

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (5 pages)	08/00/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4890

FOLDER TITLE:

August 7-13, 1994 [1]

2018-0662-S

rs3104

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

8/13/94

THE VICE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA
MACK MCLARTY
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 AUG 12 P 6:42

August 12, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA D. TYSON

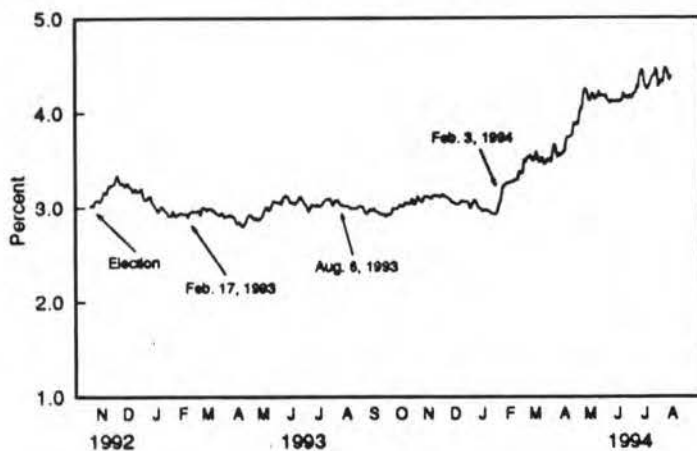
SUBJECT: Interest Rates and the Stock Market, Week Ending Friday, August 12, 1994

Interest rates changed little this week. Increases in long-term interest rates earlier in the week were offset by decreases on Friday following the release of CPI data showing that core inflation remained subdued. Changes in Treasury borrowing rates were as follows:

	Close 8/5/94	Close 8/12/94	Change
3-month bills	4.46	4.38	-0.08
10-year notes	7.28	7.27	-0.01
30-year bonds	7.54	7.48	-0.06

The stock market closed higher for the week. The broad-based S&P index closed Friday at 461.94, up 1.1 percent from the preceding Friday's close. The Dow Jones Industrial Average closed Friday at 3768.71, up 0.6 percent for the week.

Three-Month Rates



Thirty-Year Rates



delivered to
Panettas of.
per John's
Instructions.

5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 08/11/94

TO: JOHN ANGELL

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

Please see me about this.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT: SENIOR MILITARY NOMINATION

The Secretary of Defense has recommended and the NSC concurs in the senior military nomination of Rear Admiral (lower half) William E. Newman, USN, for appointment to the grade of rear admiral.

This nomination was initially made in March 1992, but was not acted upon in that year. The nomination was withheld in 1993 pending completion of an IG investigation and subsequent review by the Navy and Defense Departments. Admiral Newman was investigated for infractions of Navy regulations involving Newman's participation in a dive club, and associated travel on government aircraft and lodging of his family on San Nicholas Island. The IG found that Newman was aware of, condoned and should have recognized the impropriety of travel by unauthorized personnel on government aircraft to participate in recreational diving. Vice CNO Arthur directed Admiral Newman to reimburse the government for his spouse and family's expenses incurred in connection with these activities. Admiral Newman was also cited by the IG for deferring official travel to Indianapolis at a time which permitted him to attend the Indianapolis 500. This violated applicable regulations.

Secretary Dalton, Admiral Boorda, John Deutch and Tony Lake after considering the adverse information, and the fact that corrective actions have been taken, all recommend going forward with the nomination in light of the Admiral's otherwise inpeccable career. [Leon...].

Background information is attached. I recommend you approve this promotion and assignment.

[] Approve [] Reject [] Discuss

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 1, 1991 14:33

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Military Nomination -- Rear Admiral William E. Newman, U.S. Navy

Rear Admiral Newman's nomination package (at Tab A) mentioned several allegations of misconduct that have been investigated over the past year. OSD has now resubmitted his nomination with a brief description of the results of their investigation. In light of the close scrutiny given to several recent military nominations, I asked the Defense Department to take a close look at the results of this investigation to ensure that we are comfortable with going forward with this. The correspondence from Secretary Dalton, Admiral Boorda and John Deutch at Tab B indicate that they are satisfied that RADM Newman should be promoted. I recommend that the President forward this nomination to Congress.

