today lead me to believe that to revoke MFN, either in its entirety or in some complex partial manner, will be to risk

- setting back the great strides of progress in human rights in China;
- long-term diminishment of robust trade with the fastest growing and soon to be largest market in the world;
- long-term damage to the American economy;
- loss of our ability to effectively engage the Chinese in other global issues of vital importance to America, thereby diminishing America's global leadership role in the post cold war world order;
- the possibility of polarizing much of Asia against a multiplicity of U.S.-Asian initiatives;
- creating an incentive for American based industry to de-Americanize in order to sell into the China market.

I urge you to renew MFN this year, but with a commitment to the people of both nations to begin immediately, through the process of quiet diplomacy, to lay the groundwork for the building of a long-term strategic alliance between America and China that lies within the boundaries of both nation's principles.

Cordially,



Robert A. Hefner III



A NATURAL GAS EXPLORATION & PRODUCTION COMPANY

FACSIMILE (FAX) TRANSCIVER COVER LETTER

DATE: May 3, 1994TIME: 8:35 A.M.TO: Vice President Al GoreFAX: 202.456.2883FROM: Robert A. Hefner IIITOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 3
(Including Cover Letter)

Note:

We are transmitting from a Lanier 5400 Digital Facsimile Transceiver (3M). This machine is fully automatic and will continue to transmit as long as it receives a signal from your machine. Our Fax Telephone number is 405.948.9898.

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL PAGES, PLEASE NOTIFY JaneAT 405.948. 9870 AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

*Copy to
Jenny McCarthy*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1994

Dear Chris:

Thank you for forwarding Mark Gordon's letter.
I appreciate your relaying this touching message.

Passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act
was a great triumph for the American family and
could not have happened without your leadership and
direction.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Bar

The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

*This should be kept
in case work file*

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEES:
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
CHAIRMAN, CHILDREN, FAMILY, DRUGS, AND
ALCOHOLISM SUBCOMMITTEE

FOREIGN RELATIONS
CHAIRMAN, WESTERN HEMISPHERE SUBCOMMITTEE

BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS
CHAIRMAN, SECURITIES SUBCOMMITTEE

BUDGET

RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0702

April 19, 1994

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TDD (202) 224-5464

STATE OFFICE:
100 GREAT MEADOW ROAD
WETHERSFIELD, CT 06109
(203) 240-3470
TDD (203) 529-7498

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

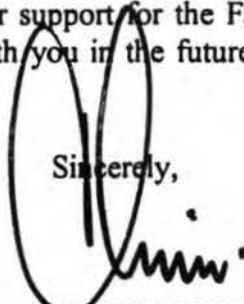
Dear Mr. President:

I wanted to bring to your attention a letter I recently received regarding the Family and Medical Leave Act.

Sergeant Gordon's simple but eloquent words brought home for me once again the importance of this law. I hope they will do the same for you.

I remain deeply grateful for your support for the Family and Medical Leave Act last year, and I look forward to working with you in the future to craft other initiatives of benefit to working Americans.

Sincerely,



CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
United States Senator

CJD:jrp
enclosure

P.S. I thought this note
was missing -



CHRISTOPHER J DODD
444 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

DEAR SENATOR DODD,

MY NAME IS SERGEANT GORDON. I AM CURRENTLY STATIONED AT THE PENTAGON IN THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY'S OFFICE. I WANTED TO WRITE TO YOU AND EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE FOR ALL YOU HAVE DONE WITH THE FAMILY LEAVE BILL.

I HAVE A BROTHER WHO IS LIVING IN ASHFORD, CONNECTICUT WITH MY PARENTS RIGHT NOW. HE IS DYING OF AIDS. HE IS ABLE TO DIE AT HOME, BECAUSE MY MOTHER IS ABLE TO TAKE THE UNPAID LEAVE OF 12 WEEKS. SHE WORKS AT THE WILLIMANTIC CHRONICLE, AND THIS IS THE FIRST JOB SHE'S HAD IN CONNECTICUT THAT SHE TRULY ENJOYS. NOW, THANKS TO YOU, SHE WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN TO THIS JOB, AND MY BROTHER WILL BE ABLE TO DIE AT HOME AS IS HIS WISH. I WISH YOU THE BEST AND CONTINUED SUCCESS. SINCERELY YOURS,

MARK H. GORDON
1043 TREVINO LN,
HERNDON, VA 22070

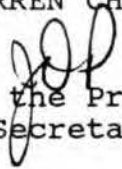
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY WARREN CHRISTOPHER

FROM:

JOHN PODESTA 
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT:

S. RES. 207

The attached resolution, S.Res. 207, was transmitted to the Executive Clerk and I am forwarding a copy signed by Martha S. Pope, Secretary of the Senate.

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

Attachment

S. Res. 207

In the Senate of the United States,

April 26 (legislative day, April 11), 1994.

