

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 07/15/94



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

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

The attached has been forwarded  
to the President.





THE CHAIRMAN

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

94 JUL 15 P6:42

July 15, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

LAURA D. TYSON

*Laura D. Tyson*

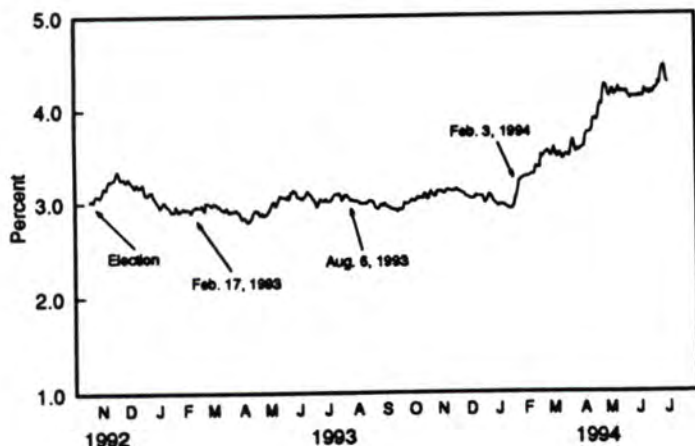
SUBJECT: Interest Rates and the Stock Market, Week Ending Friday, July 15, 1994

Interest rates fell sharply this week. Increases in interest rates early in the week were offset by subsequent declines. Some observers ascribed this week's drop in interest rates to economic news that apparently indicates moderating growth and continued subdued inflation. Changes in Treasury borrowing rates over the week were as follows:

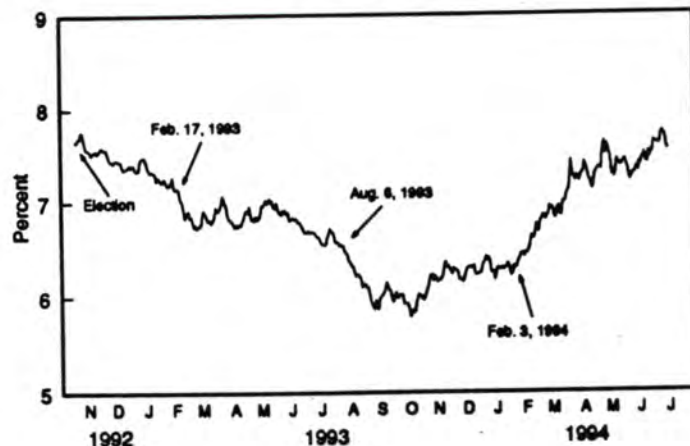
|               | Close 7/8/94 | Close 7/15/94 | Change |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------|
| 3-month bills | 4.37         | 4.26          | -0.11  |
| 10-year notes | 7.42         | 7.25          | -0.17  |
| 30-year bonds | 7.70         | 7.55          | -0.15  |

The stock market rose. The broad-based S&P index closed Friday at 454.16, up 1.0 percent from the preceding Friday's close. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed Friday at 3753.81, up 1.2 percent for the week.

Three-Month Rates



Thirty-Year Rates





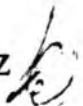
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

MEMBER

94 JUL 15 P 6: 42

July 15, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ   
SUBJECT: Foreign Economic Developments

**Exchange Rates:** The dollar fell slightly this week, despite rising relative to the yen.

| Dollar's Value<br>in terms of: | Week Ending<br>7/8/94 | Week Ending<br>7/15/94 | Change from previous: |         |       |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------|-------|
|                                |                       |                        | Week                  | Quarter | Year  |
| Deutschemmark                  | \$1 = 1.5615 DM       | \$1 = 1.5573 DM        | -0.3%                 | -9.1%   | -9.6% |
| Yen                            | \$1 = 97.85 ¥         | \$1 = 98.10 ¥          | +0.3%                 | -5.3%   | -9.4% |
| Multilateral<br>(3/73 = 100)   | 88.86                 | 88.53                  | -0.4%                 | -6.8%   | -6.8% |

**Japan:** ► Finance Minister Takemura said that he cannot be optimistic about the Japanese economy because of the current strength of the yen. The trade surplus rose sharply in June, reaching \$11.35 billion for the month. Industrial production fell 1.2% in May and is 1.8% below a year ago. Wholesale prices fell 0.1% in June and are 1.9% below a year ago.

**EU:** ► West German wholesale prices rose 0.8% in May, but are only 1.8% above a year ago. Retail sales are up 4% in real terms from a year ago. East German consumer prices rose 0.1% in June and are 3.2% higher than a year ago.

► French consumer prices were unchanged in June and are only 1.8% above a year ago.

► British producer prices were unchanged in June and are 2.0% above a year ago. Retail prices were also unchanged in June and are 2.6% above a year ago. The unemployment rate remained unchanged at 9.4% in June.

**Other Countries:** ► The Canadian CPI rose 0.2% in June but are unchanged from a year ago.

► Chinese industrial production in the first half of the year is 15.8% higher than a year ago.

► Russian inflation fell to 5% in June, but is expected to rise in the next few months.



CC Leon  
Hi's sharp  
a possibility

WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

cc V Biggins

"He's sharp  
a possibility"

July 14, 1994

Keven A. McKenna  
23 Acorn Street  
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Dear Keven:

Thanks for your letter of July 2. It was good to see you recently and to have a chance to visit in the Oval Office.

It isn't presumptuous of you to express your interest in serving the Administration, and I appreciate your willingness to work in the White House. I have taken the liberty of sharing your letter with Veronica Biggins, my Director of Presidential Personnel, for her consideration.

I hope to see you again soon. Thanks.

Sincerely,

BM

(I was fascinated  
by your letter - we're  
working things a bit  
here - will be back in touch)



Trey

Revised Trey  
7/13/94

**KEVEN A. MCKENNA**  
**Attorney at Law**  
**23 Acorn Street, Providence, RI 02903**  
**Tel. 401 273-8200 Fax 401 521-5280**

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July 2, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Bill:

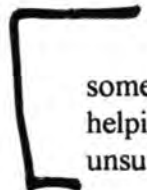
I thank you for your kindness in recognizing an old acquaintance on your visit to Rhode Island and for my visit with you last Saturday at the Oval Office. My family and I appreciate your friendship and loyalty.

If it is not presumptuous of me, I would like to share a hope I have for you, and to suggest that I may be of some help to you in achieving the greatness that the media seems driven to deny you.

If Carroll Quigley taught us one principle, it was the duty of leadership to lift the people to a higher consciousness of purpose. If George Bush learned one lesson, the people want a President with vision. Now more than any time in history, there is a vacuum in leadership both on the national and world levels. What a terrific opportunity to provide leadership, defined not by crisis, by a new vision of hope.

To counteract the constant distraction of ad hominem attacks by the sly media, a new hard driving and coordinated leadership agenda of exciting ideas for the future can lift the country about the mundane, yet vulgar politics, of the ad hominem, - now consuming the attention of the country.

I would like to help you unleash the excitement and power of your leadership talents.



I believe I could be helpful through working with your staff- some of whom I have had some past acquaintance, - by helping to tie together your programs with common themes and by helping to translating your ideas into events, and by assisting you in making a mark in history unsurpassed by any of your modern predecessors.

If you wish, I could work in any subordinate and anonymous position with any of your staff- from legal counsel, to policy coordination, to Congressional Relations, to budget. I believe,

perhaps, as sort of utility infielder at the White House, I could make a contribution to your efforts.

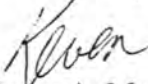
As you may recall, I worked briefly in Johnston Administration with speeches and legislative proposals. It was during that time I met Leon Panetta and Alice Rivelin. I was a legislative aide to Dr. Ralph Huett, one of LBJ's Texas's professors.

Following that stint, I worked four years in the Senate as a legislative aide to Senator Pell, - In 1971, I drafted the first national health insurance bill with a employer mandate; then two years for R.I. Governor Philip Noel, and two years as an Assistant Attorney General to R.I. Attorney General Julius Michaelson. I served as a State Representative and more recently five years as a Municipal Judge. I have been in private practice and been active in politics. I was elected as a Clinton Delegate and I have served as President of R.I.'s Constitutional Convention in 1986.

My experience on all three levels of government translating ideas into events, I hope, can be helpful to you.

Have a your staff give me a call if you need another hand on the oars.

Best Wishes,



Keven A. McKenna

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1994

Maurie Flanagan  
Post Office Box 1198  
Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts 02557

Dear Maurie:

Thanks for your note and for the invitation to spend some time with you and your family on the Vineyard. The offer of a round of golf with you and Clare sounds great, and if we come, I hope I'll be able to take you up on it. Or maybe we'll have a burger!

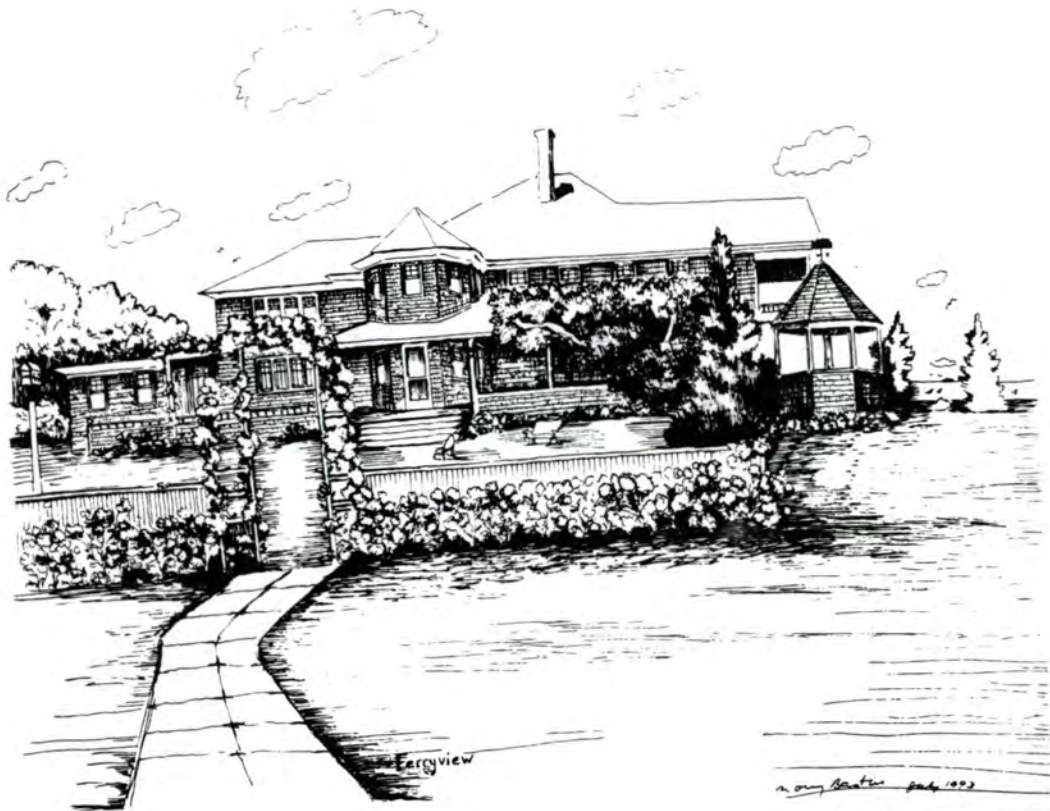
See you soon.

Sincerely,

*Bar*

*Clare for  
Maurie's  
Vineyard  
file*





*M. Flanagan*  
P. O. BOX 1198, OAK BLUFFS, MASSACHUSETTS 02557

Dear Bill,

June 20 '94

Summers here - so... where are you?  
I've been practising my golf, so when  
(not if) you come to Martha's Vineyard in  
August, Clare and I will be ready to take  
you on. I've joined Edgartown Golf Club  
so, I figure, since you didn't play that  
course last year, we can do it this year.  
The kids are all here this year, so  
they'd love to take Chelsea out  
water skiing in The Lagoon - then also

have this huge double Tube that they  
drag behind the boat that is so much  
fun (Even I do it!!)

Anyway - If you all do come out,  
we would definitely love to see you...  
- play some pool - Have a burger -  
whatever -

We missed you at The John Carroll  
Weekend in Boston - It was so much  
fun. Thank God it was only for a weekend!  
Take Care - Maurie



7-14 94

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1994

94 JUL 13 P3:18

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

## FROM:

MARK GEARAN  
MARCIA HALE

## SUBJECT:

Communications Plan for NGA Conferences

In the week immediately following the G7 conference, the National Governors' Association will hold its annual meeting in Boston, Massachusetts. As you know, you will be speaking to the Governors, primarily about health care reform. The following memo outlines the Intergovernmental and Communications Departments' plans for those meetings. Our goals are simple:

- Highlight this Administration's accomplishments and our plan for the rest of the year.
- Keep the meetings bi-partisan and cordial in tone.
- Focus on issues where state and federal government are working or will work together effectively, particularly crime, welfare reform and health care.
- Draw attention to the Administration's substantial accomplishments at improving relations between the federal and state and local governments.
- Reiterate that only a health care plan with universal coverage can effectively contain costs and protect the middle class.

Below are some of the major communications' events before and during the conference:

I. White House Briefing on NGA Meeting  
Thursday, July 14, 1994

Later this week, we will hold a small, background briefing at the White House for reporters who will cover the NGA meeting. This briefing will highlight your efforts to improve the state-federal partnership, focusing on the following: the waivers for state welfare and health care programs; the stream-lined approach to disaster response that was practiced after the floods last year and this year, the earthquake in California and the fires in the West this year and last; the close cooperation with the Governors on NAFTA and on GATT; the executive order on



unfunded mandates; and the recommendations of the National Performance Review on federalism. We will also use this briefing to head off possible criticisms from some Governors who may be posturing for re-election at home.