Attachments

Tab A Military Nomination
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

20 July

NOTE FOR MR. BOB BELL

Keith asked that we take a second look at the nomination package for Admiral Newman.

The attached memo from Adm Boorda and SecNav was prepared per direction of Dr. Deutch. The note from the Deputy is self-explanatory.

Based on notes on our copies and discussions with Dr. Deutch, I can also confirm that this case was reviewed in detail by the Deputy before it was originally forwarded.

With Keith on leave, I took the liberty of sending this directly to you. Please let me know if there is anything more I can provide. Margie has been tracking this.

V/R

R. P. McAleen



DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

To Bob Bell, NSC

7/20/94.

Here is the additional information
you request on the promotion of RADM Newman.
I personally reviewed the case and stand
behind our decision to recommend that
he be promoted.

Let me know if we can be of further
help.

Best

for



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1994

94 JUN 29 A10:04

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALPHONSO MALDON, JR. *AMJ*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT: Flag Officer Nomination

Forwarded for your approval and signature is the nomination of Rear Admiral (lower half) William E. Newman, United States Navy, for appointment to the grade of rear admiral. This nomination is based on the results of the FY93 Navy rear admiral promotion board, which former Deputy Secretary of Defense Atwood approved on March 12, 1992. The former President forwarded the nomination to the 102d Congress on March 18, 1992. The 102d Congress did not act on Admiral Newman's nomination and returned it the Executive Branch on October 20, 1992. The Navy delayed submission to the 103rd Congress pending resolution of an investigation.

The nomination is submitted by the Deputy Secretary of Defense after considering adverse information pertaining to Admiral Newman, which has been provided by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness) (TAB A). If you approve this nomination, the adverse information will be provided to the Senate Armed Services Committee.

This nomination has been staffed by the Secretary of the Navy and approved by the Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Recommendation

That you approve and sign the attached.

Attachment



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1000



20 JUN 1994

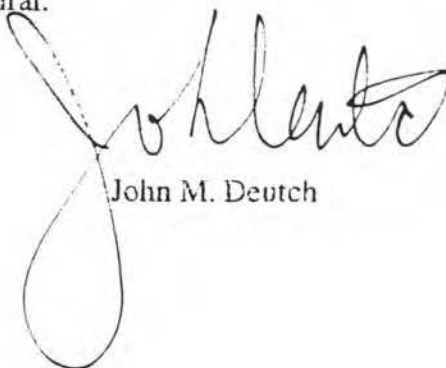
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Flag Officer Nomination

On behalf of the Secretary of Defense, I recommend you nominate Rear Admiral (Lower Half) William E. Newman, United States Navy, for appointment to the grade of rear admiral. I base my nomination on the results of the FY93 Navy rear admiral promotion board, which former Deputy Secretary of Defense Atwood approved on March 12, 1992. The former President forwarded the nomination to the 102d Congress on March 18, 1992. The 102d Congress did not act on Admiral Newman's nomination and returned it to the Executive Branch on October 20, 1992. The Navy delayed submission to the 103rd Congress pending resolution of an investigation.

I have personally reviewed adverse information concerning Admiral Newman and will provide the information to the White House Military Office separately. Should you approve this nomination recommendation, I will provide the same information to the Senate Armed Services Committee.

This action will not cause the Navy to exceed the number of officers authorized to be serving in the grade of rear admiral.



John M. Deutch

Attachment

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The White House

Washington

To the Senate of the United States:

I nominate the following-named rear admiral (lower half) in the line of the Navy for promotion to the permanent grade of rear admiral, pursuant to Title 10, United States Code, Section 624, subject to qualifications therefor as provided by law:

To be Rear Admiral

Unrestricted Line Officer

RADM(LH) William E. Newman, (b)(6) U.S. Navy

PERS-00F
23 Jun 1994

TRANSCRIPT OF NAVAL SERVICE FOR
REAR ADMIRAL (SELECTEE) WILLIAM EDWARD NEWMAN
U.S. NAVY

(b)(6)		
1 JUL 1957	Midshipman, U.S. Naval Academy	
7 JUN 1961	Ensign	
7 DEC 1962	Lieutenant (junior grade)	
1 MAR 1965	Lieutenant	
1 JUL 1969	Lieutenant Commander	
1 JUL 1976	Commander	
1 SEP 1982	Captain	
1 JUL 1990	Rear Admiral (Lower Half)	
	Service continuous to date	