Whereas on April 6, 1994, Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi were killed when their plane was shot down just outside Kigali, leading to an eruption of violence in Rwanda;

Whereas the systematic and indiscriminate massacre of civilians, estimated in the tens of thousands, is a crime against humanity;

Whereas the violence currently being perpetrated by the Rwandan government forces and their allied militias, as well as the Rwandan Patriotic Front, against members of both the Tutsi and Hutu ethnic groups is deplorable and violates all standards of human rights;

Whereas food shortages and lack of medical supplies in Rwanda, and the evacuation of humanitarian relief workers, has put millions of lives at risk;

Whereas a peace accord signed in Arusha by the Habyarimana government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front in August 1993 created the basis for formation of an integrated transitional government in Rwanda;

Whereas the United Nations Security Council voted in October 1993 to deploy a force of 2,500 peacekeepers, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda

(UNAMIR) to assist in implementation of the Arusha accords;

Whereas tens of thousands of Rwandans have sought the protection of UNAMIR forces and refuge from the continuing violence;

Whereas a number of contributing nations have withdrawn their troop contingents from the UNAMIR operation and other nations contributing forces may follow suit; and

Whereas continued unrest and violence in Rwanda threatens the stability of the entire Central African region: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate—

(1) deploras the brutal and systematic massacre of civilians and individuals sympathetic to the political opposition in Rwanda by the Rwandan military and associated groups, as well as the Rwandan Patriotic Front;

(2) urges the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to continue efforts to gain agreement on a credible cease-fire and to facilitate negotiations between the parties to the conflict, based upon the Arusha accords;

(3) calls on all parties, including the Rwandan army, related militias, particularly Colonel Bagosora, Colonel Augustin Bisimungu, Captain Pasqual Simbikangwa, and Colonel Mpiranya, as well as the Rwandan Patriotic Front—

(A) to exercise restraint and control over their forces,

(B) to accede to an immediate and unconditional ceasefire,

(C) to respect such cease-fire and ensure the safety of innocent civilians,

(D) to guarantee free passage of humanitarian assistance to all in need of such aid, and

(E) to recommit themselves to the principles set forth in the Arusha accords;

(4) calls on the United Nations to consider carefully both military and diplomatic options which are consistent with the Arusha accords and will ensure the safety of innocent civilians, assist in monitoring an eventual cease-fire or peace agreement, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian relief, and ensure the viability of these options;

(5) commends President Clinton for his swift condemnation of and response to this crisis, and applauds the efforts of the United States Ambassador to Rwanda, David Rawson, in ensuring the safe and swift evacuation of Americans from Rwanda;

(6) urges President Clinton to continue diplomatic efforts at the highest levels to achieve prompt resolution of the political and humanitarian crisis in Rwanda.

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

Attest:



Martha S. Byrne

Secretary.



Tony Lake



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/2



INTERNATIONAL LEGAL DEFENSE COUNSEL

Handwritten:
Tony
Fay - Family
B. Simon

THEODORE SIMON
ATTORNEY AT LAW

(215) 563-5550
FAX: (215) 563-8798

117 South 17th Street • Suite 2400 • Philadelphia, PA 19102 USA

Dear
Mr. President,
On behalf of the
FAY + CHAN Families
& myself I would like to
extend my heartfelt
thanks for all of
your thoughts & comments.
Ted Simon

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1994

94 APR 30 AII : 19

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT E. RUBIN *RER/nt*
ANTHONY LAKE *AL*
LEON PANETTA *LP/nt*
LLOYD BENTSEN *LB/nt*
MICHAEL KANTOR *MK/nt*

SUBJECT: Uruguay Round Funding Options

In light of your decision Wednesday to go forward with the Uruguay Round bill this year, attached is a description of some of the funding options OMB and Treasury currently are considering.

Next week, we will provide a memorandum that lays out a Congressional timetable for considering the bill and identifies the main substantive issues (e.g., sovereignty) which are likely to define the debate.

Attachment
Tab A Current Funding Options

POSSIBLE OFFSETS FOR URUGUAY ROUND IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION

Below is a list of possible initiatives to offset the reduction in revenue resulting from implementing the Uruguay Round trade agreements. We have avoided broad-based revenue-raising proposals and have attempted, where possible, to target the proposals to increase revenue at those individuals that benefit from the Uruguay Round. If the Uruguay Round is financed with a combination of tax increases and spending cuts, we can contend that the agreement overall is a net tax cut to business.

Director Panetta, Secretary Bentsen and Ambassador Kantor met to discuss this list in separate meetings with Senate Majority Leader Mitchell; the House Democratic Leadership (Reps. Foley, Gephardt, Bonior and Rostenkowski) alone and with Rep. Archer; Senate Finance Chairman Moynihan; Senate Minority Leader Dole and Senate Packwood, ranking minority on Senate Finance; and the House Minority Leadership (Rep. Michel, Gingrich and Archer). OMB, Treasury and USTR senior staff have also met to discuss these proposals in more detail with staff representing the House bipartisan leadership and majority and minority staff on both House Ways & Means and Senate Finance.

Some of these proposals have been covered by the Wall Street Journal and other economic press. The spectrum royalty fee proposal has been criticized by Senator Hollings and Representative Dingell. We expect very strong Congressional opposition to this proposal. Similarly, we believe that the reductions in agriculture subsidies will face significant Congressional opposition. In addition, Congress may be reluctant to extend the Superfund environmental income tax prior to completing its examination of legislation reauthorizing the Superfund program.

Director Panetta plans to meet with the chairmen of the House and Senate Agriculture committees soon to discuss their concerns and meetings are being scheduled with staff of the authorizing committees which have jurisdiction over the spectrum royalty fee. There has been no similar level of opposition yet expressed about the other proposals.

The estimates of the amount of savings of the proposals listed below are preliminary and are based on OMB scoring. We are already aware that the Congressional Budget Office's estimates of the savings from agriculture reductions will be smaller than OMB estimates. Because of the likelihood of different scoring between the Administration and Congress and the possibility that some of these initial proposals may not be politically feasible, OMB and Treasury are developing additional savings and revenue options.