II. DGA Press Briefings on 1994 Elections  
Week of July 11, 1994

Many reporters covering the NGA conference will focus on the fall's 36 gubernatorial elections. We have worked with DGA Chairman Governor Bayh to ensure that those reporters have a fair and accurate view of our chances this fall. Governor Bayh and the DGA staff will sit down with many of the national and regional political reporters before the NGA meeting begins to focus attention on races where Democrats are doing well and lay out our strategy for winning statehouses in the fall. They will highlight some of the divisions within the GOP as we approach the mid-term elections.

III. DGA Strategy Meeting before NGA Meeting  
Saturday, July 16, 1994

We will be meeting privately with the Democratic Governors on Saturday, July 16 to plan strategy for the NGA meeting. This year, the DGA meeting will focus primarily on the upcoming elections, but we will have an opportunity to explain what the administration plans to accomplish over the course of the NGA Conference. We have provided the Democratic Governors' Association with talking points for that meeting on the Administration's major accomplishments and its ongoing initiatives.

IV. Local Radio on Health Care  
Saturday, July 16, 1994

We are working with Democratic Governors to have them call back to their state radio stations throughout the NGA meeting. Democratic Governors will call their local radio stations to underline the importance of universal coverage and of passing a reform bill now.

V. Sunday Talk Shows  
Sunday, July 17, 1994

We are working with administration officials and Governors who will appear on the weekend talk shows to coordinate our message. Typically, Democratic Governors appear on the weekend shows and C-Span throughout the NGA conference. We have provided the Governors with talking points and will provide them with updates throughout the session. We are also holding a conference call with press secretaries from Democratic Governors' offices this week to ensure that we are all on the same page going into the meeting.

VI. GATT Press Conference -- Ancillary Activity  
Monday, July 18, 1994

After his presentation to the NGA Committee on Economic Development, Ambassador Kantor will hold a press conference to underline the benefits of GATT to the states and to assuage their concerns about sovereignty. We have arranged to have Ambassador Booth Gardner come to spend time at the NGA Meeting with Governors to explain the benefits of the GATT agreement. Former Governor Gardner will be able to spend time after Ambassador Kantor leaves to work with his former colleagues one-on-one. As with NAFTA, the Governors have some concerns about sovereignty issues that the GATT poses for them. To allay those concerns, the Consumers Union, working with USTR, sent a letter this to each Governor supporting the trade agreement and specifically defending the provisions on state health, safety and environmental laws and regulations. That letter will be made available to the press corps.

VII. Address to NGA Plenary Session  
Tuesday, July 19, 1994

You will speak to the closing plenary session of the NGA meeting. This event will be a strong pitch for passage of comprehensive health care reform. You should know that Senator Dole will be speaking before you do. NGA is still working out the timing of his appearance before the session. We have worked with the Democratic Governors to ensure that they are fully aware of the costs that Senator Dole's health care plan entails for their states.

Please let us know if you have any suggestions or concerns about this plan.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
7/14/94

11 July 1994

94 JUL 12 P5:22

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT ✓

FROM: HAROLD ICKES (H)

SUBJECT: Bill Daley as Chair of the 1996 Democratic  
National Convention

Several have suggested that Bill Daley be Chair of the 1996  
Democratic National Convention. We should discuss.

*[Handwritten signature]*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 07/14/94

TO: MARK GEARAN  
DEE DEE MYERS

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

The attached has been forwarded  
to the President.



CC Mark  
DeDee

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1994

JUL 14 PM 1:30

INFORMATION

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT:

New York Times Article on Military ReadinessPurpose

To provide you with a critique of a recent New York Times article on military readiness.

Background

On July 5, the New York Times' front page featured an article by Eric Schmitt on military readiness (Tab A). The article was fairly balanced, noting that there is an on-going debate as to whether recent budget cuts have compromised readiness. On the positive side, the article quoted Senator McCain as saying: "Readiness and capability are good right now, but the cracks are beginning to show." It also quoted Admiral Owens' defense of our readiness status: "We are not on the razor's edge of readiness. It is our highest priority to never undercut our readiness." On the other hand, the article included quotes from three senior military commanders (General Sullivan, General Carns and Admiral Mauz) ascribing a high degree of risk to our current readiness posture. The author himself conceded the picture was "complicated" and noted that while U.S. armed forces "are clearly being asked to do more with less" and there are "real" warning signs, "much of what is being cut is fat, and some commanders are finding cost-cutting innovations that do not harm readiness."

Given the balanced nature of this article, I do not believe we need to respond to it with a counterpoint op-ed. However, I do believe we need to work very closely with Secretary Perry to prepare for the impending release of the "Meyer Report" on readiness.

You will recall that last year then-Secretary Aspin established a blue ribbon panel of former military officers led by former Army Chief of Staff Edward "Shy" Meyer to advise him on readiness. This panel, known officially as the Defense Science Board Task Force on Readiness, issued an interim report in February. The interim report concluded that although there are "some downward indicators," the general readiness posture of our military is at present "acceptable." The report emphasized that many of the downward indicators stem from the turbulence associated with the continuing downsizing of the defense establishment and will

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

subside as we adjust to the new defense environment. The report also noted the aggressive program Defense has undertaken to counter any drift toward a "hollow force," including the fact that your FY 1995 defense budget request features a 5.6% increase in O&M funding even though the force structure will decline next year by 7%.

The final report of the Meyer panel, which is currently being reviewed by Defense and is tentatively scheduled to be released in mid-July, will be widely regarded as an important reality check on the state of our readiness. The good news is that it reaffirms the basic conclusions of the interim report in February and assesses current readiness levels as adequate. We should, therefore, use the occasion of the release of this report to make our case that we are in fact protecting readiness and giving it the top priority it warrants. I will coordinate with Bill on a game plan for this event.

One final note: Admiral Mauz, Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, is quoted in the article as saying: "I don't think the President understands the implications of this budget, and just how risky it is." We looked into this and found out that the reporter was not present at the speech. I have attached at Tab B the transcript of what the Admiral actually said. The transcript makes it clear that he was not being critical of you but rather was making the more general point that given the uncertainties of the post-Cold War security environment, none of us probably knows for sure what the level of risk is in our budgets. We have suggested to the Admiral that he write a letter of clarification to the paper.

#### Attachments

Tab A      New York Times Article  
Tab B      Excerpt from Admiral Mauz's Speech



# Military Making Less Into More, But Some Say Readiness Suffers

By ERIC SCHMITT

Special to The New York Times

CAMP PENDLETON, Calif. — At this sprawling Marine Corps base, which would send thousands of Marines to the Korean peninsula if war erupted there, Col. Jeff Scheferman is busy training troops on a no-frills budget.

Marines practice shooting at homemade puppets and dummies instead of costly cardboard targets. Officers run command-post drills outside their office windows and pretend to be in the field to avoid using expensive batteries. Marines trek 17 miles to their training ranges to conserve truck fuel, tires and maintenance.

"The trade-off is that they spend one day hiking up and one day hiking back when they could be doing something else, but we're trying to get a bigger bang for our dollar," said Colonel Scheferman, the regimental commander the 1,000-member Fifth Marines.

As the Pentagon budget dwindles, a debate is raging over whether the

cuts are compromising military readiness. Some lawmakers and many commanders say the Clinton Administration is cutting too far, too fast, and spending much of what is left on weapons like the \$2.4 billion Seawolf submarine instead of on training and pay raises for troops.

"Readiness and capability are good right now, but the cracks are beginning to show," said Senator John McCain, an Arizona Republican on the Armed Services Committee who was a career Navy officer.

Military surveys show that fewer young men and women want to join the armed forces, but the trend is more pronounced among men. The United States' shrinking ranks are serving in more peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, from Iraq to Haiti, and divorce rates are rising in some units whose troops are away from home two-thirds of the year or more. To pay for training, many commanders are deferring maintenance

on equipment like trucks, helicopters and even warships.

Administration officials, not wanting to appear soft on national defense but needing Pentagon savings to help pay for domestic programs, say their budget pays for smaller forces that are still well-trained and well-equipped. Pentagon officials say they are closely watching potential trouble spots and suggest that some commanders are crying wolf to stave off more cuts.

Even the Joint Chiefs of Staff are divided on the issue. Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan, the Army Chief of Staff, says the Army is on "the razor's edge of readiness." But Adm. William A. Owens, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs, disagrees, saying tersely: "We are not on the razor's edge of readiness. It is our highest priority to never undercut our readiness."

The potential political fallout for the White House is enormous. No Administration dares to be blamed for causing a return to the "hollow forces" of the late 1970's, when Army units were severely undermanned, drug use soared and morale plummeted.

## Warning Signs Are Rare

Visits to a half dozen bases nationwide, as well as interviews with military and civilian Pentagon officials in Washington, suggest a complicated answer. The armed forces are clearly

being asked to do more with less. The warning signs of potential problems are real. But much of what is being cut is fat, and some commanders are finding cost-cutting innovations that do not harm readiness.

At Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, commanders say they have saved more than \$1 million in the past year, largely by repairing parts rather than buying new ones. For example, it costs \$315 to fix an oil-pressure gauge that costs \$2,295 new. The 24th Mechanized Infantry Division at Fort Stewart, Ga., is saving thousands of dollars a year by using fewer portable toilets on field exercises and substituting video-conferences for travel.

"When the budgets come down, it makes us more inventive," said Rear Adm. Dennis C. Blair, commander of the battle group with the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk. "The trouble is that, with a few exceptions, we don't reward efficiency and innovation. We haven't institutionalized it."

Indeed, the armed forces are still struggling to adjust to the end of the cold war budgets after years of increases in the Reagan Administration. President Clinton has pledged to cut military spending by more than \$100 billion by 1997, and to reduce the military to 1.65 million troops by then from 1.8 million in 1992.

LESS...Pg. 18

## LESS...from Pg. 1

### Pacing Greater Risk

But with American ships steaming off Haiti and the former Yugoslavia, warplanes patrolling no-flight zones in northern and southern Iraq, and Army forces in Macedonia and Saudi Arabia, commanders say they are being asked to do more with less. This higher operating tempo has strained equipment and troops and will lead to serious problems if unchecked, commanders say. "Over the long run, the military will have to accept more risk," said Gen. Michael P. C. Carle, who was the Air Force's vice chief of staff until recently.

More broadly, some senior officers express unusually blunt criticism that the Administration's budget cannot pay for the forces needed to carry out the military's stated goal of being able to fight and win two regional wars nearly simultaneously.

"I don't think the President understands the implications of this budget, and just how risky it is," Adm. Henry H. Mauz Jr., commander of the Navy's Atlantic Fleet, said in late May at a symposium in Fort Worth.

The White House and Pentagon insist that maintaining combat readiness is a top priority. The Pentagon has formed a council, headed by Deputy Defense Secretary John M. Deutch to oversee readiness. Defense Secretary William J. Perry has proposed increasing the Pentagon's operations and maintenance budget to \$83 billion in 1995 from \$78 billion this year. But only about 20 percent of that \$5 billion difference would go toward activities directly related to combat preparation, with the rest going toward purposes like civilian Pentagon employee pay raises.

### Readiness Tough to Measure

But measuring and maintaining readiness is still an elusive issue. "We don't know precisely how to budget for readiness," said Edwin Dorn, Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness. "We do not

know the relationship between a dollar input into maintenance or operations, and output in terms of one of these readiness measurements."

When commanders talk about the essential components of readiness, they cite three areas: personnel and quality of life issues, modernization of equipment and training. The armed services have detailed measurements of current readiness, but are virtually blind when looking ahead several years.

The most immediate concerns center on personnel. Although 1993 was the Pentagon's third-best year for recruiting quality — behind 1991 and 1992 — surveys show that fewer young men want to enlist. The military is now actually paying people to leave, so this may not pose a serious problem until the armed forces increase their recruiting goals toward the end of the decade.

Keeping the military's best people in uniform is a more pressing problem. The overall gap between civilian and military wages is 15 percent and growing.

The Administration proposed a pay freeze on military salaries last year and only a 1.8 percent increase this year, which is below the rate of inflation.

"A 1.8 percent pay raise is an insult, especially with the longer working hours and less time at home," said Master Chief Petty Officer Mike Cronin, the senior enlisted sailor on the carrier Kitty Hawk.

Military personnel live rent-free in military housing or receive allowances to live off base, but commanders have been forced to defer renovations or new construction to pay for training, maintenance and other bills.

Specialized units are spending more time overseas and on exercises. Some Patriot anti-missile crews are on their fifth six-month overseas tour since the Persian Gulf war. Many marine battalions are gone 60 percent of the year.

Divorces have become common in the Air Force's last F-4G radar-air-

tack plane squadron, where the same small group of pilots are rotated through assignments in northern and southern Iraq every few months. "I don't have much of a family left," said Maj. Gary Gray, an F-4G pilot who is separated from his wife of 10 years.

Grumbling over pay, housing and deployment rates, many troops are looking toward the exit. "I'd been considering the Navy for a career, but not now," said Petty Officer 3d Class Matt Olek, a 25-year-old seaman on the destroyer USS Wilbur.

For the next few years, Secretary Perry is delaying modernization of most weapons and equipment, creating savings from base closings and streamlined acquisition practices to allow replacement of equipment by the end of the decade.

Combat troops credited their lopsided victory over Iraq largely to rigorous training. So the military has shielded training from deep cuts, particularly for troops who would be the first sent to fight.