ASSIGNMENTS AND DUTIES	FROM	TO
NABTC, Pensacola, FL (DUINS)	JUN 1961	MAY 1962
NAAS, Beeville, TX (DUINS)	MAY 1962	OCT 1962
Attack Squadron 125	OCT 1962	APR 1963
Attack Squadron 22	APR 1963	NOV 1965
Naval Test Pilot Project, Patuxent River, MD (DUINS)	NOV 1965	JAN 1966
Empire Test Pilot School, Farnborough, Hampshire, England (DUINS)	JAN 1966	DEC 1966
Weapons Systems Test Division, NATC, Patuxent River, MD (Ordnance Project Pilot)	DEC 1966	JAN 1969
Attack Squadron 44 (DUINS)	JAN 1969	APR 1969
Attack Squadron 83 (Pilot)	APR 1969	JUL 1971
Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL (DUINS)	JUL 1971	JUN 1972
Commander Carrier Group FOUR (Flag Secretary and Aide)	JUN 1972	DEC 1973
Attack Squadron 122 (Ops. Off.)	DEC 1973	APR 1975
Attack Squadron 195 (XO)	APR 1975	AUG 1976
CO, Attack Squadron 195	AUG 1976	OCT 1977
CO, Naval Flight Demonstration Squadron (Blue Angels)	OCT 1977	DEC 1979
Staff, Commander Naval Air Force, U.S. Pacific Fleet	DEC 1979	JUL 1980
Commander, Carrier Air Wing NINE	JUL 1980	OCT 1981
Office of CNO (Surface Weapons Program Coordinator) (OP-507)	OCT 1981	JUL 1983
Office of CNO (Head, Weapons Requirements Branch) (OP-507)	JUL 1983	FEB 1984
Surface Warfare Officers Schools Command, Newport, RI (DUINS)	FEB 1984	MAR 1984
Bureau of Naval Personnel (DUINS)	MAR 1984	AUG 1984
CO, USS WHITE PLAINS (AFS 4)	AUG 1984	NOV 1985
Headquarters, FIRST Naval District	NOV 1985	JAN 1986

TRANSCRIPT OF NAVAL SERVICE FOR
 REAR ADMIRAL (SELECTEE) WILLIAM EDWARD NEWMAN
 (CONT'D)

ASSIGNMENTS AND DUTIES (CONT'D)	FROM	TO
Defense Systems Management College, Ft. Belvoir, VA (DUINS)	JAN 1986	JUN 1986
Naval Air Systems Command Headquarters (Executive Director for Group Operations, Systems and Engineering Group)	JUN 1986	JUL 1987
Naval Air Systems Command Headquarters (Major Programs Manager, Defense Suppression Systems)	JUL 1987	MAR 1989
Naval Air Systems Command Headquarters (Program Director, Tactical Aircraft, PDA-10)	MAR 1989	OCT 1990
Commander, Naval Air Warfare Center, Weapons Division, Point Mugu, CA	NOV 1990	DEC 1993
Naval Air Systems Command (Organization Transition Executive, AIR-03TE)	DEC 1993	APR 1994
Naval Air Systems Command (Asst Commander for Systems & Engineering AIR-05)	APR 1994	TO DATE

MEDALS AND AWARDS

Legion of Merit
 Distinguished Flying Cross
 Meritorious Service Medal
 Air Medal with Numeral "12" for strike/flight awards and Numeral "2" for individual awards
 Navy Commendation Medal with Combat "V" and one Gold Star in lieu of second award
 Navy Achievement Medal
 Navy Unit Commendation
 Navy "E" Ribbon
 Navy Expeditionary Medal
 National Defense Service Medal with one Bronze Star
 Vietnam Service Medal with one Bronze Star
 Sea Service Deployment Ribbon with one Bronze Star
 Navy and Marine Corps Overseas Service Ribbon
 Republic of Vietnam Gallantry Cross Unit Citation
 Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal
 Expert Pistol Shot Medal

SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS

BS (Naval Science) U.S. Naval Academy, 1961
 Designated Naval Aviator (HTA): 10 October 1962
 Language Qualifications: German (Knowledge)
 Air Command and Staff College, 1972
 Graduate of Defense Systems Management College, 1986

TRANSCRIPT OF NAVAL SERVICE FOR
REAR ADMIRAL (SELECTEE) WILLIAM EDWARD NEWMAN
(CONT'D)

PERSONAL DATA

Wife: Judith Ann Morgan of [REDACTED] (b)(6)
Children: Elizabeth D. Newman (Daughter)
Born: [REDACTED]
Matthew W. Newman (Son)
Born: [REDACTED]
Joseph P. Newman (Son)
Born: [REDACTED]
David R. Newman (Son)
Born: [REDACTED]

SUMMARY OF JOINT DUTY ASSIGNMENTS

Waiver of joint tour requirement approved based upon scientific and technical qualifications for which joint requirements do not exist (Materiel Procurement).

MEMORANDUM FOR CORRESPONDENTS

No.

Secretary of Defense William J. Perry announced today that the President has nominated Rear Admiral (Lower Half) William E. Newman, United States Navy, for promotion to Rear Admiral.

Rear Admiral (Lower Half) Newman is currently assigned as Organization Transition Executive, AIR-03E, Naval Air Systems Command, Washington, DC.

-END-



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
WASHINGTON DC 20350-2000

IN REPLY REFER TO

18 July 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subj: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PROMOTION OF
RADM(L) WILLIAM E. NEWMAN, USN, (b)(6)

1. We have reviewed the nomination materials concerning RADM(L) William E. Newman, USN. We support his promotion to Rear Admiral.
2. Flag officers must be held to the highest standards of personal behavior. They also must be acutely sensitive to any appearance of impropriety. Sanctions for failing to meet this standard, however, must fit each situation. Removal from the O-8 promotion list is not the appropriate sanction for RADM Newman.
3. Our Hotline system has helped identify fraud, waste, and abuse in the Department of the Navy. Allegations of improprieties are promptly and efficiently investigated. Sanctions, however, must be based on facts, not allegations. Here, a thorough Inspector General investigation found that most of the allegations were unfounded. Some of these allegations were prompted by the conduct of other government employees that occurred without RADM Newman's knowledge, permission or acquiescence. Others were false, including the very serious charge that RADM Newman interfered improperly with an investigation into an aircraft mishap. The volume of unfounded allegations should not cloud ultimate resolution of this case.
4. RADM Newman's participation in the Point Mugu Diving Association must be examined in light of all the facts documented by the IG investigation. At RADM Newman's direction, Dive Association personnel took leave before traveling on weekend dives; flights to and from San Nicholas Island were used when planes would otherwise be empty; Dive Association members, including RADM Newman, made significant donations to MWR to avoid the perception that they were receiving special treatment. These are not the actions of an officer seeking to benefit improperly from his position or one who was totally insensitive to appearances of impropriety.
5. Violations of DOD transportation rules for dependent travel to San Nicholas Island did occur. RADM Newman has refunded the cost of that travel, less than \$500, to the government. It is important to note that these violations were not a result of deliberate flaunting of the travel regulations. RADM Newman took his dependents on the only aircraft used for regular travel to San Nicholas Island.

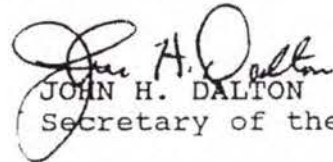
Subj: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PROMOTION OF
RADM(L) WILLIAM E. NEWMAN, USN, (b)(6)

6. The IG investigation found that RADM Newman did travel to Indianapolis on official business and that he then took leave to attend the Indy 500. Clearly, with 20-20 hindsight, RADM Newman should have chosen another weekend to fly to Indianapolis to avoid any appearance of impropriety associated with his presence at a high visibility event; but his official travel to Indianapolis was not improper.