Initiative

FY 1995-99

- ✓ Accelerate estimated tax payment under Section 936 \$ 0.6
require current users of this tax incentive for
1 possessions to pay estimated tax on a quarterly basis,
as all other corporations are required to do, rather
than on an annual basis.
- Inventory accounting reform \$ 1.3
repeals provision allowing businesses to value
inventories at lower of cost or market for tax
purposes. In exchange, rules determining cost would be
simplified.
- Additions to ozone-depleting chemicals \$ 0.2
apply excise tax on hydrochlorofluorocarbons (HCFCs) and
hydrobromofluorocarbons (HBFCs), which were added to
the international agreement controlling ozone-depleting
chemicals (Montreal Protocol) in November 1992. Would
treat HCFCs and HBFCs like chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs),
initially covered by the agreement in 1990.
- Partnership distributions of marketable securities \$ 0.3
eliminate loophole that exempts securities provided as
benefit of a partnership from tax. Would treat, for
tax purposes, this benefit like cash distributions.
- 2 Extend Superfund environmental income tax \$ 1.9
5 apply revenue collected from existing broad-based tax
established in 1985 Superfund authorization. (Estimate
does not include portion of revenues required to fund
new mandatory program to support Superfund activities.)
- 3 Cash payments in lieu of subsidized parking \$ 0.4
.. require employers providing workers leased parking
privileges of at least \$80/month to offer employees the
option to receive the cash value of these privileges
instead. If chosen, cash bonus would be taxable. Part
of Global Climate Change proposal.
- Similar-conditions tariff drawback \$ 0.6
eliminate provision which allows companies to receive a
rebate of duties paid on imported goods when a similar
product (but not the same product) is exported.
Provision is misused by many exporters.
- Spectrum royalty user fee \$4.8
require four percent fee on gross annual revenues for the
previous year for current licensees of radio spectrum
(cellular operators would pay one percent fee). Fee would
be phased in equally over four years. Would place current
licensees on comparable footing with new users who must bid
in auction for access to the spectrum.

Reductions in EEP from UR \$ 1.6
reduce mandatory spending in Commodity Credit Corporation
(CCC) which is required by U.S. commitments made in UR
agreement.

Reduced CCC Farm Program Outlay Resulting from UR \$1.5-2.5
reduce CCC spending as the result of improved agriculture
market conditions resulting from Uruguay Round
implementation. Does not reduce income to farmers since
assumes higher market price for exports.

- or -

Triple Base to 25 percent \$ 3.5
reduce mandatory spending by increasing amount of
acreage ineligible for price support payments under CCC
from 15% to 25%.

TOTAL POTENTIAL OFFSETS \$13.2-15.2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/3

4/29
cc Carol RascoMEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENTcc: HRC
Corano

As Do Nguy

From: Marian Wright Edelman

Date: April 29, 1994

Subject: Welfare Reform



DEAR LORD
BE GOOD TO ME
THE SEAS ARE
SO WIDE AND SO
MY BOAT IS
SO SMALL

Children's Defense Fund

CDF and many other progressive allies are eager to avert a split with the Administration on welfare reform and focus all of our energies this spring and summer on health reform. We worry that welfare policies will move to the right in the Congress and hope the Administration will present an approach that is as balanced as possible to avoid a final result that leaves children and families worse rather than better off. Four areas are of great importance to us:

Child care for the working poor: We cannot meet the crucial challenge of welfare prevention unless we make major new investments in child care for working poor families. While I know resources for welfare reform are scarce, I urge you to restore child care funds for the working poor to respond to the needs of millions of families struggling to stay off welfare.

Financing: I want to reiterate strong opposition to proposals that would pay for welfare reform by slashing aid to poor people. Eliminating basic assistance to large numbers of legal immigrants, curbing state efforts through the Emergency Assistance (EA) program to prevent foster care placements and homelessness, or allowing states to impose a "family cap" denying AFDC benefits for children born to families already receiving AFDC will exacerbate the problems facing many poor and vulnerable families. A more equitable financing structure reflecting your commitment to helping children and families in greatest need is essential.

Preserving a safety net for children: I hope we will never give up on parents who "play by the rules" but cannot find private sector jobs. As long as parents are willing to work, a WORK slot must be provided; if unavailable, the basic AFDC safety net must remain in place. I hope you will reject proposals allowing the use of "full family" sanctions that would deprive poor children of all income support in cases of parental non-compliance with some WORK rules. The results will be more homelessness, family breakdown, and increased foster care.

Make work pay: Those who work should be better off because of their efforts and should not end up with less income than they had while on AFDC. To ensure this result, an income supplement like AFDC must be provided for parents in part-time private sector employment and the Earned Income Credit (EIC) must be provided for parents in the WORK program.

CDF shares your commitment to genuine reform of the welfare system, and looks forward to working with the Administration to make them a reality in the months ahead.

The Washington Post Writers Group

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5/3/94

1150 15TH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20071-9200
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Tommy C. Strobe
Gugen

^bc-yoder-column advIMMEDIATE<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(For IMMEDIATE RELEASE--Normally Advance for Monday, May 2, 1994)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--Much of what critics say of the administration's handling of the Gorazde matter, and of its Bosnian policy generally, is right. More of what they say, and far the more important part, is dangerously wrong.

Begin with what's right. There was once a "War of Jenkins' Ear," an obscure 18th century naval war; and you might well call the recent struggle over Gorazde the war of Perry's or Shalikashvili's mouth. Both made unguarded comments that the Bosnian Serbs seem to have interpreted as an invitation to add Gorazde to their menu. By the time the "clarifications" began, Serb gunners were already battering hospitals and marketplaces.