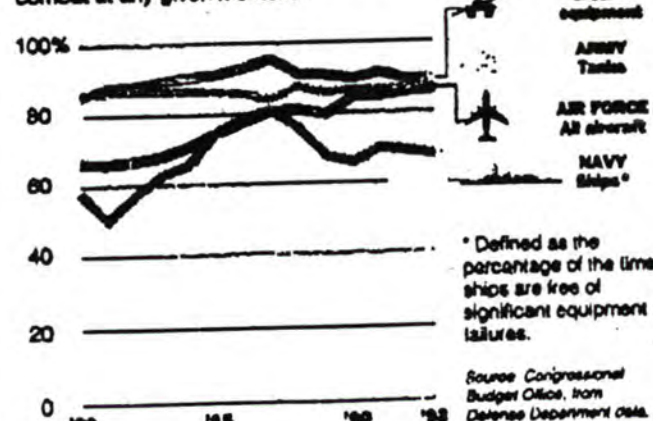
But commanders are juggling tough choices between paying for training and for morale-boosting items, like child-care centers. Gen. David Maddox, the top Army commander in Europe, reduced tank crews to 600 training miles a year from 800 miles in 1993 to put more money into base housing.

In another cost-saving step, troops increasingly rely on sophisticated computerized simulators to practice dog fights and tank battles.

## INVENTORY

### How Prepared?

The percentage of each kind of weapon system that is ready and available for combat at any given moment.



\* Defined as the percentage of the time ships are free of significant equipment failures.

Source: Congressional Budget Office, from Defense Department data.





Back to Hicher

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.14.94

B.





**Responses from Democratic Senators when asked about "moderates letter"**

**Biden** -- tied up with Breyer, hasn't focused

**Bryan** -- will not sign any letter

**Byrd** -- probably won't sign letter, as former majority leader he recognizes need to give Mitchell room to operate

**Campbell** -- will not sign, committed to mandate and told NAM he supported mandate

**Conrad** -- will support hard trigger

**DeConcini** -- won't sign letter, will keep powder dry and wants to see what Mitchell does, but has serious small business concerns

**Dorgan** -- will support mandate on large businesses, won't sign letter

**Exon** -- unwilling to commit yes or no on letter, believes in shared responsibility, might support mandate, but would prefer to see 50-50 split in costs between employee and employer instead of 80-20, annoyed at all the calls he was getting, making too big a deal of the letter

**Feinstein** -- hadn't seen letter, but once she sees it she won't sign, will stick by Mitchell

**Kerrey** -- initially denied existence of letter in some responses, claims letter does not oppose employer mandate, interested in talking, but wants bipartisan support, interested in employer contributions based on income or profit and taxes on employee benefits over a certain income level

**Kohl** -- listening, not acting, and not likely to sign any letter, supports universal coverage, but over time, wants market approach on cost containment

**Lautenberg** -- will not sign any letter, wants to give Mitchell flexibility, believes employers should pay, but not sure how

**Lieberman** -- talking with bipartisan group, prefers no mandate but will not rule it out, supports soft trigger, wants market reform and strongly opposes price controls

**Nunn** -- opposes mandate, but no position on hard or soft triggers (contradiction?)

**Reid** -- committed to mandate

**Robb** -- would not commit one way or the other about signing letter, no position on mandates or financing, nothing is off the table

**Sasser** -- won't sign letter, wants a bill acceptable to Clinton, though has problem with mandates

**No info** -- **Baucus, Bradley, Breaux, Heflin, Hollings, Mathews, Shelby**

7 14. 94

cc GS  
= Gray  
Gordon  
DeMue

June 30, 1994

CORPORATION  
FOR NATIONAL  
SERVICEtop page only  
back to mem

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ELI J. SEGAL *ELJ*

SUBJECT: THE CHANGING NATURE OF ELECTION NEWS

As you requested the other day, I have attached an article by Stephen Klaidman from *Media Critic* that describes the increasing trend of *The New York Times* to present interpreted, shallow, and graphically exciting news as factual, nonjudgmental, hard news. It is the perfect complement to the epilogue of Patterson's The Changing Nature of Election News.

Klaidman writes that "New Journalists", such as Maureen Dowd and Michael Kelly, often manipulate or mislead their readers by disguising their opinions as stories grounded in fact. Their articles blur fact and opinion, Klaidman says, making it impossible for readers to determine whether statements are based on solid reporting, acute observation, or educated guessing.

In part, Klaidman blames the shift toward interpretive journalism in the print media on the rise of the talk show culture, which has popularized instant, opinionated analysis. But at a deeper level, Klaidman writes, "this is an age deeply skeptical of the traditional notion of objectivity, defined in terms of an observer's ability to distinguish fact from values and information from opinion. Journalists are demonstrating that they, too, are in tune with the times by effectively anointing themselves the high priests of interpretation."

Klaidman notes four trends found in the *Times'* political coverage of the first hundred days of the presidency over the past five presidential terms -- Carter's, Reagan's, Bush's, and yours:

1. There has been a significant increase in the percentage of subjective stories, from near zero in 1977 to around 50 percent in 1993 -- with most of the change taking place from the late 1980s onward.
2. "News stories" -- those not identified as "news analyses" or "commentary" -- tended to be interpretive more frequently in the later period.
3. The use of undisclosed sources has become increasingly more common.
4. The increase in interpretive journalism has not been directed toward any one political party, but merely reflects a trend towards favoring negative coverage over positive.

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I share Klaidman and Patterson's view that this poisonous trend is about cynicism and not "the knee-jerk liberal press." Their joint theme that the journalists themselves have become, in effect, players in the events they report is right on the mark.

On a more parochial note, Patterson's failure to include national service legislation in his list of election promises enacted into law is particularly surprising and troubling -- unless his reference to a college-loan program or a job-training program is what he thinks you were talking about throughout 1992.

7 14.94

cc GS  
Gagan  
Gagan  
Dunne

June 30, 1994

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back to mem

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ELI J. SEGAL *ELJ*

SUBJECT: THE CHANGING NATURE OF ELECTION NEWS

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The news pages of The New York Times contain a high percentage of articles that interpret and analyze events. This "subjective" tendency has been encouraged by executive editor Max Frankel. When managing editor Joseph Lelyveld succeeds Frankel, will the Times change?

ON MARCH 28, 1985, BURIED ON PAGE B-4, The New York Times gave its unsuspecting readers a glimpse of the future. Under an overline that said simply, "Politics," a story framed by mug shots of 16 Republican senators began with this broadside:

"They were mocked as 'Reagan's Robots,' 'accidental senators' and, in an allusion to their political immaturity and many gaffes, 'the popsicle brigade.'"

The article was not labeled analysis, or commentary, or anything else to warn of its opinionated content. Nowhere did the Times tell its veteran readers, long used to the paper's rigorous efforts to distinguish facts from values, just who called these 16 Republican senators "robots," "accidents," and, in effect, Keystone Cops.

# All the News That





Lest one think the article was just a newfangled version of old-fashioned partisan bias, think again, because it also took a potshot at Democratic senators: "Desperate to line up the strong challengers they need if they hope to win back four seats, and thus regain a majority, the Democrats are in the midst of a recruiting drive reminiscent of a fraternity rush."

Who was the writer of a "news story" advising that the Republicans were wet-behind-the-ears, error-prone clods and the Democrats were as desperate and unseemly as freshmen scrambling for fraternity bids? The byline belonged to Maureen Dowd, a gifted *Times* Washington reporter who seemingly has taken to heart both Truman Capote's maxim that gossip is the raw material of literature and the credo of a generation of so-called "New Jour-

nalists," which proclaims that the product of news writing done right is literature.

While Dowd's articles stand out in sharp relief for their acid tone and emphasis on the personal, the subjective tendency they represent is now standard practice at the *Times*. As was not true 30 or even 20 years ago, the news pages of the *Times* contain a high percentage of articles that interpret and analyze events, and some of these pieces—Dowd's work being a prime example—employ literary techniques to keep the reader's attention.

In an interview for this article, managing editor Joseph Lelyveld characterized this kind of journalism as "a hallmark of the Max Frankel period." (Frankel has been executive editor of the *Times* since 1986 and, in a press release issued in early April, the paper announced that

# at's Fit to Interpret

by Stephen Klaidman

From Carter to Clinton: How the *Times* has covered recent presidents.





Lelyveld will succeed him this summer.) Lelyveld added that he considered Dowd's work to be "a combination of very acute observation and hard reporting."

In an article last fall for the *Times Magazine* that cast David Gergen as an image-making chameleon, another of the *Times*'s new-style journalists, Michael Kelly, wrote, "the culture of Washington [is] dominated by people professionally involved in creating the public images of elected officials." Formerly a newsroom reporter who joined the magazine staff last summer, Kelly notes from a curiously Olympian height that among these people are reporters. "They believe in irony. They believe that nothing a politician does in public can be taken at face value, but that everything he does is a metaphor for something else he is hiding....Above all, they believe in the power of what they have created, in the subjectivity of reality and the reality of perceptions, in image." (Emphasis added.)

While a more candid writer would have included himself among this in-group of image-makers, Kelly implicitly recognizes that the *Times* is by no means the only paper whose news pages display a subjective tendency. As media writer and author Tom Rosenstiel of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote late last year, "Today, subtly...the idea of straight reporting is giving way to something else. The nation's newspapers are shifting uneasily toward a new era of subjectivity."

What is behind this shift? At one level, it can be explained in terms of the print news media's search for ways to keep pace with the round-the-clock, graphically exciting, though often substantively shallow, news coverage of television. The rise of the radio and television talk-show culture, which places a premium on instant analysis and off-the-top-of-the-head opinions, also has been a factor. Newspaper and newsmagazine reporters now routinely appear on the shows, offering their views on a

range of subjects, many of which are way outside their areas of expertise.

At a deeper level, however, the shift can be explained in terms of the zeitgeist. Ours is an age deeply skeptical of the traditional notion of objectivity, defined in terms of an observer's ability to distinguish facts from values and information from opinion. Journalists are demonstrating that they, too, are in tune with the times by effectively anointing themselves the high priests of interpretation.

Thoughtful journalists have always known that complete objectivity is chimerical. Value-laden choices are the essence of the news business,

and no matter how hard one tries to separate values from news decisions, they inevitably mix. What goes on page one? A triple ax murder, or yet another story about starvation in Somalia? Or, more topically, what is a newspaper to do when two state troopers allege that they arranged love nests for then-governor-now-President Clinton? As John Leonard, the former editor of *The New York*

*Times Book Review*, wrote in *The Nation* earlier this year, at all newspapers "someone decided which story to cover, with what lead, for how long, after talking to and ignoring whom, and where to play it, on or off a 'dress page.' All these decisions are now and always have been subjective."

Despite (or perhaps because of) the normative nature of what they do, most American journalists from the 1920s until recently were committed to the concept of journalistic objectivity—a fact that explains why the recent shift to more subjective reporting and writing makes so many veteran journalists uncomfortable. These journalists believed that irrespective of its content and the personal biases of reporters and editors, a story could be written in an essentially value-free fashion that was fair to all relevant points of view. These journalists worked under the rule that interpretation and opinion was fine, but only so long as it was clearly indicated; otherwise, they were to stick to the facts.

*"The nation's  
newspapers are  
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of subjectivity."*



The shift to greater subjectivity on the news pages is one of the most significant recent developments in the news media. It may help explain recent survey data indicating that more and more Americans think media organizations slant the news and cannot be relied upon to provide factual accounts. In the nation's capital, it may help explain concerns expressed in recent years by such political figures as John Tower to Bobby Ray Inman, among others, that Washington journalism is at the center of a new "attack culture."

To better understand the nature of the shift to subjectivity—and thus to see what consumers of news have lost and gained by it—I examined *The New York Times's* political coverage of the same subject during five comparable periods between 1977 and 1993. The subject was the U.S. presidency, and the periods reviewed were the first hundred days of the past five presidential terms—Carter's, both of Reagan's, Bush's and Clinton's. The *Times* published at least one "presidential" story every day, and often it published several.

Why focus on the *Times*? For one thing, it is one of the largest circulation daily newspapers in the country. Also, it is read by political and policy elites. Finally, that the *Times* now displays a subjective tendency is significant, given the newspaper's place in the history of American journalism. The *Times*, after all, was one of the nation's first elite newspapers. Under the direction of Adolph Ochs, the paper in the early 20th century was dedicated to publishing important information, which it labeled, a trifle self-importantly perhaps, "All the News That's Fit to Print." Facts, not ideology or interpretation, were to be the raw material of the *Times's* version of events. That self-description is still found in the upper left-hand corner of the newspaper's front page even though today's *Times* is much different from the one managed by Ochs.

My review of the newspaper's presidential coverage during the five periods yielded the following:

First, while the noninterpretive, nonjudgmental, fully attributed hard-news story per-

sisted, there was a significant increase in subjective stories from near zero in the 1977 period to around 50 percent in the 1993 period, with most of the change taking place from the late 1980s onward.

Second, news stories that were ostensibly just that, as they bore no other identification such as "news analysis" or "commentary," more frequently tended to be interpretive in the later periods than in the earlier ones.

Third, while it was rare in the early periods, it became more common later on for the sources on which staff writers' interpretations were apparently based to be entirely undisclosed.

Fourth, over the course of the five periods examined, the shift did not reveal an obviously partisan tilt. The subjectivism, as the Dowd piece from 1985 shows, cut both ways, politically speaking. Rather, the clear tendency was toward reportorial judgments that were more frequently negative than positive. A more and more critical tone was evident, as reporters gradually ceased merely to report presidential speeches and press conferences (as they did during the first hundred days of the Carter administration and the first Reagan term), and began to stir up controversy by seeking out opposing points of view.