7. The issue is whether these incidents should derail his promotion or whether the Navy is better served by a less punitive sanction. Flag officers and others in high positions need to be sensitive to the impressions created their activities and by those with whom they associate, personally and professionally. RADM Newman has been counseled about his conduct and has repaid the fair market value of the travel he received. RADM Newman's activities do not warrant removal from a promotion list. This officer has a distinguished career and enormous potential for important future service. He was properly selected for promotion to O-8 and we support his nomination to that grade.



J. M. BOORDA
Admiral, U.S. Navy
Chief of Naval Operations



JOHN H. DALTON
Secretary of the Navy



PERSONNEL AND
READINESS

UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
4000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000



Honorable Sam Nunn
Chairman
Committee on Armed Services
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Secretary of Defense recently recommended the President nominate Rear Admiral (Lower Half) William E. Newman, United States Navy, for appointment to the grade of rear admiral. The Secretary made that recommendation after considering potentially adverse information concerning Admiral Newman.

A Navy Inspector General Report of Investigation dated May 31, 1993, concluded that, due to Admiral Newman's personal participation in the Point Mugu Diving Association, an initial policy of allowing only dives which included Admiral Newman, and the widely know personal friendship between Admiral Newman and the Diving Association's acting president, there was a perception that the diving club was Admiral Newman's elite club. The report also concluded that Admiral Newman was aware of and condoned travel of unauthorized personnel on government-leased aircraft to participate in recreational diving. The report further concluded that as a participant in the diving trips, as an aviator, and as the senior officer present, Admiral Newman should have recognized the impropriety of the unauthorized travel and should have taken steps to preclude it. The report also concluded that Admiral Newman violated the Standards of Conduct and other Navy regulations by deferring an official visit to Indianapolis to coincide with the Indy 500. The fact that he deferred the travel until the Monday following the race, and the fact that he attended the race, created the appearance that the travel was scheduled to facilitate his personal leave plans. The report concluded that there was inappropriate use of official government time to support the Point Mugu Diving Association and that unauthorized personnel occupied government quarters on San Nicolas Island, in violation of Navy regulations. The report did not attribute any responsibility for these violations to Admiral Newman. However, in his review of the investigation, Admiral Arthur, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, stated: "Additionally, given RADM Newman's substantial involvement in the Pt. Mugu Diving Association activities, I believe he bears some direct responsibility for the violations of misuse of government time, equipment, and quarters."

The Vice Chief of Naval Operations directed that Admiral Newman reimburse the government the fair market value of air transportation provided to his spouse and family members to San Nicolas Island. The Commander, Naval Air Warfare Center, verbally



counselled Admiral Newman concerning his insensitivity to the effect of his rank and position on the actions of subordinates. He was also counselled on the need to be more aware of perceptions and to avoid the appearance of a violation of the Standards of Conduct when combining official travel and personal leave plans.

We have carefully considered this information; it should not preclude favorable consideration of the nomination. The Department recommends proceeding with the nomination because the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations are satisfied with the corrective action taken (Admiral Newman has reimbursed the government and has been counseled concerning his actions), and they do not believe the substantiated allegations are serious enough to tarnish an otherwise impeccable career.

Admiral Newman was not identified as "potentially implicated" by the Department of Defense or subsequently by the Department of the Navy for conduct related to the Tailhook '91 incident.

Sincerely,

Edwin Dorn

THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN 8/11



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

To the President —

This is following on your
concern about fight against drugs.
If you agree — we'll begin
effort.

to sign about
all ideas but
Almond do the
fit by cum 11/11/11

Rick.

S.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 AUG 2 P4:37

July 27, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM:

Christine Varney
Jennifer O'Connor

SUBJECT:

Opportunities for Presidential Visibility on Drug Control Issues

As you requested, we have gathered some possible forums and events in which the President can stress publicly his commitment to fighting drugs.