Like their Republican predecessors (notably Caspar Weinberger), the secretary of defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs are so attuned to the Pentagon world-view as to see issues of force in the starkest either/or terms. Either we use crushing might, goes the argument, a hammer for every gnat, or we look the other way and pretend that gnat-swatting is the road to ruin. This is the Vietnam syndrome, if there is one. Disillusionment with the incremental use of force is now institutionalized dogma.

But aside from this Pentagon fundamentalism, which afflicts Democratic and Republican administrations alike, there is an alarming note of captious partisanship in what Newt Gingrich, Bob Dole and some strategic masterminds of the press are saying about Clinton's Balkan policy. They grumble that U.S. submission to a long, messy U.N./NATO chain of command is undignified and unbecoming to us as a great power. What they do not add is that this criticism implies, as its

(more)

alternative, a go-it-alone unilateralism in foreign policy that could leave us overinvolved and friendless.

Indeed, what Dole and others now say is reminiscent of the "great debate" over U.S. strategic policy of an earlier day. Republican luminaries of the '40s, notably Sen. Robert Taft of Ohio, fought the creation of NATO and opposed the "surrender" of U.S. "sovereignty" to the United Nations. We hear uncanny echoes of the Taft doctrine in the current GOP critique of Clinton. Taft, a man of brains, character and honesty, made a far more coherent case for isolationism and unilateralism than his successors. And there was such a case; otherwise the United States would have embraced collective security long before it actually did.

But the view that we should make our way alone in the world, dispensing with allies or ignoring their scruples when they stand in the way of one of our half-cocked moral crusades abroad, was abandoned 45 years ago as a relic of the failed foreign policy of the '20s and '30s.

Indeed, Bill Clinton could scoff at coalition diplomacy or override the sometimes confusing judgments of U.N. and NATO officials on the scene. Would it be wise and productive to do so? Gen. Sir Michael Rose, a hero of the Britain's Falklands War and the U.N. commander in Bosnia, is a man of character and competence. It is breathtaking arrogance for the nitpickers and armchair generals in Congress, and in the press, safely distant from the whine of shot and shell, to bully Clinton to override Rose and others in the name of American prestige. When and where did we hear that argument before?

If the administration's impetuous critics could pause from their partisanship and/or moralizing to think, they might recall the wisdom of Dwight D. Eisenhower's shrewd reaction to a similar clamor for hasty, unfocused intervention 40 years ago. In the spring of 1954, a cabal led by Richard Nixon and the chief of naval operations itched to launch a massive bombing campaign to reinforce the French at Indochina. Eisenhower didn't say no, but he insisted that an American

(more)

intervention be joined by the British. Some historians suspect that ~~Eisenhower foresaw that the British would have no appetite for it, as~~ was the case. Would that John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, who were soon to rush in where Eisenhower feared to tread, had acted with similar wisdom and restraint.

But then, as a great soldier Eisenhower had the authority to hold the Republican adventurers on a short leash and ignore the moralists of the press who will be the first to rebel against the policy they now urge if it goes bad. Eisenhower's is an example Bill Clinton should consider very carefully.

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and has built-in slack to keep the joint mobile, but these adaptations mean that the shoulder is one of the most easily dislocated joints in the body.

Bobby Bonilla, third baseman for the New York Mets, is all too familiar

job decides to spend the weekend painting the ceiling or trimming trees.

Overstressing even a strong joint, for example, by lifting weights that

The Rotator Cuff

Lacking a secure bony socket, the shoulder depends instead for stability

Other exercises aimed at with these to achieve a balance of flexibility and strength that protects the shoulder from further injury.

Visions of Weaning Americans From Nicotine

By PHILIP J. HILTS

ANTISMOKING forces in Washington, gaining momentum in Congress in recent weeks, have begun to imagine America with strict regulation of cigarettes.

But what would that mean? Cigarettes by prescription only? Nicotine-free cigarettes? Most agree that simply banning cigarettes is not an option. But one idea often mentioned by advocates is that the Government could gradually reduce the amount of nicotine permitted in cigarettes over, say, two decades.

That idea may never fly, but that people are even raising it is a measure of how far the antismoking tide has swept since a year ago.

Feasibility of Idea

It would be national nicotine withdrawal stretched out over an entire generation. But could it work?

"It could be done, and it could be done gradually so that there is not much distress caused by the reductions, especially in the beginning," said Dr. Neal L. Benowitz, a professor of medicine at the University of California at San Francisco who is an expert on smokers and their behavior. "After all, 80 percent of smokers say they want to quit. This would make it easier for them to do that, because over a long time they would just find the cigarettes less and less satisfying."

Dr. Jack E. Henningfield, chief of clinical pharmacology at the National Institute on Drug Abuse, agreed. "Yes, it is possible to wean the public off nicotine and cigarettes," he said.

The idea is one that has been around for some time. But recently, as antismoking advocates began to question what outcome they were really hoping for, it resurfaced. After Dr. David A. Kessler, the Commis-

when he discusses the options the F.D.A. may consider.

A big advantage would be that cigarettes with lower nicotine levels would make it easier for children who experiment with smoking to avoid becoming addicted. It is only over a year or more of use that nicotine addiction takes effect. Experts say that at least three-quarters of new smokers are children, and that they start smoking for social reasons.

The greatest concern that experts have in contemplating such a national weaning project is that when nicotine is reduced, some smokers may smoke more cigarettes to get the same level of nicotine, taking in larger and larger amounts of tar and other carcinogens in the process.

Dr. Benowitz said, however, that he believed this might not be a major problem in the long run. Studies of people weaned to lower-nicotine cigarettes show that they overcompensate for a few weeks, but most then seem to adjust to a lower level of nicotine intake. He added that "this subject really needs more research."