Since objectivity and subjectivity are such loaded words, it's important to explain precisely how they are being used here. A story was deemed objective if it did not encourage a preference for one set of values over another, and if the writer's own opinions, prejudices and interpretations appeared to be omitted. If either of these conditions was not met, the story was judged to be subjective. For example, in a page-one story on January 21, 1985, that bore the headline, "Optimism in Nation Is Increasing, Poll Finds," then national political correspondent Howell Raines wrote: "The poll also found that with a majority of the public Mr. Reagan still enjoyed a remarkable immunity from political blame." The poll, of course, did not label Reagan's popularity "immunity from political blame," nor did it refer to this phenomenon as "remarkable." These were the evaluations of the writer. The story was therefore deemed subjective.



In reviewing the stories, my interest was only in the way they were written. No attempt was made to evaluate news selection, display, the relative length of stories, or what editors did to them. Nor was any effort made to determine whether the *Times* in general promoted an establishment or anti-establishment point of view, or whether the new subjective tone was fostered by a particular editor or group of editors.

Individual stories from the five periods help illustrate the overall trend even as they provide material for discussing the pluses and minuses of the shift to subjectivity.

The *Times*'s coverage of the first hundred days of the Carter administration was straightforward, uncritical and benign. With the exception of an occasional complicated economic or national security story, interpretive comment appeared mainly in stories plainly labeled "news analysis." But there was also a naive lack of attention to media manipulation that would be unthinkable today.

For example, on March 6, 1977, the *Times* led the paper under a three-column headline with an account of the President answering phoned-in questions from ordinary Americans. The article, by Charles Mohr, treated this pseudo-event par excellence without a trace of skepticism or irony. In failing to alert the reader to the contrived nature of this event, Mohr's piece illustrated one of the shortcomings of journalism under the purely objective approach. As late as 1977, it would appear, authorial skepticism and irony were banned under the *Times*'s rules.

The *Times*'s off-lead on March 29, 1977, which recounted Carter's authorization of a possible upgrading of 432,000 Vietnam-era military discharges that were less than honorable, is another example of how a dimension of the story was neglected under the old rules. It is not until the last paragraph of the story that the slightest hint appears that the President's decision could be explosively unpopular. This possibility could, and should, have been developed on the grounds that readers have something less than the full story when political implications are barely noticed or, even worse, ignored. Alerting readers to potential developments re-

lated to the facts of the story requires some degree of interpretation by the writer, and today this kind of interpretation is routinely found in news stories in the *Times* (and other major newspapers), whether it is labeled news analysis or not.

It was also typical during the Carter years that *Times* stories did not seek to intensify controversy. For example, in an article by Marjorie Hunter on March 27, 1977, ex-President Gerald Ford was quoted as saying that he was "seriously concerned" that decisions by the Carter administration and Congress would lead to increased inflation. The story, however, did not quote a single member of either House, thereby missing an obvious opportunity to identify incipient conflict.

While the above examples show the weaknesses of journalism under the old rules, one does not have to look hard to find examples from the later periods that illustrate the weaknesses of journalism under the new rules.

Consider these paragraphs about Hillary Rodham Clinton, which appeared on the front page on February 5, 1993, and were written by Michael Kelly:

"Demonstrating in unmistakable terms her intent to serve as the Administration's chief lobbyist and negotiator on health care, [Mrs.] Clinton went to Capitol Hill today for closed door policy discussions with leaders from both parties....Mrs. Clinton has...emerged as the most important White House adviser on domestic issues."

Kelly's story bore no label identifying it as anything other than news, yet he told readers of the *Times*, apparently on his own authority, that it was by her intent, not the President's, that she would serve as the chief health-care negotiator, and that two weeks into the Clinton administration she had emerged as its most influential domestic-policy adviser. Clearly the *Times* had changed.

In a January 28, 1994 article, *Times* book critic Michiko Kakutani warned that the trend toward subjectivity could lead to circumstances in which interpretation overshadows fact, truth and knowledge are replaced by opinion and perception, reality seems increasingly artificial and manipulable, and people rely excessively on



their own often uninformed opinions, or on the opinions of so-called experts. Where this leads, Kakutani suggested, is to the view that "the very search for truth (or truths) is an absurd and irrelevant end." This is why it is dangerous for a newspaper to completely jettison the goal of objectivity.

The blurring of fact and opinion in Kelly's story contributed to the undermining of truth and knowledge about which Kakutani, and Kelly in his magazine article on David Gergen, were writing.

Or consider a story by Maureen Dowd. Having observed George Bush's first week in office, she wrote on January 29, 1989:

"Beyond the bubbles and bonhomie, though, the President's top advisers knew the week had exposed a serious vulnerability. Mr. Bush's style and performance were polished, they felt. But in terms of policy coordination, the new team had a problem. The furor resulting from Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady's suggestion that the Bush administration was considering a tax on consumers' savings accounts had been handled poorly, they agreed. It had spun out of control, becoming what they called 'a news management problem.' A self-inflicted blunder had left the impression that the 'read-my-lips' President was already trying to impose a disguised tax on the public. The incident showed a lack of a central control mechanism within the White House. From the beginning the Reagan White House had had such a mechanism."

What is striking here is that it is impossible for readers to know whether Dowd based her statements on solid reporting, acute observation or educated guessing. She wrote that Bush's advisers knew the week had exposed a serious vulnerability, but she did not attribute this to anyone. She also said that a problem had spun out of control, and she averred that there had been a self-inflicted blunder. But, according to the story, all the administration acknowledged was a news management problem. Moreover,

just nine days into the new administration Dowd assured readers that there was no central control mechanism at the White House. As with much else she said, this, too, was not attributed to any sources.

Dowd's piece represents the kind of rush to judgment found in the later periods of my survey. Not that the early periods were devoid of judgment. An article reported by a team and written by James M. Naughton, which appeared at the top of page one on February 2, 1977, began with this strongly judgmental and therefore highly unusual (at the time) first paragraph: "President Carter's effort to install Theodore C. Sorenson as the Director of Central Intelligence was not blocked. It collapsed." But unlike Dowd, Naughton and those who worked with him went to great lengths to support their judgment with highly detailed and what appears to be carefully sourced reporting.

*Dowd's piece  
represents the  
media's now  
typical rush  
to judgment.*

Dowd's piece raises the further question of whether a president's first week should be reviewed in the news pages like a Broadway premiere. The headline on Dowd's story was: "Review of Bush's Opening Week: a Few 'Ripples' but No Bursting Bubbles." Was the headline meant to serve as a label that justified the story's subjectivity? If so, how many readers were likely to have gotten it?

To further illustrate the downside of the shift to subjectivity, it is instructive to compare two stories about political problems involving cabinet appointees, one from the second Reagan administration and one from the Clinton administration. Leading the paper of March 16, 1985, the Reagan administration story recounted the resignation of Labor Secretary Raymond J. Donovan. The Clinton administration story, which led the paper on January 22, 1993, described mounting opposition to Zöe Baird's nomination as attorney general because she knowingly employed illegal aliens and failed to pay their Social Security taxes.



The Donovan story, by Kenneth B. Noble, was factual, relied mainly on quoted or otherwise attributed material, drew no conclusions about Secretary Donovan's innocence or guilt, and did not question the sincerity of President Reagan's expression of regret over his aide's resignation. The Baird story, however, was handled quite differently. The last sentence of Michael Kelly's lead was unabashedly evaluative: "The White House offered only a confused, lukewarm show of support for the embattled nominee." And in characterizing the statement of encouragement for the nominee Baird issued by presidential spokesman George Stephanopoulos, Kelly offered the opinion that Stephanopoulos's words "fell conspicuously short of a ringing endorsement of Ms. Baird."

As Lelyveld of the *Times* suggests, it may be that the obvious subjectivity of the Dowd and Kelly variety is the least worrisome. There are more subtle varieties that are harder to pin down, but they may be more common and more subtly persuasive. One technique, perfected by reporter Thomas L. Friedman when he was reporting from Israel for the *Times*, and evident in his first hundred days stories on the Clinton presidency, involves identifying one or more sources who can be counted on to reflect the reporter's point of view and calling up those sources for a quote when it is needed. Just as Friedman used Rabbi David Hartman for a particular liberal perspective on a range of Israeli issues, he used Harvard political theorist Michael Sandel to play the same role in his coverage of the Clinton presidency during its first hundred days.

Lelyveld says that when he was foreign editor he noticed Friedman's propensity for using Hartman's views as surrogates for his own and therefore banned his correspondent from quoting the rabbi-philosopher in stories. But Lelyveld also says that he thinks it is fairer to readers if reporters "avoided the cute circumlocutions built into traditional news writing" and were "more forthright" in taking respon-

sibility for their own interpretive judgments in news stories. Lelyveld says he did not notice that Friedman used Sandel as he had previously used Hartman.

Friedman's coverage of foreign-policy issues during the Bush presidency was far more interpretive than, for example, that of Bernard Gwertzman during the Carter and Reagan administrations, and Friedman wrote many more stories based on unnamed sources. Overall, this tendency seemed to be true of White House and political reporters such as Robin Toner and Richard L. Berke, but less true of others such as Gwen Ifill. When these reporters used unnamed sources, as was sometimes inevitable if the story were to be fully reported, it was difficult to sort out whether the point of view reflected belonged to the source or the reporter. Sometimes this was inadvertent, but it would be naive to think this was always the case.

*Reporters use words like "deny," "insist" and "concede" to insert their own beliefs.*

Another subtle technique through which reporters in the later periods interjected their own beliefs involves the use of a handful of words that have become journalistic terms of art such as "deny," "insist" and "concede." Consider the following two sentences from a Friedman news analysis that ran at the top of page one on April 8, 1993:

"Administration policymakers vigorously *deny* that they have given up trying to press the Serbs into making concessions to the Bosnian Muslims, and *insist* that they are now working on lifting the arms embargo to give the Muslims more of a fighting chance. But they also *concede* that they have begun to talk about Bosnia differently, to cast the problem there less as a moral tragedy—which would make American inaction immoral—and more as a tribal feud that no outsider could hope to settle." (Emphasis added.)

Not always, but frequently, the word "insist," especially when it closely follows the word "deny," is freighted with the meaning "even though we know it isn't so." Similarly, the word



"concede" often carries with it the added meaning "with a gun to his head." When a reader finds these terms in a story, a mental warning is in order. The words may or may not accurately reflect the situation being reported, but there is no question they are evaluative and may carry hidden, nuanced meanings.

Of course, it has long been the case that some skilled writers who have attained star status have gotten away with greater subjectivity than others. In the 1950s and 1960s, for example, the *Times*'s Homer Bigart managed to get the word "redneck" into many of the stories that he wrote on the civil-rights beat in the South. And during a drought in New York he began a memorable lead as follows, as I remember it: "Bright sunny skies mocked Water Commissioner Armand D'Angelo today...." The word "mocked" was pure magic—and purely subjective.

While Bigart reveled in slipping his snide nouns and verbs past normally vigilant editors, he survived because he was widely considered the best reporter of his time. As for Dowd's work, Lelyveld praises it unequivocally. By all accounts, whatever Dowd does delights the newspaper's editors. They sometimes top her stories with unrevealing headings such as "Political Memo" or "White House Memo," but even when they don't, Dowd's license to belittle presidents and other powerful figures remains valid.

On President Bush's inauguration day, for example, she led her story:

"I—" the new President blurted out, a beat ahead of the moment he was supposed to begin repeating the presidential oath after Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist. George Bush smiled nervously and began again."

The new President of the United States, as Dowd saw him, was just a little bit too eager to be president. Well, thank you, Ms. Dowd.

There is much to be said for thoughtful interpretation, even in unlabeled news stories, if journalists are to meet their obligation of keeping readers from being manipulated, misled or denied important insights into the implications of events. But the interpretation should be grounded in the facts of the story. It should not be just the writer's cynical spin on the subject's words. It should be based on solid reporting,

not a novelist's eye. And it should be easy to identify, not ambiguously merged with quoted or attributed material. Finally, it should be used sparingly, for all too often interpretation is just a poor substitute for incomplete reporting. ★

*Stephen Klaidman has been a reporter and editor at The New York Times, The Washington Post and The International Herald-Tribune. He is author of Health in the Headlines and co-author of The Virtuous Journalist.*

## CHANGING TIMES

Few observers expressed surprise when *The New York Times* announced in April that Joseph Lelyveld will succeed Max Frankel as executive editor on July 1. Totally unexpected, however, was the choice to fill Lelyveld's shoes as managing editor—Eugene Roberts. A former national editor at the *Times*, Roberts left the paper in 1972 to edit *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, which won a remarkable 17 Pulitzer Prizes in his 18-year tenure.

In hiring Roberts for a three-year term, the *Times* filled one of its top spots with an "outsider"—the first such hire since 1904—as it passed over seven deputy managing editors. Roberts brings to the job a reputation as a hard news journalist of the old school. Some *Times* observers regard his appointment as a vindication of critics who think the paper has lost its way. "This is an attempt to reverse or slow the *Times* as it goes down the path of soft news, life-style news," says Edwin Diamond, author of *Behind the Times*. "The *Times* was going down the wrong road. Roberts, with a record of hard news, will change it, and I think that's great."

Though his legacy at the *Times* may be in jeopardy, Frankel will maintain a presence at the paper, as he will write a column about communications and the media for the *Times Magazine*.