I. Signature Event to Renew the Fight

The negative data released in the Monitoring the Future (high school) Survey in February and confirmed by the Household Survey last week, is that, after six years of significant declines, adolescent drug use is rising significantly, and that adolescents are becoming more tolerant and less afraid of the effects of drug use. This latter finding, that young people are beginning to think drugs are less and less dangerous, is particularly alarming. The President could pick up on this disturbing news by publicly showing his concern about the trend, pledging to redouble to government's efforts, and challenging the nation to take responsibility and join in the effort to reverse the trend. Options for an event to highlight this message include:

A. Prevention Event with Children

The President would signal a national point of recognition of the bad news that drug use is on the rise among adolescents. He could kick off an anti-drug campaign, challenging parents, schools, his own administration and the nation as a whole to realize the seriousness of the trend and to play a role in reversing it. He could issue the challenge and then participate in an event with children where he teaches them about the dangers of drugs, much the way teachers, counsellors or parents would.

B. Public Service Announcements

Public Service Announcements could be unveiled as part of the event outlined above, or released on their own. They need to be taped. Both the President and Mrs. Clinton have taped PSAs already for the Partnership for a Drug Free

America, but due to technical errors, they need to be retaped before they can be used.

C. Signing of the Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities Act

*See **

This bill, which is part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization, is the federal government's primary school-based drug prevention and education program, and the President's 1994 National Drug Strategy proposes a \$191 million increase in its funding, in order to address the problem of increased adolescent drug use. The Education Department estimates that it will be passed in October. Whenever it is ready, the signing event will be a major opportunity to focus on drug use, and tolerance of drug use, among young people.

Good timing for our health care fight.

D. Violence Prevention Conference

A ready-made forum coming up soon is the Violence Prevention Conference scheduled on August 15-17. The Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, Labor, Treasury, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy are co-sponsoring this event which will highlight effective youth violence prevention programs from around the nation. The President could attend and give a speech highlighting the clear and devastating link between drugs and youth crime.

II. Linkage of the Anti-Drug Message with other Initiatives

A. Health Care Reform & Drugs

The President could combine his health care reform message with an anti-drug message by visiting a treatment center, preferably a program that treats mothers and small children and is proven to work. ONDCP has a list of potential sites for such a visit.

B. Crime & Drugs

The International Association of Chiefs of Police is hosting its national convention in the latter part of October. The President could attend and speak about the relationship between drugs and crime, a theme that is bound to strike a cord with the nation's law enforcement executives.

C. Community Responsibility & Drugs

The Community Anti-Drug Coalition of America (CADCA) is hosting their annual conference here in Washington in the beginning of November. Approximately one thousand community anti-drug coalitions from around the country are expected to attend. The President could address the group and

discuss the need for communities to take responsibility and take initiative in reversing the trend of increased use and tolerance among adolescents. Jim Burke recommended this event last year and again this year.

III. Ready-Made Forums

The President could speak forcefully about his commitment to fighting drugs at any or all of the following forums.

A. The Congressional Black Caucus Dinner (September 17)

Many members of the CBC have been outspoken on the drug issue and the annual CBC dinner may provide a good opportunity to reinforce the President's commitment on drugs.

B. The President's address to the United Nations in October

It is important that the President's UN speech address the international community's concerns about the US commitment to fight illegal drugs abroad. We would also suggest that Dr. Brown be part of the delegation attending with the President.

C. Pulsecheck

This is the next opportunity for the President to be involved in the release of data on drug use. The Pulsecheck is a newly developed drug indicator of anecdotal evidence about drug trends -- use, availability, price, etc. -- in major cities. Ethnographers, law enforcement officials, treatment providers and others provide information about what drugs are being used, how they are being used, who is selling them. The information is considered fairly accurate as an indicator of current trends.

This report is ready to be released by Dr. Brown any time. Though not a national survey, the Pulsecheck also demonstrates that marijuana use is increasing among teenagers in many areas, that heroine use is also increasing, and that drug sellers are becoming more creative in the ways they are packaging and marketing drugs to attract customers.

We could have Dr. Brown announce the results in the White House, and the President could drop by and address his concern about the trends.

D. The President's address to the Summit of the Americas in Miami in December

Drugs are a primary concern of all the Americas, and the Summit provides the President with an opportunity to show leadership on this issue.

Bored

Interesting
You might
try to find out
more about.