Many advocacy groups support the idea of a weaning program, including Action on Smoking and Health, a Washington group that uses litigation to press the antismoking cause, and the Coalition on Smoking or Health, a group representing the American Heart Association, the American Lung Association and the American Cancer Society.

Little Change in Nicotine Levels

Dr. Kessler, in supporting the idea, has said it would be important to take into account the way people smoke and why they smoke to make such a plan work.

Over the past century, cigarettes have gained filters, become less harsh tasting and lower in tar. But the amount of nicotine in cigarettes, as a percentage of the weight, has remained very stable since at least 1952, according to the Food and Drug Administration. The percentage of

Slowly, over decades, nicotine levels would be cut.

Benowitz says his best estimate is that when nicotine intake drops below about 5 milligrams a day, smokers begin to suffer withdrawal.

Each puff a smoker takes delivers a hit of nicotine that sends the level in the blood shooting upward within 10 to 15 seconds, and then falls back to a more constant level.

It takes 8 to 10 hours for nicotine to flush out of the body, which means that each morning smokers start with a low level of nicotine still in their blood. The first puffs of the day are more satisfying, and drug tolerance builds up on a daily cycle, so the last smokes of the day are less adequate and smokers may take more cigarettes to compensate for the milder hit late in the day.

Nicotine does give a mild high that tends to increase alertness slightly, and gives a small improvement in performance on memory and attention tests.

The absolute amount of nicotine in a cigarette averages 8 to 9 milligrams, in both "light" and regular cigarettes, 5 to 6 times the amount needed to remain addicted. But smokers can vary the dose they get, depending on how deeply and often they puff. The average dose given by a cigarette is one milligram, but smokers can get as much as three milli-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 5-3-94

Because of this variation in intake, even if the Government cut nicotine by 5 or 10 percent a year, it would not force smokers into withdrawal for several years, and then only gradually.

Greg Connolly, director of the Massachusetts Health Department's antismoking program, suggested that other tactics would be very helpful in encouraging people to quit and children not to start. "Treat the product like a drug, and do not allow any direct advertising or marketing, for example," he said. "You could use generic packaging, and put cigarettes in the drugstore next to aspirin as an over-the-counter drug, and make sure they are not sold in vending machines or elsewhere."

Possibility of Illegal Trafficking

Restricting the sale of cigarettes in any form raises fears of an increase in black market sales, especially because there is already illegal traffic across the Canadian border to avoid taxes. Experts say that there might be some illegal trafficking if sales were restricted, but that it was unlikely to be a problem if, for example, cigarettes could be bought at pharmacies with a prescription, perhaps multiyear prescriptions like those for birth control.

John Banzhaf, director of Action on Smoking and Health, said this solution would also help keep cigarettes out of the hands of children, and would get smokers to see a doctor once in a while about their habit, while remaining available at every corner pharmacy.

Dr. Kenneth E. Warner, chairman of the department of health economics at the University of Michigan, said there would always be a few people who wanted to smoke, no matter what, and for those people "we should make it possible for them to smoke in the privacy of their homes if they want to."

Dr. Henningfield added that there were already some good treatments to help people quit smoking — behavioral therapy combined with injecting

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The idea is one that has been around for some time. But recently, as antismoking advocates began to question what outcome they were really hoping for, it resurfaced. After Dr. David A. Kessler, the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, said he was willing to regulate cigarettes, Dr. Benowitz mentioned this idea to him. Dr. Kessler has since included it

when he discusses the options the F.D.A. may consider.

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Slowly, over decades, nicotine levels would be cut.

Benowitz says his best estimate is that when nicotine intake drops below about 5 milligrams a day, smokers begin to suffer withdrawal.

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Because of this variation in intake, even if the Government cut nicotine by 5 or 10 percent a year, it would not force smokers into withdrawal for several years, and then only gradually.

Greg Connolly, director of the Massachusetts Health Department's antismoking program, suggested that other tactics would be very helpful in encouraging people to quit and children not to start. "Treat the product like a drug, and do not allow any direct advertising or marketing, for example," he said. "You could use generic packaging, and put cigarettes in the drugstore next to aspirin as an over-the-counter drug, and make sure they are not sold in vending machines or elsewhere."

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Archives created liaison post in '93

By Ruth Larson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The National Archives is one of only two non-Cabinet agencies that have created the post of White House liaison since the start of the Clinton administration.

The Office of Personnel Management, responding to an inquiry by Rep. Frank R. Wolf, Virginia Republican, found that of the more than 60 non-Cabinet agencies, 13 have a White House liaison. All but two of the agencies — the Archives and the newly created Corporation for National and Community Service — created the posts during previous administrations.

Mr. Wolf has criticized what he calls the "political maneuvering" within the Archives under the leadership of acting Archivist Trudy H. Peterson.

Mr. Wolf has asked the Archives' inspector general to investigate charges that agency officials attempted to influence the White House in its search for a permanent archivist.

He also wrote White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty last week, expressing his concerns over the continuing Archives controversy.

"Allegations that these political appointees are conducting a search for archivist from within the halls of the Archives is disturbing," Mr. Wolf wrote. "The search for a new archivist should be conducted in the executive office of the president."

The OPM report said, "The White House Liaison at the National Archives is a new position requested by the agency in 1993; however, some of these duties were performed by political appointees in previous administrations."

Brian Thompson, appointed White House liaison at the Archives in November, previously worked at the Department of Energy. Before that, he served in the White House Office of Presidential Personnel, where he tracked the status of presidential appointees for the Clinton administration.

Archives spokeswoman Shirley Clarkson said: "Brian's role is to provide assistance, to put the White House in touch with the proper people here at the Archives. He is not involved in

decision-making."