—Max Schulz

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11 July 1994

94 JUL 12 P5:22

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HAROLD ICKES

SUBJECT:

Bill Daley as Chair of the 1996 Democratic  
National Convention

Several have suggested that Bill Daley be Chair of the 1996  
Democratic National Convention. We should discuss.

*[Handwritten signature]*

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^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<  
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^(For Yoder Clients Only)<  
^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--Quickly now, can you identify Sudre Dartiguenave? Never heard of him? For your information, Dartiguenave was the last president imposed on Haiti by U.S. military and political pressure way back in the summer of 1915, when our excuse was that Haiti's proneness to revolutionary violence had become intolerable.

The Navy and the Marines policed Haiti until October 1934, affording the island its only interval of decent government. Dartiguenave's achievements, however, remain obscure and are not a happy precedent for Jean-Bertrand Aristide, whose restoration as president of Haiti has become a major objective of American foreign policy. Aristide's return is usually advertised as "restoring democracy," a slogan whose patent absurdity lies in the fact that Haiti has never been democratic and lacks the economic base and political culture to become so. Aristide is no George Washington; he is an erratic ex-priest of leftist persuasion (he has called Pope John Paul II a "racist") whose pretensions are vastly inflated by public relations experts in New York and Washington.

The distinguishing mark of recent American policy toward Haiti, so far, has been its infliction of greater pain on the long-suffering Haitian masses than on the military junta the policy aims to dislodge. The Clinton administration, meanwhile, writhes and thrashes in the toils of a dilemma of its own devising; and it seems to worsen with every effort to solve it.

The latest turn in this process of self-torture was the announcement by William Gray, the president's special adviser, that Haitians fleeing the island by boat will now be ineligible for

(more)



admission to the United States as political refugees. They will be warehoused in ``safe havens`` in Panama and elsewhere, pending the arrival of the ``democratic`` millennium.

The new policy is an attempt to escape the embarrassing effects of the old one, announced in early May. Pilloried for embracing President Bush's policy on boat people that he had condemned, Bill Clinton announced that the United States would no longer return boat people unprocessed but would examine their claims to refugee status. Backed by tighter economic sanctions, that policy predictably generated a cascade of boat people seeking U.S. asylum, drowning by the hundreds while survivors of their leaky boats alarmed the already sensitive politicians of Florida, where most Haitian refugees end up.

Haiti is indeed a painful spectacle, but instructive. Haiti is one of dozens of chaotic Third World societies whose sad and seemingly insolvable ordeals, though hardly new, have suddenly become the fare of television ``news.``

Haiti above all illustrates the dangers of a foreign policy intimately tied to domestic politics. The great 1965 Voting Rights Act, as now amended and construed, requires Southern states to fashion gerrymandered ``majority minority`` congressional seats, tailored for minority representatives. Their capture in 1992 enlarged the influence of the Congressional Black Caucus, which has not been reluctant to exercise it. For the sake of his domestic agenda, Bill Clinton dare not ignore its demands, one blindly obsessive demand being the restoration of Aristide.

This may sound cynical, but it is merely a clinical description of a political process by which a minor hemispheric matter has ballooned into a huge Clinton administration embarrassment--one which could take a worse turn if the president were persuaded to intervene militarily.

There is a case against the military junta--and its puppet president--who ousted Aristide and are allegedly responsible for the misery of the Haitian people. But the personally and politically fragile Jean-Bertrand Aristide is not a durable solution. Duly Brutus,

(more)

a former president of the Haitian Chamber of Deputies, has described Aristide as ``a force for disunity and division ... rather than consensus builder,'' a judgment widely shared in Haiti, and not merely by the armed thugs left over from the Duvalier days. Could Aristide, restored by American force or pressure, survive the departure of his sponsors? It seems doubtful, and that is reason enough to dismiss the present policy as unsound.

But even if more artfully conceived, a policy which is so utterly an appendage of domestic politics, and in which sentiment so completely dominates sober self-interest, is a fiasco waiting to happen.

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# Beyond Heartache and Fear Lies Crime's Bottom Line

## Consequences Place Huge Financial Burden on Nation

By Pierre Thomas  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The meter began running the moment the call came in to police headquarters on June 7: 18-year-old James Hunter, star point guard at Calvin Coolidge High School, was lying on the pavement in a pool of blood with multiple gunshot wounds.

Patrol officers raced to 1314 Trinidad Ave. NE, followed by detectives, forensics officers and a supervisor. Their estimated cost for the night: \$4,626.

Emergency vehicles rushed Hunter to D.C. General Hospital, adding another \$1,310, where he was pronounced dead on arrival. His autopsy cost \$1,046.

By the time the medical examiner completed his work, 12 hours after the shooting, Hunter's killer had cost the city at least \$6,982, or \$582 per hour, according to estimates provided by the District of Columbia's budget office.

And the toll continues to rise as police search for his killer. If they apprehend a suspect, there will be jail costs, trial costs and, if there is a conviction, it will cost about \$22,000 a year to house his murderer at a District prison.

The cost of the murder of a young man a year away from high school graduation and college cannot be measured in dollars alone. Nor is there a financial gauge of the grief endured by his family and friends.

Nonetheless, Hunter's death, one of 199 so far this year in the District of Columbia, il-

### CRIME, From A1

lustrates the gigantic financial burden that crime is placing on America in the 1990s.

Each year the country is spending or losing in excess of \$163 billion because of the consequences of crime, according to the Justice Department, the insurance industry and academic researchers. This is nearly two-thirds of what America spends on national defense and more than five times as much as the federal government spends on education.

Crime costs include better than \$31.8 billion at the state and federal level for police, \$24.9 billion for corrections, \$36.9 billion in retail losses, \$20 billion in insurance fraud, and \$17.6 billion for individual property losses and medical expenses. Still \$15 billion more is spent on private security, \$9.3 billion on court costs and \$7.2 billion on prosecution and public defense.

"I am almost certain that people don't understand the breadth of what is happening," said Robert Mallett, District of Columbia administrator. "It's too staggering, and we have not made the magnitude plain ... the unbelievable social impact. We made 52,000 arrests last year. That takes a lot of resources."

The more funds you put into police and security, "the less funds you have for kids, parks and recreation and job training," said Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson, who recently stepped down as president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. High-crime areas end up being areas of

"disinvestment," he said. "These become the areas that need jobs. The cab drivers don't want to go there, the business people don't want to locate there, the tax base erodes. And these are the very areas that require the most services."

Since 1991, crime has forced the nation's capital to spend more on public safety than any other area in its budget, city financial officers said. Health and human services is the next top budget item. Education is third.

Like in the District, public safety is Louisville's number one budget item "and that is not unique. This problem cuts across jurisdictions, from cities to the suburbs. It's an unfortunate symbol of where society is today," Abramson said.

Moreover, crime is costing Americans more through higher prices, as companies and individuals seek to make up losses from theft and other unlawful acts.

Consider:

- Violence boosted the nation's health care costs by \$13.5 billion in 1992, White House officials said. About 85 percent of hospital costs for firearms and stabbing victims is not covered by insurance and is eventually passed on to paying consumers.

- For example, the medical expenses for the preliminary treatment, surgery and recovery for the typical trauma victim at D.C. General is \$15,675, the District budget office states. Gunshot victims are often more costly. A June 15 shooting victim—in this instance with insurance—has already racked up bills of \$103,033.25, according to hospital officials.

- Insurance fraud and motor vehicle theft cost \$28 billion, according to the National Insurance Crime Bureau. "With at least 10 cents of every premium dollar going to cover fraud and crime, it's the policy holder who is the true victim," the bureau said.

- Shoplifting, internal pilferage and other losses cost retailers about \$36.9 billion each year, retail analysts said. Two percent to 4 percent of the price on an item is a built-in cost for such losses. "It's a hidden cost you don't think about when you walk out the store with your merchandise," said John Ronzetti, vice president of the National Retail Federation. The costs of guards, security cameras and the electronic devices that stores employ to thwart thieves also are passed on to customers.

- As of 1990, there were 1.65 million people employed in the nation's criminal justice system and 900,000 working as security guards, according to Justice Department statistics and those from Hallcrest Systems Inc., a Northern Virginia-based security industry analyst firm.

Crime costs money indirectly as well. In the District, for example, a recent Census Bureau report revealed that the city population fell by more than 29,000 people in the last three years. Crime, according to

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

some civic leaders, was one of the principal reasons for the loss, which contributed to the erosion of the city tax base.

Similar scenarios are unfolding throughout the country, and concern about crime forces Americans to change their lifestyles and demand that something be done to make their lives safer, despite some statistics showing general decreases in certain categories of crime.

As a result of the fear, security and corrections have emerged as leading growth industries.

Americans are buying metal bars for their homes, anti-theft devices for their cars and alarm systems. Prisons are being constructed at a faster pace than universities.

"The perception of threat is at an all-time high," said John Galante, executive director of the Security Industry Association. "Even though property crime is down, some categories of violent crime are up and there is a change in the nature of violence. It seems more random, as if it can happen to any of us."

There are 15 million active accounts for monitoring systems or alarm systems for residences and businesses, producing \$2.15 billion in revenue for companies providing such services, according to a recent security market overview by Galante's association.

"We are willing to spend a lot of tax dollars and private money to feel safer," said William Cunningham, of Hallcrest Systems. "It's amazing what we've expended."

In 1990, the country spent about \$25 billion to house inmates in state and federal prisons. The number of inmates has tripled since 1980 to 948,881, at a cost of about \$15,000 per prisoner, the Justice Department estimates. Corrections spending is almost certain to rise as more states rush to adopt "three strikes" bills that mandate life imprisonment without parole for any person convicted of three violent felonies. The hope is that the prison spending eventually will reduce overall crime because repeat offenders would be removed from society.

"The fastest growing segment of state budgets in (fiscal) 1994 is corrections," according to a study by the National Conference of State Legislatures. "For the third year in a row, corrections received more new state dollars than higher education."

In Texas, the state prison population grew from 28,543 in 1980 to 69,054 at year's end. During the same time, the number of inmates in Florida grew from 19,881 to 50,448; the number of prisoners in Maryland rose from 7,779 to 19,958; and in Virginia the inmate population increased from 8,270 to 17,019.

California had the biggest growth, from 23,511 in 1980 to 101,995 by 1991. In fiscal 1994, even though California cut its overall budget, it increased its corrections budget by 15 percent, the conference of state legislatures said: "California illustrates the fact that the growth in prison populations has been expensive for states, and it shows no sign of easing."

A California General Assembly Ways and Means Committee review found that in recent years corrections spending has grown "twice as fast as total state spending ... at the expense of other programs, primarily higher education."



The District of Columbia has seen its adult prison population level off to 11,159 after peaking at 12,355 in 1990, or nearly double the 6,576 recorded in 1983.

But although the District of Columbia's prison population and resulting spending remained steady, individual inmates are becoming costlier. Eighty percent of District prisoners have a history of substance abuse. Nearly 63 percent haven't completed high school when they are incarcerated. At least 20 percent are believed to be HIV positive.

"Prison systems are becoming full-service providers," said Walter Hill, D.C. corrections spokesman. "We're not just a jail, we are providing everything from health care to education and employment services."

Yet for all of the billions of dollars spent, neither the District nor the nation will declare victory over the crime problem in the foreseeable future.

"Right now the system simply isn't working," said Rep. Bill McCollum (R-Fla.) "There are no easy answers."

The "American dream is rooted in a sense of security and I think that it is our first obligation to provide that

security, and I believe as a society we are trying to do it, but we have failed at it so far," said Deputy Attorney General Jamie S. Gorelick in a recent interview.

Crime is the "single most serious problem facing America," said Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The current federal crime bill, which may add as much as \$30 billion in spending over six years, reflects the realization that no one has a monopoly on the answers, he said.

Society can't ignore the fact that some persons, particularly those who commit acts of violence, have to be locked up, no matter what the cost, Biden and McCollum noted. Nor can it ignore that poverty, economics and values, or the lack thereof, are also playing some role in the nation's chronic crime problem. There also must be resources allocated for prevention, drug treatment and rehabilitation, they said.

But politicians can't agree on how to divide the limited resources and figure out what works and what does not.

"The public understands that we have to begin to connect the dots" to figure out how to stop the bleeding associated with crime, Biden said. "They are just skeptical that we [politicians] can do anything to stop the problem."

The prospect of curbing the spending in the near future is not good, said U.S. Attorney Eric H. Holder Jr. "In the short term, the expenditure of money has to increase," Holder said. "We need more and better cops, more prosecutors," although more enforcement is not the final solution and serves only to keep crime from becoming unbearable.

Ultimately, the public and government must confront the social ills

contributing to crime, Holder said. That will require individual and community efforts, but also more government spending in the long term "on the social end, which hopefully will eventually lessen the need for short-term money."

Either way, the result is the same. "It's a shame," he said. "But, we are going to have to spend more."

James Hunter's father, James, 48, thinks the only thing that will resolve the crime problem "is prayer." "It just seems like there is no love out here anymore," said the man who recently buried his only son.

Cost of the funeral: \$7,000.