THE DEPOSIT SCREEN

8/11/94



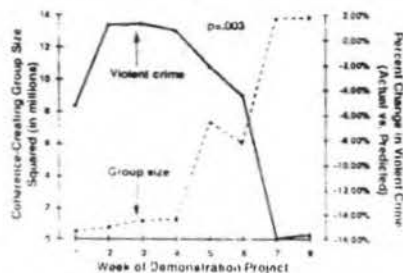
INSTITUTE
of
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY

MAHARISHI INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY
1000 NORTH FOURTH STREET • FAIRFIELD, IOWA 52557 USA
TEL (515) 472-1200 • FAX (515) 472-1165

**Results of the National Demonstration Project
To Reduce Violent Crime and Improve Governmental Effectiveness
WASHINGTON, D.C., JUNE 7 TO JULY 30, 1993**

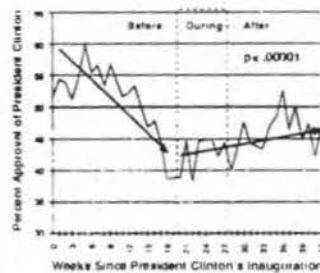
The project was carried out as a scientific experiment to test the efficacy of groups of experts in Maharishi's Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi program—a Group for a Government—for reducing crime and social stress and improving the effectiveness of government.

**Violent Crime Decreased
As Group Size Increased**



As the size of the Group for a Government increased, violent crime (homicides, rapes, and assaults combined) decreased significantly.

**Increased Support for President Clinton
During Demonstration Project**



The arrows show the highly significant reversal of trend in public approval of President Clinton as indicated in opinion polls.

One to two percent of the military practicing this technology would create a preventive wing of the government, which could prevent war and create invincibility for the nation.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1994

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.11.94

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

RAHM EMANUEL *R.E.*

Subject:

Calls to Members on Crime Bill

Following is a list of Members who you should call this morning regarding the Crime Bill, in order of priority.

~~Steve Horn (R-CA)~~

~~Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD)~~ *made about Teeli's rule*

~~Herb Bateman (R-VA)~~ *AP news conference*

~~Hamilton Fish (R-NY)~~ *4 GPPC conf. in sign conf. - in treated at. 10w/ (Lamar)*

~~Jan Meyers (R-KS)~~ *inclusion of U. Johnson a 10 miles*
Stunt of 100 - Diff letter to House & Conf. Bill

X Frank Tejeda (D-TX)

Thomas Ridge (R-PA)

As weapon, NRA

X *Keough* - *(B)*

Nexin

Stokes

would differ
history of him to read the bill

8-11-94

PETER DEFAZIO - Conn in US - Chapman's 8526 bad
- Off the Justice in US - US Know Cap for Reel Justice

RICK LAZIO

STEPHEN HORN

MICHAEL CASTLE

JAMES BARCIA

prob w/ for weep.

~~WILL SMITH~~

NO

RALPH REGULA

Brown Collins

John Myers

Nahall - you if needed

Grandy - was vs for weep but
signed with vote for a bin on this

Defazio

Texila

Wright - 2nd round

Reah - 2nd round

Craves - \$1 year.

Guth - prob. w/ part decision

Payne - ?

Porter - \$ 800/B.

Melbake

Giolino

Siniboy

Dilute

Hastings - winty

X Walsh - Dr. W
Greengarden

CALL AT 3:30

CALL TO PETER G. TORILDSSEN - R/MA

I KNOW YOU ARE GETTING LOTS OF PRESSURE AND THIS IS A
TOUGH VOTE. I WANT YOU TO VOTE WITH ME ON THIS ONE,
YOU HAVE VOTED WITH ME 65% OF THE TIME. THIS IS ONE
OF THE TIME WHERE IT IS RIGHT - YOUR DISTRICT WANTS IT.

It is a good bill.

Simon Lazarus, III

Sixth Floor
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

94 AUG 10 All : 43

August 9, 1994

John Podesta
Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Forwarded
To
Vorodine
13/19/94
2-11-94

Dear John:

As you may know, our mutual friend Peter Kinzler is a candidate to be nominated by the President to fill one of the vacancies at the Federal Trade Commission. I'm sure you share my exceptionally high regard for Peter for reasons expressed in the attached letters of recommendation from Senators Rockefeller, Dodd, Lieberman, Harkin, Judge Calabresi, Gene Ludwig, and others. Could you make sure that this material reaches Bruce Lindsey and the relevant people on his staff?