The White House did not respond to repeated calls for comment.

Ms. Clarkson also denied that Mr. Thompson had taken over responsibility for implementing the Presidential Records Act. The act includes procedures by which the White House obtains approval from the Archives to dispose of presidential and vice-presidential materials.

Such issues had previously been delegated to the Office of Presidential Libraries, headed by John T. Fawcett. But in February Mrs. Peterson and her staff decided to assign some aspects of the act to Mr. Thompson, a move opposed by Mr. Fawcett because of Mr. Thompson's lack of archival background and training.

Mrs. Peterson acknowledged his concerns but wrote in a memo, "At this time, it is appropriate for NARA communications with the current White House to be provided through the White House liaison."

Mr. Wolf, in an April 13 letter, asked the Archives inspector general a series of questions: "Who at NARA [the Archives], other than the acting administrator, is charged with the duty of implementing the Presidential Records Act? I am told that John Fawcett no longer has this duty. Who reviews disposal requests by the White House? Has the White House asked NARA for permission to dispose of documents?"

Ms. Clarkson said there had been only one request by the White House to dispose of bulk mail, "and that was quite some time ago. Brian Thompson was not involved in the decision in any way." She added, "Nothing has changed about disposal procedures during this administration."

In an interview last month, a former administration official, who declined to be identified, said he was surprised to learn that the Archives had a White House liaison.

"It's one thing for Cabinet-level departments to have a liaison. ... It's quite another to have one at an independent agency, which is supposed to be shielded from political pressure," he said.

5/3/94

GUNY TERZANO

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Podest

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National Archives

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FED10

Washington, DC 20408

MAY 11 1993

Honorable John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

C O P Y
from ORM

Dear Mr. Podesta:

In accordance with the authority granted to me by the Presidential Records Act, Section 2203(c)(2), I approve of disposal of the three (3) categories of Presidential bulk mail described in your letter of April 22, 1993. Those categories are:

- (1) Certain categories of public mail to the President, the First Lady and their staffs including anonymous correspondence, correspondence with an incomplete address, mail from prolific writers, and public opinion mail.
- (2) Copies of press releases, press conference and briefing transcripts, personnel announcements, mass mailings and other internal publications that are distributed widely. As you stated in your letter, a record copy of each of these items should be retained in the originating White House office.
- (3) Publications, brochures, clippings and other types of enclosures in public mail, when there is no immediate or historical importance to the materials.

As in the past, I recommend that representatives of the National Archives and Records Administration, in coordination with the White House Office of Records Management, review these materials before disposal and take samples when appropriate. These samples will be retained permanently. If groups of materials that should not be destroyed are identified during sampling, the National Archives will inform you.

I do not intend to take any Congressional action with regard to this request as provided for by Section 2203(e) of the Presidential Records Act.

7,553 - Boxes have been Sampled
7,200 - Approximately destroyed

I support your effort to continue the disposal of Presidential bulk mail. This practice has been very successful since it began in 1982, and, as you point out, has been mutually beneficial for both the White House and the National Archives.

Sincerely,


TRUDY HUSKAMP PETERSON
Acting Archivist
of the United States

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1993

Dear Dr. Peterson:

In accordance with the requirements of the Presidential Records Act, 44 U.S.C. (c) (1), I propose to dispose periodically of the following categories of Presidential records:

- o certain categories of public mail to the President, the First Lady and their staffs including anonymous correspondence, correspondence with an incomplete address, mail from prolific writers, and public opinion mail. Samples, when appropriate, will be retained.
- o copies of press releases, press conference and briefing transcripts, personnel announcements, mass mailings and other internal publications that are distributed widely. Record copies of each is retained by the originating office within the White House.
- o publications, brochures, clippings and other types of enclosures in public mail, when there is no immediate or historical importance to the materials.

The White House Office of Records Management will dispose of these materials only after representatives of the National Archives have reviewed, approved and, when appropriate in their opinion, sampled it.

This would continue a policy initiated under President Reagan and agreed to by the National Archives. This policy has allowed the disposal of over 35,000 cubic feet of materials since its inception. It is a policy that has benefitted both the White House and the National Archives by allowing significant savings in space, maintenance, and budget, in the short term for the White House, and in the long term for the National Archives.

Sincerely,


John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

Dr. Trudy H. Peterson
Acting Archivist of the United States
Room 111
National Archives and Records Administration
7th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20408

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. Trudy H. Peterson
Acting Archivist of the United States
Room 111
National Archives and Records Administration
7th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20408

Terry Good —

call me before
forwarding this letter

TALKED TO
JOHN. OK
TO DISPATCH —

John

LEE 4/23/93

— GIVEN TO DOUG
THURMOND

FOR HAND DELIVERY
NOON 4/23/93

John:
Could we
talk about
this also
today?

Jerry
(Primarily, the
first two pages)

(RM)

April 15, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: TERRY GOOD *TG*

RE: DISPOSAL OF CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF PUBLIC MAIL

Since the Reagan Administration, this office has had in place a process to dispose of that portion of the public mail that has received either a form response or no response. The National Archives (NARA) agreed to this in 1982. (See attachments) We have continued to follow these guidelines ever since.

The process is fairly straightforward. Before disposal, we ask NARA to review the boxes of mail for a "second opinion". Its staff will pull a very small number as selected samples. The boxes will then be given to the Office of Administration which has a maceration facility in the NEOB. Initially, NARA contracted with a commercial operation to dispose of the material. Later, and until quite recently, we used the services of NSA at Fort Meade. NSA remains a fall-back option.