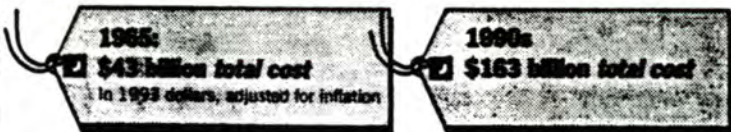
TUESDAY, JULY 5, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

## A MOUNTING BILL FOR CRIME

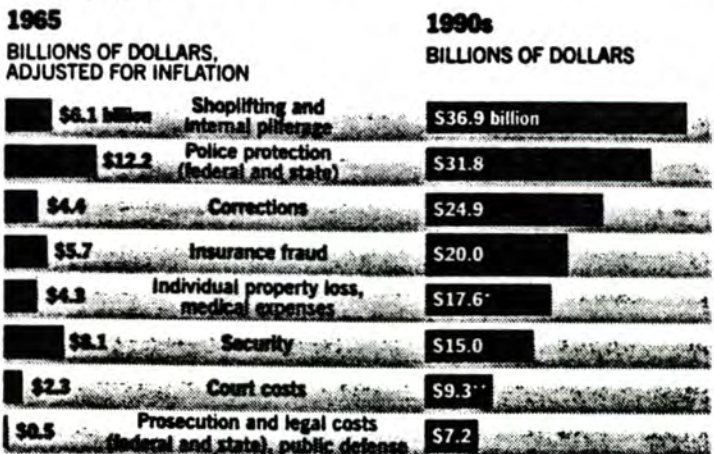
Crime and its aftereffects take an enormous economic toll on the United States. A look at some of its costs:

### THE BIG PICTURE

Over the past 30 years, the overall costs of crime to society have increased nearly fourfold, even accounting for inflation ...



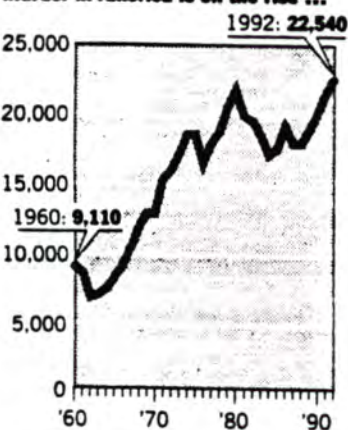
... with giant increases in the costs of shoplifting, corrections, fraud and property loss.



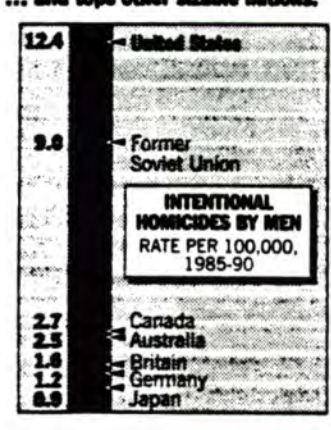
\*Includes \$8 billion for motor vehicle theft. \*\*Includes some civil costs.

### MURDERS

Murder in America is on the rise ...



... and tops other sizable nations.



### A TYPICAL SHOOTING: \$6,900 OR MORE

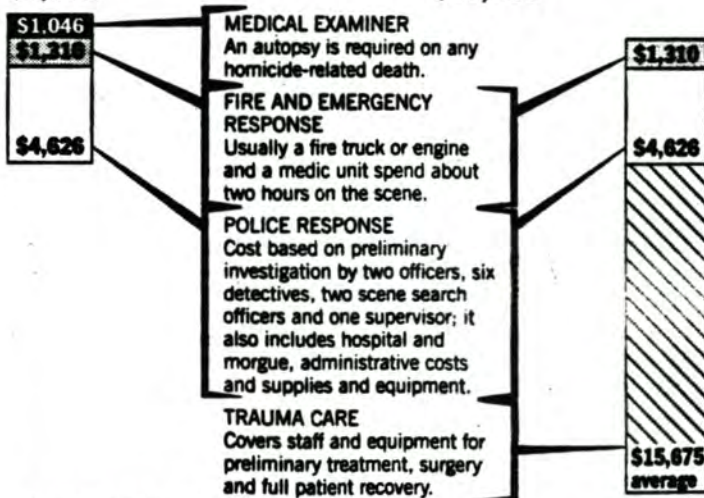
Each of the 22,000 or more murders per year in the United States generates certain costs. In the District of Columbia, a murder victim costs public agencies about \$7,000 in the first few hours after the shooting. A shooting victim who lives costs more, nearly \$22,000.

TOTAL IF VICTIM IS PRONOUNCED DEAD BEFORE SURGERY:

\$6,982

TOTAL IF VICTIM SURVIVES THROUGH SURGERY:

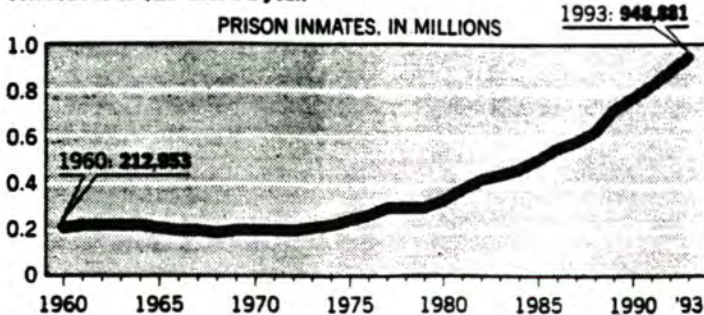
\$21,611



SOURCE: D.C. Budget Office

### CORRECTIONS

Prison populations have increased nearly fivefold in the past generation. Spending of around \$25,000 per prisoner pushes the nation's tab for corrections to \$25 billion a year.



SOURCES: Justice Department; Sourcebook on Criminal Justice Statistics; National Insurance Crime Bureau; National Center for Retailing Education and Research; University of Florida; "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," 1967 presidential commission report

212

27



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/14

Rain



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Fyl - B.





CLINTON ADMINISTRATION JUDICIAL RECORD  
July 13, 1994

ANALYSIS OF CONFIRMED JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS:

|           |    |                  |    |                           |
|-----------|----|------------------|----|---------------------------|
| Supreme:  | 01 | African-Am:      | 21 | (Cir 03, Dist 18)         |
| Circuit:  | 11 | Asian:           | 00 | (Cir 00, Dist 00)         |
| Trade:    | 00 | Hispanic:        | 07 | (Cir 02, Dist 05)         |
| District: | 61 | Native American: | 01 | (Cir 00, Dist 01)         |
|           |    | Women:           | 27 | (Sup 01, Cir 04, Dist 22) |
| Total:    | 73 | W/Disabilities:  | 01 | (Cir 00, Dist 01)         |

\*\*\*\*\*

ANALYSIS OF JUDICIAL NOMINATIONS:

|                               | <u>Clinton</u> | <u>Bush</u> | <u>Reagan</u> | <u>Carter</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| No. of Nominations            | 102            | 71          | 72            | 44            |
| Male                          | 71             | 64          | 68            | 41            |
| Female                        | 31             | 7           | 4             | 3             |
| White                         | 64             | 68          | 69            | 36            |
| African-Am                    | 25             | 1           | 1             | 7             |
| Hispanic/Other                | 13             | 2           | 2             | 1             |
| Women and minorities          | 60%            | 11%         | 10%           | 21%           |
| Rated "well qualified" by ABA | 63%            | 52%         | 53%           | 57%           |

Note: The ABA data reflect all nominations by Presidents Bush, Reagan and Carter, not only nominations through July 13 in the second year of the terms.

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ANALYSIS OF JUDICIAL VACANCIES:

|                        | <u>Vacancies</u><br>a/o 07/13/94   | <u>1/20/93</u><br><u>Vacancies</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Dist. Ct. Vacancies    | 138 ( 43 since 1/20/93)            | 95                                 |
| Cir. Ct. Vacancies     | 27 ( 9 since 1/20/93)              | 18                                 |
| Sup. Ct. Vacancies     | <u>2</u> ( 2 since 1/20/93)        | <u>0</u>                           |
|                        | 167                                | 113                                |
| Confirmed:             | <u>73</u> (61 Dist, 11 Cir, 1 Sup) | <u>66</u>                          |
|                        | 94                                 | 47                                 |
| Nominations pending:   | <u>29</u> (21 Dist, 7 Cir, 1 Sup)  | <u>16</u>                          |
|                        | 65                                 | 31                                 |
| ABA/FBI review:        | <u>35</u> (31 Dist, 04 Cir)        | <u>25</u>                          |
|                        | 30                                 | 6                                  |
| Identified candidates: | <u>17</u>                          | <u>4</u>                           |
|                        | 13                                 | 2                                  |



# Metzenbaum Breaches the Adoption Color Barrier

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum is a persistent pain in the neck. As a result, thousands of little kids are likely to have a better life.

The Ohio Democrat, who's retiring this year, is spending a lot of his final days pushing a measure to prevent racial discrimination in adoption. After working on it for more than a decade, Sen. Metzenbaum finally secured Senate passage this spring of the transracial adoption measure as part of a larger mi-

nority health bill. This soon will go to conference with the House, which hasn't acted on the adoption segment. There are a lot of procedural hurdles, but Howard Metzenbaum's aggressive, even abrasive, manner makes it an even bet for enactment.

The struggle over this issue tells a lot about the way political correctness distorts racial situations, as well as a lot about the difficulties of the legislative process and the value of a forceful advocate.

There are about 200,000 children in America available for adoption: blacks, who constitute only 12% of the population, make up about 40% of this pool. Overall, the average wait for adoption is more than 2½ years, and minority kids wait up to five years.

What the Metzenbaum bill says basically is that adoption agencies no longer can discriminate against prospective parents because of race. If all things are equal, preference can be given on the basis of race, but adoptions cannot be delayed or denied when all things are not equal. (An earlier version that would have prevented just "undue delays" in transracial adoptions was deleted by the Ohio Democrat when it became clear that it could have the effect of codifying some of the practices he was seeking to change.)

This is an assault on the position of the National Association of Black Social Workers, whose leadership two decades ago assailed transracial adoptions as a "blatant form of racial and cultural genocide." This view has come to dominate many adoption agencies throughout the country. "This new racism holds that it is better for black children to wait in foster care twice as long with less chance of exiting through adoption because of the color of their skin," charges Carol Statuto Bevan, director of public policy for the National Council for Adoption.

"It outrages me that poor little kids suffer because of the views of some social workers," Sen. Metzenbaum declares. But the politics have been simple: The black social workers made this a litmus test of political correctness in the liberal community, many conservatives don't lose a lot of sleep over anything that's transracial, and kids don't vote.

But Sen. Metzenbaum, whose liberal credentials are impeccable, not only persevered but rounded up important allies, including prominent African-Americans. The bill is supported by the Children's Defense Fund, the chief Senate co-sponsor is Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois, and key House supporters include Alan Wheat of Missouri and Kweisi Mfume, who heads the congressional Black Caucus. "I've caught some grief on this," says Rep. Mfume, a Maryland Democrat. "But I've seen a lot of kids who have been denied the opportunity to be adopted, and that breaks your heart."

Indeed, the arguments against transracial adoptions are based, says Rita Simon, an American University sociologist who has studied this issue for years, almost entirely on "ideology and rhetoric."

A massive four-year study, funded in part by the National Institute of Mental Health, dramatically refuted these criticisms. It found that adolescents, adopted as kids, are as mentally healthy as biological children. Adolescents adopted by parents of a different race are just as well adjusted and still maintain a high degree of racial identity, the study found.

There are some prominent law school professors at Harvard and elsewhere who believe the Senate-approved legislation doesn't go far enough. Prof. Randall Kennedy argues that by giving preference to an adoptive parent of the same race, Sen. Metzenbaum "embraces moderate racial matching."

But in the real world of adoption it's accepted practice to look for similar cultures, backgrounds, religions and race between birth parents and adopted parents. Transracial adoptions clearly work, but that doesn't mean that there shouldn't be incentives to try to recruit more black adoptive parents or, when possible, to place children in homes of a similar background.



Mr. Metzenbaum

But with the Confucian emphasis on ancestry and blood lines, it's unlikely. Thus, the Koreans privately are rethinking this 1996 deadline.

It's all right to take race into consideration in adoption, says Sen. Metzenbaum, but "don't let that consideration ever deny a kid a chance to get a happy home life."

The 77-year-old senator has been tireless in pushing this view, taking an idea that had no visible constituency and creating a support base. "He called me, set up a lunch, found out more facts and then organized us all," says American University's Prof. Simon, who despite her right-of-center political views has been awed by the liberal Democrat: "If it weren't for Howard Metzenbaum's initiative, his making people work together, this would not be happening."

The transracial adoption issue, as important as it is, is only a small part of the overall adoption problem in America. The foster care system badly needs reform and government probably ought to offer more subsidies to facilitate more adoptions. Also, adoption is one area that ought to unite the polarized sides in the abortion battle. The current debate may be helping. "Howard Metzenbaum deserves enormous credit for starting an important dialogue on adoption," says Susan Cox, director of development for Holt International Children's Services.

The three-term Ohio Democrat is a gut fighter who, as always, will be involved in a number of high visibility fights as the 103rd Congress draws to a close, including the Stephen Breyer nomination to the Supreme Court, the striker replacement bill, and occupational safety and health legislation. But, he admits, his heart really is in the transracial adoption bill. "I don't have the same emotional involvement in the others; this is the one I want to make absolutely certain passes." Go to it, Howard.

## Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Classroom  
I think we have  
learned in not being  
more public on this as  
said

77



7/14  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1994

94 MAY 25 P 2: 29

*1 follow up*  
*win*  
RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Fourth district Democratic congressional nominee and  
state Senator Jay Bradford

DATE: May 25, 1994

REC. Joan Baggett, Political Affairs  
BY: Reta J. Lewis, Political Affairs

PURPOSE: To congratulate Jay Bradford on his May 24th primary victory.

CONTACT NUMBER: 501/535-6161 (Campaign HQ - after 2:00 p.m.)