Typically, we will hold the mail for 30 to 90 days before disposal. However, the current volume is such that we do not have storage space to retain it for even 30 days. Since January we have received approximately 1300 boxes and have disposed of almost 600. Our available space will hold 600 which allows for a small amount of working area. At the moment our working area has disappeared and we are expecting more boxes this week.

Evidently, NARA is reviewing many of its policies at the request of its new Acting Archivist, Dr. Trudy Peterson. Thus, NARA's Office of Presidential Libraries has asked if the White House would submit a memorandum explaining that it would like to continue this policy. To accommodate this request, I have prepared a draft letter taking into account the requests cited in Dr. Warner's letter of March 30, 1982. I omitted reference to the Presidential Libraries Liaison Office which was later reduced to a staff of one working in and under the Office of Records Management. As we have discussed we hope that this position can be filled in the near future. However, in the meantime, the reviewing and sampling can be done by a NARA team that visits frequently to assist in performing this function.

I defer to you as to whose signature should appear on it.

DRAFT

Dear Dr. Peterson:

In accordance with the requirements of the Presidential Records Act, 44 U.S.C. (c) (1), the President proposes to dispose periodically of the following categories of Presidential records:

- o certain categories of public mail to the President, the First Lady and their staffs including anonymous correspondence, correspondence with an incomplete address, mail from prolific writers, and public opinion mail. Samples, when appropriate, will be retained.
- o copies of press releases, press conference and briefing transcripts, personnel announcements, mass mailings and other internal publications that are distributed widely. Record copies of each is retained by the originating office within the White House.
- o publications, brochures, clippings and other types of enclosures in public mail, when there is no immediate or historical importance to the materials.
- o unsuccessful and unsolicited applications for employment, including correspondence, resumes, letters of recommendation and other similar materials no longer under review by the Office of Presidential Personnel.

The White House Office of Records Management will dispose of these materials only after representatives of the National Archives have reviewed, approved and, when appropriate in their opinion, sampled it.

This would continue a policy initiated under President Reagan and agreed to by the National Archives. This policy has allowed the disposal of over 35,000 cubic feet of materials since its inception. It is a policy that has benefitted both the White House and the National Archives by allowing significant savings in space, maintenance, and budget, in the short term for the White House, and in the long term for the National Archives.

001634 PF

PERMANENT FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FEO

March 8, 1982

Dear Dr. Warner:

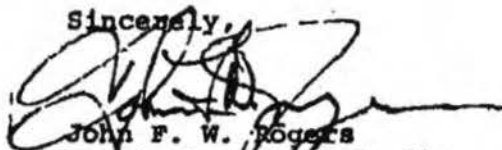
In accordance with the requirements of the Presidential Records Act, 44 U.S.C. 2203 (c) (1), the President proposes to dispose periodically of the following categories of Presidential records:

- o public mail to the President, the First Lady and their staffs including anonymous correspondence, correspondence with an incomplete address, mail from prolific writers, and public opinion mail. A sample will be retained by Records Management.
- o copies of press releases, press conference and briefing transcripts, personnel announcements, mass mailings and other internal publications that are distributed widely. One copy will be retained by Records Management.
- o publications, brochures, clippings and other types of enclosures in public mail, when there is no immediate or historical importance to the materials.
- o unsuccessful and unsolicited applications for employment, including correspondence, resumes, letters of recommendation and other similar materials.

I would like to obtain your views on this proposal. I would suggest that as a means of carrying out this plan on a continuing basis that members of the Office of Records Management would work with your designee in reviewing sample boxes of the materials involved. The materials would then be turned over to you for destruction.

I would appreciate your consideration of this proposal and a response at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,



John F. W. Rogers
Deputy Assistant to the
President for Management

Dr. Robert Warner
Archivist of the United States
The National Archives
Washington, D.C. 20408

cc: Biff Henley
cc: Emily Ford - JFWR Chron.
cc: Central Files w/attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Dr. Warner:

In accordance with the requirements of the Presidential Records Act, 44 U.S.C. 2203 (c) (1), the President proposes to dispose periodically of the following categories of Presidential records:

- public mail to the President, the First Lady and their staffs including anonymous correspondence, correspondence with an incomplete address, mail from prolific writers, and public opinion mail. *A sample will be retained by Records Management.*
- copies of press releases, press conference and briefings transcripts, personnel announcements, mass mailings and other internal publications that are distributed widely. *One copy will be retained by Records Management.*
- publications, brochures, clippings and other types of enclosures in public mail, when there is no immediate or historical importance to the materials
- unsuccessful and unsolicited applications for employment, including correspondence, resumes, letters of recommendation and other similar materials.

Office of Records Mgmt.
I would like to obtain your views on this proposal. I would suggest that as a means of carrying out this plan on a continuing basis that members of the ~~White House staff~~ would work with your designee in reviewing sample boxes of the materials involved. The materials would then be turned over to you for destruction. ~~In keeping with procedures recommended by the Presidential Libraries Office a sampling of this material is being retained.~~

I would appreciate your consideration of this proposal and a response at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

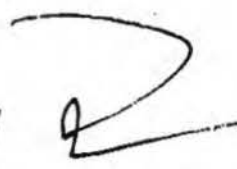
J FWR
James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President

Dr. Robert Warner
Archivist of the United States
The National Archives
Washington, D.C. 20408

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 23, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD DARMAN
FROM: BIFF HENLEY *Bill* 
SUBJECT: DISPOSAL OF CERTAIN MATERIALS

Help! We really need to move ahead and dispose of the materials described at TAB A. Presently, there are 2,500 cartons stored in Alexandria and 600 more in storage here.

Last week, we received the 250,000 petitions (80 cartons) described at TAB B which should be included into the 600 mentioned above.

For your information TAB C contains copies of previous memoranda on this subject.

TAB D contains copies of the action taken by the Vice President's office with similar materials.

- 1) What are you asking me to do?
- 2) If it helps for me to read memos from Linder, I'd like to know how

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1981

TO: H. P. Goldfield

FROM: Anne Higgins, Director of Presidential Correspondence *Anne*

SUBJECT: CLASSIFICATIONS OF MAIL WHICH CAN BE DISCARDED

The following represent the classifications of mail we believe may be safely discarded after an appropriate period of retention (i.e., 30 to 60 days):

- I. Correspondence acknowledged by card, including requests for birthday and wedding anniversary greetings. No record is now maintained for these acknowledgments, nor do we plan to ask for any. Random sampling might be kept for historical purposes.
- II. Get-well correspondence acknowledged by presidential form response. No record is maintained. Random sampling should be kept for historical purposes.
- III. Unacknowledged correspondence defined by the mail room as inspired or propaganda mail. No record now maintained, but we may like to consider the possibility of keeping some sort of list on these. Samples of each form should be kept for historical purposes.

1192 boxes end of June
915 end of May

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR:

H. P. GOLDFIELD

FROM:

FRANK MATTHEWS *FM*

RE:

REQUEST FOR DISPOSAL OF CERTAIN
PRESIDENTIAL RECORDS

As you requested during our July 14 meeting, attached is a list of the categories of records currently in our custody which we do not believe warrant permanent retention.

NARS has examined and is prepared to approve for disposal these particular records as required by the Presidential Records Act.

Except for the get-well correspondence, these categories of records have been disposed of routinely in the past in cooperation with NARS.

cc: Mary Lawton

As of July 15, 1981:

Number of Boxes	Contents	Recommended Retention Period
1,293	Correspondence acknowledged by card, including requests for birthday and wedding anniversary greetings. No record is maintained of these acknowledgments.	30 days
	Unacknowledged correspondence including copy letters, mail from supporters of special interest groups variously defined by the Mail Room as inspired or propaganda mail, and multi-signature mail.	30 days
	While I don't have a precise numerical breakdown by cartons, the estimated percentages are: 40-50%: acknowledged 50-60%: unacknowledged	
169	Correspondence acknowledged by a form response by the Director of Correspondence. No copy of the acknowledgment is maintained.	60 days
24	Unacknowledged correspondence - registered	60 days
138	Oversize items from children acknowledged by Presidential form letters. A copy of the Presidential letter and the incoming cover letter, if it exists, are filed.	60 days
500-600 (various sizes)	Get well correspondence acknowledged by Presidential form response. No record is maintained of these acknowledgments.	30 days

DRAFT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 30, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: ROBERT D. LINDER

SUBJECT: Disposal of Certain Materials.

The purpose of this memorandum is to seek your guidance and approval for the disposal of certain materials after an appropriate length of time as a means of managing the records received or created in the White House Office.

The Presidential Records Act provides that the President may dispose of his Presidential records that no longer have administrative, historical, informational, or evidentiary value. (44 USC 2203(c)). Procedurally, the President must obtain the views, in writing, of the Archivist of the United States concerning such disposal. If the Archivist considers the disposal to be of special interest to the Congress, he must notify certain Congressional Committees and then the President must also notify the Committees by submitting copies of his disposal schedule at least 60 calendar days of continuous session of the Congress in advance of the proposed disposal date. If the Archivist states that he does not intend to notify the Congressional Committees, the records may be disposed of without further consultations.

Current Situation

We are currently receiving in the Office of Records Management, a great deal of material which I believe could be disposed of under the code section cited above. Not only is time wasted in handling this material numerous times, but valuable storage area is also wasted by this material which has little or no archival interest.

The materials I am referring to fall into four broad categories.

- 1) public mail to the President, the First Lady and their staffs including anonymous correspondence correspondence with an incomplete address, mail from prolific writers, and public opinion mail (opinion mail is acknowledged by a printed card or a robo letter. The cards carry the autopenned ^{printed} signature of the President, the First Lady, or the Director of Correspondence. The robo letters are usually autopenned by the Director of Correspondence or infrequently, signed by another staff member.)
- 2) copies of press releases, press conference and briefings transcripts, personnel announcements, mass mailings and other internal publications that are distributed widely
- 3) publications, brochures, clippings and other types of enclosures in public mail, when there is no immediate or historical importance to the materials
- 4) unsuccessful and unsolicited applications for employment, including correspondence, resumes, letters of recommendation and other similar materials.

There may be certain items in each of these categories that the head of the office wants to retain. No correspondence, record or other item would be disposed of without the prior consent of the head of the office who sent the materials to the Office of Records Management for filing. However, after such consent had been given, we would like to be able to dispose of the materials in an orderly way, working with the Archivist's staff. We have several hundred boxes of materials now that could be disposed of - primarily the get-well cards and other general correspondence from the public.

Recommendation:

As a means of initiating this action, I recommend that Jim Baker send the attached letter (Tab A) to the Archivist, giving the statutory notice of the plan for disposal of certain Presidential records. Although I have informally cleared the text with some of the Archivist's staff, you may want to send it over to his office directly for informal comment before Jim officially sends it.

After the Archivist gives his written response, we can then proceed with the disposal as outlined above. Meanwhile we shall continue to collect and file the materials so that they could be disposed of with minimum effort, and we will keep everything until you give us guidance on final disposition.

Concur:

Mary Lawton

Anne Higgins

Pendleton James

cc: John Rogers