BACKGROUND: State Senator Jay Bradford defeated state Representative John Parkerson and businessman James McDougal in the Democratic primary with approximately 54 percent of the vote. Parkerson ended the primary race in second place with approximately 24 percent of the vote, with McDougal placing third in the race with 22 percent. Bradford was widely considered the likely winner going into Tuesday's primary election.

Bradford will face incumbent Representative Jay Dickey in the general election. The National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC) has rated the fourth congressional district race a "toss up" in 1994.

**Note: Phone numbers for other Arkansas primary winners are attached for your information.**

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I need to send  
how to respond to  
this - in her Q

~~Handwritten scribbles~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/14

The President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500





7/14

**Janice Graham Hirschberg**  
5804 Madaket Road  
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

June 22, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

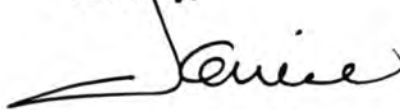
Last night we talked again about the school to work initiative. (I am tenacious!) School to work is a wonderful idea, as far as it goes. However, it's designed to work from the bottom up. Therefore, nothing about the current construct will encourage the "Jeff Hirschberg's" of this country to send their children to technical college. To them, anything less than having their child get a four-year degree is an embarrassment. Yet, these education elitists send their children to college to the tune of \$100,000; and they graduate with no skills and cannot obtain jobs (even though their parents have connections). Therefore, my suggestion -- and goal in life -- is to work the solution from both ends, especially from the top down. We can partially address the problem by including in the curriculum of a four-year college the ability to also acquire a technical skill. That way, the Jeff Hirschberg's of this country get a return on their investment.

The passage of NAFTA has made it even more important that our country be technically trained; and with middle management jobs disappearing, it makes sense that our college graduates leave college with a technical skill that is compatible with their other degree.

I have discussed the matter with one of the administrators of the school to work program in Milwaukee and have spent a great deal of time thinking about this subject because, as you know, I am technically trained.

We need an "Ambassador of Technical Training to the U. S. Education System". I would like to be that person.

Sincerely,



Janice Graham Hirschberg

The President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached has been circulated  
to the Vice President and  
relevant staff.

~~It is pretty~~  
~~weak I think but~~  
~~of the other~~  
John Podesta  
~~over~~

- ① I have tightened the letter  
a bit - ok to send
- ② This memo is very good  
need to follow up on - B.



## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

94 JUN 28 AIO : 33

June 28, 1994

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON  
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS  
ALEXIS HERMAN  
LINDA LADER

SUBJECT: RELATIONS WITH RELIGIOUS GROUPS

In recent weeks, the relationship of religious groups with the Republicans and with your administration has become a focal-point of public discussion. The victories of Oliver North in Virginia and Allen Quist in Minnesota and events at the Texas Republican convention have triggered speculation about a "religious right" takeover of the Republican party. Meanwhile, continuing controversy over such issues as abortion, gay rights, and freedom of religious exercise and expression have led some religious conservatives to accuse your administration of being indifferent or even hostile to religion. Statements by administration officials and party spokesmen have proved to be flash-points. Just last week, eighty-seven Republican House members demanded that you force the resignation of Surgeon-General Elders, while all forty-four Republican Senators asked you to repudiate remarks by Rep. Vic Fazio critical of the "Christian radical right."

The purpose of this memorandum is to place this controversy in a broader context and to suggest a strategic response that would reflect your long-held convictions, enhance the dignity of the presidency, and contribute to a more productive public dialogue.

During your presidential campaign, you brought people together around an agenda that successfully integrated economic and moral concerns. ~~Now, once again, you have an opportunity to unite citizens of good will around core principles.~~ Your administration and the Democratic party must seize the high ground of our historic tolerance for Americans of many faiths--and of no faith. But there is a right way and a wrong way to oppose intolerance. We cannot allow our attack on extremism to become, or even to be perceived as, an attack on sincere religious conviction and on the participation of the faithful in our public life. We should not give our adversaries an opening to portray your administration as hostile to religion. While vigorously opposing bigotry cloaked in the language of piety, we need a sustainable longterm strategy for diminishing the sense of distance from your administration now experienced by many believers who are not extremists. This is an opportunity for presidential leadership--and statesmanship--that should not be missed.



## Background and context

The current debate over the political role of conservative religious groups is framed by four large facts.

1. Despite the predictions of generations of sociologists, the United States has not moved toward increased secularization. We remain (by a wide margin) the most intensely religious of all the industrial democracies, with levels of belief and observance five to ten times higher than in many European countries.

2. Because so many American faiths were born in dissent from orthodoxy and flight from persecution, and because our faith is so vigorously diverse, deep religious conviction in this country has typically gone hand-in-hand with an equally deep commitment to religious toleration. In the long run, American religious and political leaders pay a steep price when they cross the line dividing tolerance from intolerance.

3. Most Americans believe that the moral foundation of our society has eroded dangerously over the past generation. (When asked in a Newsweek poll earlier this month whether the United States is in a "moral and spiritual decline," 76 percent of respondents answered affirmatively.) For many, organized religion provides both a vocabulary for criticizing this decline and an institutional means of resisting it. Others who disagree with the answers offered by religious conservatives believe that they are at least addressing the right questions. Political leaders who are seen as insufficiently concerned about and responsive to this perception of social decay will increasingly be regarded as out of touch and irrelevant.

4. Starting during the Carter administration, many evangelical Protestants and moderate-to-conservative Catholics migrated to the Republican party. That trend is not likely to be reversed any time soon. In 1992, an unpopular Republican incumbent not particularly trusted by the right wing of his own party nonetheless managed to garner 62 percent of the vote among white born-again Christians.

But the broader history of 1992 is instructive. The Republican convention crossed the line from traditional morality to intolerance, alarming moderates in both parties. At the same time, while you adopted forthright positions on a number of controversial social issues, your campaign sent important signals of your openness to faith communities. Your emphasis on the need for the rebuilding of our society through increased personal responsibility and firmer faith as well as common action conveyed your vivid awareness of moral and social decline and helped diminish the intensity of opposition to your candidacy, even among those who supported your adversaries. In short, you reached out to religious traditionalists in a way that enhanced the depth and legitimacy of your eventual victory. It is now time to renew and extend that endeavor.



## Reaching out to religious communities

As part of a strategy for reaching out to religious communities, we recommend the following steps:

1. You should review, revise, and sign the attached letter to the Republicans Senators.

2. Criticisms of specific statements and actions of specific conservative religious leaders are of course appropriate and justified. But you should send clear signals to your appointees that statements that can be interpreted as general criticisms of religious conservatives, or of the role of religion in public life, are not in the best interests of our country or of your presidency.

4g 3. Last year's events such as breakfasts with religious leaders proved highly effective in building bridges to their communities and generated much positive media coverage. You should insist on resuming scheduling such events on a regular basis--at least once a month, more often if possible--and bolster them with personal meetings and interviews with selected religious media.

4. You should continue to speak out frequently on issues such as personal responsibility, teen pregnancy, parental duties, service to nation and community, the formation of good character needed to sustain a decent society, and the role of faith in our public life. Don Baer should be asked to formulate a plan for building on the values-oriented speeches you delivered in May, and you should consider devoting a major address to the role of religion in public life.

g 5. An informal White House working group has recently been organized to monitor legislative, regulatory, and judicial activities of the administration of concern to organized religion. Some more regular mechanism needs to be established to carry this work forward. Its principal purpose would be to anticipate and ward off potential problems rather than (as is so often the case right now) responding to them defensively after the fact.

6. To the maximum extent possible, those responsible for fashioning political tactics should act in coordination with your overall strategy. If we are not careful, shortterm "red meat" rhetoric could drown out the longterm approach we recommend.

## Conclusion

Strong faith is an enduring strand of American life. But its intensity waxes and wanes in response to broad social conditions. In general, periods of rapid economic and social change engender anxiety that can trigger upsurges of religious fervor. This was the case in the 1920s, and it is true today. We are living

through a period of economic and social dislocation that many Americans are experiencing as confusing and alarming. Not surprisingly, they are looking for sources of stability and security.

For many, conservative faith communities are providing structures of meaning and human connection no longer reliably available in families, neighborhoods, and workplaces. We may not agree with much of what they are saying and doing. But we must publicly articulate the very real concerns to which they are pointing, and we must advance our own responses to them. Ceding this terrain to our adversaries in the name of shortterm tactical considerations would be a blunder of significant--perhaps historic--proportions.



## Draft Presidential response to the Republican Senators

Dear X:

Thank you for your letter of June 22, which raises issues of central importance for every American. I am in full agreement that a candidate's religious beliefs are not a basis for questioning his or her fitness for public office. Indeed, no principle is more firmly rooted in our history and laws.

For centuries, our country has enjoyed a unique tradition of religious liberty. Members of every faith have been able to profess their deepest convictions and carry out the precepts that flow from those convictions. Free exercise for every faith, establishment for none, a prohibition on religious tests for public office--these tenets are the foundation of the rights we cherish, and of our entire constitutional tradition. Enshrined in the hearts of our citizens, this tradition has allowed our country to enjoy a religious life unparalleled in its vigor and diversity. It was to safeguard and strengthen this tradition that I was proud to sign into law the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which my administration will vigorously enforce.

We Americans have never believed that faith is a purely private matter. Faith can lead to action, and the voices of many faiths have always been part of our nation's public dialogue. It is entirely appropriate for those voices to attempt to persuade others, and to craft policies that reflect the principles on which we come to agree through unfettered debate. The place of religion in our civic life extends well beyond public dialogue. Faith strengthens the bonds of family and community, and it helps shape the good character of citizens without which we cannot hope to be a decent society.

This is why I have often said that in our public life, freedom of religion does not and cannot mean freedom **from** religion. This is why I do not believe that Americans want, or the Constitution requires, the total secularization of our workplaces and communities.

Because religion in our country is so diverse and so publicly engaged, tolerance is an indispensable virtue, among individuals and among faith communities. Tolerance rests on mutual respect across our differences. It requires that we refrain from coercion to resolve those differences. And tolerance reinforces what we share despite our differences--the very foundation of our constitutional faith, a full and equal citizenship under law.

Sharp, vigorous debate is the lifeblood of our democracy. But there is a line between the frank articulation of differences and personal attacks on individuals or groups. Public discourse that demonizes opponents frays the social fabric and impedes the vital search for common ground on the issues our nation must address. I call upon all Americans of good will to refrain from this kind of rhetoric and to repudiate it whenever it is employed.

*especially in religionism.*

I have spoken out repeatedly against intolerance and bigotry of every kind, and I will continue to do so. I expect every member of my administration to adhere to the highest standards of tolerance. <sup>But</sup> Those who oppose my administration should do likewise. The alternative to a new birth of tolerance in our public life is the continued erosion of the people's faith in our capacity for responsible self-government. Surely a pervasive cynicism about leaders and institutions of every kind is not the legacy we want to bequeath to the next generation. But that is where we are heading, unless we abandon the politics of mutual ~~annihilation~~ and refocus our energy on the real and urgent problems our nation faces.

discrimination

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

→ *do not claim tolerance and respect for their views ~~and~~ while attacking the character, conviction and faith of ~~those~~ those who disagree w/ them.*



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 22, 1994

The Honorable William Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As the November elections draw closer, Americans will be looking to Republican and Democrat candidates to discuss their positions on the challenges facing our country. And we believe that a frank debate of our differences on issues like health care, taxes, crime, and foreign policy is the essence of a healthy democracy, and will be good for America.

What is not good for America, however, is questioning a candidate's fitness for office because of his or her religious beliefs. And that is precisely what several prominent members of your party have done in recent days, making comments that bring to mind the type of attacks faced by Al Smith in 1928 and John Kennedy in 1960.

Mr. President, You have spoken eloquently in the past about the need for tolerance in our lives, and about the importance of religion in the lives of Americans. We write to ask that you now join with us in repudiating the remarks of those who use terms like "fire-breathing Christian radical right," and who cheapen our democracy through religious bigotry.

Sincerely,

*Bob Dole*  
*Strom Thurmond*  
*Kay Bailey Hutchison*  
*James E. Eastman*  
*Frank Lautenberg*

*Phil Coakley*  
*Mike Strot*  
*Val Longwell*  
*Don Nickles*  
*Phil Thomas*

David Cook

Dirk Langitt

Robb

Jim J. Hark

Brian Rusk

Jackie Galt

McGinn

Joe Brown

Harry Pender

Frank M. H.

Wanda L. L. L.

Curtis Mack

Bob Bond

Mike H. L. L.

Richard L. L.

Alfred H. L.

Bob Brown

Bob Smith

Bob

John L. L.

John L.

John L.

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Date: 06/24/94 Time:- 15:56

## GOP House Members Seek Elders' Resignation

WASHINGTON (AP) Eighty-seven GOP House members sought the resignation of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders on Friday, escalating a conflict over Democrats' attacks on right-wing Republicans.

The Republicans' letter to President Clinton came two days after Elders, according to newspaper accounts, referred to the ``un-Christian religious right'' and added, ``We've got to be strong to take on those people who are selling our children out in the name of religion.''

The letter did not specifically mention these remarks but they were cited often at a news conference by Rep. Cliff Stearns, R-Fla., author of the letter, other lawmakers and spokesmen for conservative Christian organizations.

``She should be using this office to fight sickness and disease and not using this office to fight parents and churches,'' Stearns said.

The letter said Elders ``has not chosen to utilize her position to advance the general health and welfare of all Americans, but rather to advocate views antithetical to the majority of citizens.''

Elders' press spokesman could not immediately be reached for comment.

On Thursday, 44 Senate Republicans wrote Clinton asking him to repudiate remarks that reflect religious bigotry. That letter came after Rep. Vic Fazio of California, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, criticized the rise of the radical right in Republican politics.

On Friday, President Clinton criticized evangelical Christian broadcasters, mentioning Jerry Falwell by name. Clinton said he was getting tired of being pounded by the right wing. ``I'm going to be far more aggressive,'' he said.

At the news conference outside the Capitol, Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-Wis., said Elders had ``forfeited her right to be surgeon general of the United States.''

The letter denounced Elders for her remarks that the Boy and Girl Scouts discriminated against homosexuals, that the legalization of narcotics should be considered and that girls should take condoms when they go on dates.

``Whether one agrees with these statements or not, and I suspect that the majority of Americans do not, they clearly serve to divide Americans rather than unite us behind our common interest in public health and welfare,'' the Stearns letter said.

APNP-06-24-94 1555EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

We have forwarded copies  
of both letters to the  
NSC.

B Rubin

2 important letters  
for the President to  
respond to soon

Bo



7/14

June 27, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

Each of our air carriers is anxious to gain new access to foreign markets. For the U.S. air transportation industry, as for most others, expansion of our international competitive abilities is critical to our long-term success.

Air services between the United States and the United Kingdom constitute one of this country's largest and most important air transportation markets. The Air Services Agreement that governs access to the U.K. has been extremely controversial and is generally perceived, both here and in London, as unduly restrictive and outdated.

Our companies, the hundreds of thousands of U.S. workers we employ, and the communities in which they work and reside, have made enormous sacrifices to transform our air carrier operations into the most efficient and cost effective in the world. Unfortunately, the agreements governing international air transportation have not been sufficiently modernized to allow the U.S. an adequate return on this national investment in competitiveness. And, while the British were able to use the transfer of Heathrow access from Pan Am and TWA in 1991 to update and expand U.K. carrier rights, the U.S. has still not been able to do the same for its carriers.

Because U.S. opportunities under the Air Services Agreement with the U.K. have not been enlarged, a carrier such as Delta must seek a code-share arrangement with a British carrier to gain access to Heathrow, and a carrier like Continental has urged the Department of Transportation to begin negotiations on increasing access to that same airport. The frustrations of Delta and Continental with the constraints of the Agreement are certainly shared by the undersigned, each of whom has long sought relief from the provisions of Bermuda II. That Agreement is (1) denying these carriers opportunities to operate to Heathrow from their hubs at Chicago, Detroit, and New York, (2) limiting the operation of efficient, deregulated all-cargo services, (3) precluding needed services to Britain's regional airports as well as London's alternate airports, such as Stansted, and (4) allowing fewer code-sharing rights for U.S. carriers than for U.K. airlines.

The negotiating course that has been followed to date is essentially a U.S. pursuit of a full and immediate liberalization of the Agreement. We all agree that this goal is laudable and

The President  
June 27, 1994  
Page 2

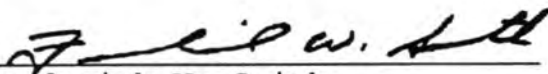
that U.S. efforts to achieve it have been substantial. The fact remains that those efforts have been unproductive. For a number of practical and political reasons recently described by the House of Commons Select Transport Committee, the U.S. objectives simply cannot be achieved in full. At the same time, that Committee was quite candid in identifying improvements which could and should be made, even though they might provide only limited usefulness for U.K. air carriers. The Committee supports those changes because they would afford substantial benefits to communities and consumers of both the United States and the United Kingdom.

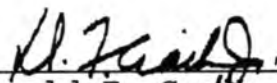
As in any commercial trade agreement, we cannot allow the perfect to become the enemy of the good. Holding progress and added competition in abeyance while we pursue an "ideal" agreement does not satisfy the expanding requirements of the traveling and shipping public, nor does it provide our carriers the type of practical access we need to remain competitive factors in an increasingly global market for air transportation services.

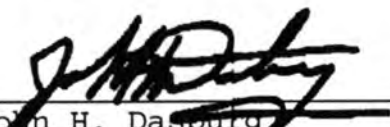
For these reasons, we think it is important that the United States resume negotiations with the U.K. as soon as possible. The purpose of those negotiations should be to secure for our carriers and communities those expansion opportunities that are realistically obtainable in the short run, restore a competitive parity to the basic U.S.-U.K. aviation relationship, and set the stage for progress toward a full, open skies regime in the future.

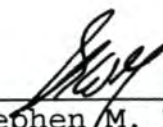
We pledge our full support to such a negotiating effort.

Sincerely,

  
Frederick W. Smith  
President, Chairman and CEO  
Federal Express Corporation

  
Donald F. Craib, Jr.  
Chairman and CEO  
Trans World Airlines, Inc.

  
John H. Dasburg  
President and CEO  
Northwest Airlines, Inc.

  
Stephen M. Wolf  
Chairman and CEO  
United Air Lines, Inc.



The President  
June 27, 1994  
Page 3



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Morris Nachtomi  
Chairman and CEO  
Tower Air, Inc.



---

Richard O. Oehme  
President  
United Parcel Service Co.

THE WORLD BANK  
Washington, D.C. 20433  
U.S.A.

LEWIS T. PRESTON  
President

June 20, 1994

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

Mr. President:

At the 1992 Summit Meeting in Munich, the G-7 countries expressed concern about the safety of certain Soviet-designed nuclear power plants located in Eastern Europe (Bulgaria and Slovakia) and the former Soviet Union (Armenia, Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine) and called for their closure as soon as possible. In preparation for the 1993 Summit Meeting in Tokyo, the World Bank, in collaboration with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Energy Agency, and the European Investment Bank, prepared energy and nuclear safety strategies for each of the countries concerned. For the upcoming Summit Meeting in Naples, the collaborating institutions were asked to provide a progress report and estimates for the financing requirements associated with the country programs. This report was provided to your officials last month.

In preparation for your consideration of the nuclear safety issue at the Naples Summit Meeting, I would like to highlight our concern that progress in dealing with the unsafe reactors has been slow and that plans for their closure by the year 2000 are not consistent with the type and volume of official financing currently available. Our analyses, and our dialogue with the countries concerned, lead us to conclude that there is a great risk that most of the unsafe nuclear reactors will continue to be operated until the end of their design lives (that is well beyond the year 2000) unless urgent action is taken by the international community.

We believe that the countries concerned require substantial external financial support to enable them to advance the closure of the high risk nuclear units and to improve nuclear safety. The World Bank, and the international lending institutions collaborating in this work, stand ready to provide the financing necessary for conventional power generation substitutes and energy efficiency improvements. The export credit agencies are a further source of financing. However, the financing plans also require substantial concessional funds, which neither we nor the other banks can supply.



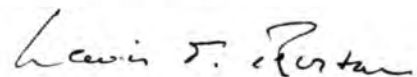
Special incentives are required because most of the countries concerned do not agree that advancing the closure of the high-risk nuclear units is in their best overall interest. In the difficult economic situations which they face, concerns about the lack of tangible economic benefits from safety investments, the cost of advancing investments needed to replace closed nuclear capacity, and the additional burden on the balance-of-payments of importing conventional fuels, lead them to defer necessary actions on nuclear safety. Moreover, they are reluctant to undertake all of the investments required with debt-creating financing.

This gap between national perception and global interests might be bridged in time through further study and extended discussions. However, time is short. If the objective remains closure of the high risk nuclear plants by the year 2000, we estimate that about \$ 3 billion of concessional assistance for the six countries concerned will be needed in the next five years to help reach expeditious agreement on early action. A decision in principle at the Naples Summit to make substantial concessional funding available for the nuclear safety programs is essential to more rapid progress.

A first step would be the substantial replenishment of the Nuclear Safety Account. Calling for an early meeting of the contributors to consider a substantial replenishment would give an important message to the countries concerned. In addition, the availability of concessional funding needs to be assured in principle before negotiations with the countries concerned on specific energy programs and nuclear safety measures. The amounts required will then have to be refined in the context of individual country discussions.

The objective of closing the high-risk nuclear plants by the end of the century is of great importance to the world. We and the collaborating agencies believe this cannot be achieved without substantial additional concessional resources to supplement the financing available from us and the export credit agencies. The risk posed by these reactors is high and will increase as they age. A decision on the terms of the financial resources available to the countries concerned is urgent if we are to reach timely agreement on investments that will improve nuclear safety and ensure closure of the high-risk plants by the year 2000.

Sincerely,



Lewis T. Preston  
President

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 13, 1994

NOTE TO JEFF RILEY:

Please handle the attached photo for Kristine Gebbie.

Per Paul Richard, the President has already signed a photo for her, so an autopen will be fine for this one.

Also, please have inscribed to Kristine and Eric, her son.

Thanks.

Sharon Wagner



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

7-11-94

94 JUL 11 P4:49

Paul -

Kris would like to  
get this signed  
by the President and  
returned here.

Thanks

RETURN SIGNED PHOTO  
TO:

The Honorable Kristine Gebbie  
c/o Andrew Barrer  
Office of National AIDS Policy  
Suite 1060  
750 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20503

Andrew





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
94 JUL 14 12:19

## OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

### Fax Transmittal Sheet

**TO:** LINDA LADER

**Fax Number:** 202 6384141

**Phone Number:**

**FROM:** FRAN WESSEL

**SUBJECT:**

**DATE:** 7/14

**NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):** 4

**MESSAGE:**

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1994

David Neff  
Executive Editor  
Christianity Today  
465 Gundersen Drive  
Carol Stream, Illinois 60188

Dear David:

Thanks for your note of July 1 and for sending the article about the recent Christian Bookseller's Association convention. Your encouragement means a lot to me.

I'm pleased to hear that you plan to attend the conference on July 29. It promises to be a great success.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

*ce Linda Roden*



July 1, 1994

The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

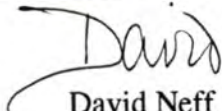
Just a note of encouragement amidst all the shuffle, hassle, and flak.

I thought you might like to see the Religious News Service dispatch on a discussion of Christians and political involvement at the Christian Bookseller's Association convention last week. That group is not quite as politically conservative as the National Religious Broadcasters, and it is certainly more thoughtful (after all, they know how to read books).

Os Guinness came to your defense, according to the report, when Cal Thomas and Bill Bennett took some swipes at you. (Does it take a British evangelical to stand up to these Yanks, or what?)

On another subject: I will be attending the White House conference on Character-Building for a Democratic, Civil Society on July 29. I hope that event has far-reaching effects. Our society has gone too far by extending the values of tolerance and pluralism (which are appropriately applied to the contributions of various cultures and ethnic groups) to the moral realm. It is time to say to our children that it is right to be honest, right to be responsible, right to work hard, and right to make and stand by commitments. Teaching those values in our schools is the only road back to sanity.

Sincerely,



David Neff  
Executive Editor



A CHRISTIANITY TODAY PUBLICATION • 465 Gundersen Drive, Carol Stream, IL 60188  
Telephone: 708/260-6200 FAX: 708/260-0114

## Evangelicals on left and right clash at booksellers convention

By Virginia Culver  
Special to Religious News Service

DENVER (RNS) — Evangelical Christians took some hits at the Christian Booksellers Convention here, all from other evangelical Christians.

Some evangelicals accused others, during a panel discussion Sunday, of concentrating on personalities instead of issues, not helping the oppressed in society, and closing out evangelicals who don't agree with them on every issue.

The panel, the first of three being held during the June 25-30 convention, focused on religion and politics and what effect the religious right is having on the political scene in the United States.

More than 15,000 people are attending the meeting at the Colorado Convention Center.

Os Guinness, author and scholar, and Jim Wallis, founder of the Sojourners Community in Washington, D.C., both said evangelicals need to be more open to diverse views.

Wallis contended that many in the evangelical camp have "not been invited to the table if they are not ideological conformists."

"Not all evangelicals are on the religious right. Many, many of us are moderates and progressives."

But newspaper columnist Cal Thomas, who moderated the discussion, snapped back, "Better to be on the religious right than on the pagan left."

Several talked about virtues, a subject politicians and religionists are all championing.

"It's fashionable now," said Guinness, "It's having its 15 minutes in the sun, but the real test will be if the subject is still being discussed 15 years from now."

Thomas and former education secretary William Bennett, who spoke by phone from his home in Washington, D.C., took some swipes at President Clinton for his recent complaints about Rush Limbaugh and other evangelicals.

Guinness came to the president's defense, countering claims that he is too secular to be authentically Christian.

"I don't believe Bill Clinton is a hypocrite," Guinness said. "A lot of Christians attack him mercilessly . . . but you haven't seen a secularist president yet."

Asked if the religious right is slipping, Bennett said it is sounder than it was 10 years ago because it is keeping the values issue alive.

But Guinness said the religious right is in a state of "desperation, panic, alarm and fear. It's portraying itself as a small persecuted minority, which is psychologically disastrous and politically ineffective."

Michael Horton, founder of Christians United for Reformation, chastised evangelicals for adopting the agenda of society.

"Christianity is in danger of being confused with the American culture; worse, with the white, suburban, middle-class American culture."

"We either lionize presidents, like Reagan, or demonize them, like Clinton. Evangelicals have lost their theological ballast. They should stick to the issues."

Horton also blasted evangelicals who "write books about marriage while their marriages are breaking up," accused them of having one-sixth of the abortions they work so hard to eradicate, and quoted a Gallup poll which indicates that while evangelicals are pressing to reinstate the use of the 10 Commandments in school, most evangelicals can't even name them all.

Wallis focused on the oppressed, saying racism, the breakdown of the family, and loss of hope are the critical issues for the churches.

"When our children are planning their funerals instead of their future," he said, "we have a problem."