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Si

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4802

July 18, 1994

Dear Mr. President,

I write to recommend Peter Kinzler for an appointment to the Federal Trade Commission. I believe that Peter is an outstanding candidate for the Commission. He has the ability, the experience, and the commitment to government service that seem essential to carrying out the duties of Commissioner.

My recommendation is based on several years of working closely with Peter when he was a senior aide to Senator Dodd and a member of the Senate Banking Committee. During this time, I observed and drew on his impressive professional and personal abilities. When he recently told me of his interest in the FTC, I was eager to share my thoughts and the information that I will share below about his background and qualifications. I sincerely believe that your Administration would be fortunate to have Peter in this role of such importance.

Peter is currently Staff Director of the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Deposit Insurance of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs. In this capacity, he directed the development and passage of the Resolution Trust Corporation Completion Act, which became law. He directed House activities leading to passage of the Interstate Banking Efficiency Act of 1994, which is currently in conference, and he has been involved with a number of other legislative issues.

Over his 27 years of government service, Peter has worked with and developed a deep understanding of the mission of the Federal Trade Commission. He was intensely involved with the agency's mandate and importance by working in the Commission's Office of General Counsel from 1974 to 1975.

While working on the Consumer Protection Subcommittee of House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Peter had staff responsibility for all substantive and political matters involving FTC legislation during its most controversial period, 1977-1980. Despite the climate, the Committee managed to help secure passage of the Federal Trade Commission Improvements Act of 1980, the last FTC authorization bill approved by the Congress.

While working for the Consumer Subcommittee of Senate Banking, Peter helped guide four major consumer banking bills into law: the Expedited Funds Availability Act of 1987, the Fair Credit and Charge Card Disclosure Act of 1988, the Home Equity Consumer Loan Protection Act of 1988, and the Truth in Savings Act. While working for the Oversight and

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
July 18, 1994
Page 2

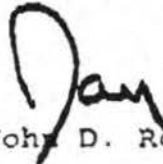
Investigations Subcommittee of House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Peter wrote a Subcommittee report and drafted followup legislation that played a key role in adoption for the first Superfund law in 1980. Peter has been involved in 19 years of legislative effort to reform the legal system to provide for speedier and fairer compensation for the victims of automobile and product injuries, including no-fault automobile insurance legislation in the House and product liability reform in the Senate.

I also understand that widespread support exists for Peter as a candidate for the FTC. I expect that both the business community, including manufacturers, bankers, and insurers, and the consumer advocate community would support Peter because of his reputation for honesty, fairness, and wisdom. As I am sure you are learning, Peter's candidacy enjoys significant bipartisan support in the Congress.

My hope is that your advisors have already identified Peter Kinzler as a prime candidate for the FTC. Should any of them want to learn more about him from me, I welcome the chance to be of further assistance to you and your Administration.

Thank you very much.

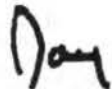
Sincerely,



John D. Rockefeller IV

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

*Peter is just excellent,
Mr. President.*



STEPHEN L. NEAL, NORTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN
JOHN J. LAFALCE, NEW YORK
BRUCE A. VENTO, MINNESOTA
CHARLES E. SCHUMER, NEW YORK
BARNEY FRANK, MASSACHUSETTS
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PETER DEUTSCH, FLORIDA
THOMAS M. BARRETT, WISCONSIN
MAURICE D. HINCHEY, NEW YORK

TELEPHONE (202) 225-3280
TELECOPIER (202) 225-1268

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SUBCOMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS
SUPERVISION, REGULATION AND DEPOSIT INSURANCE
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON BANKING, FINANCE AND URBAN AFFAIRS
ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS
ROOM 212 O'NEILL HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

BILL MCCOLLUM, FLORIDA
JAMES A. LEACH, IOWA
RICHARD M. BAKER, LOUISIANA
JIM NUSSLE, IOWA
CRAIG THOMAS, WYOMING
SAM JOHNSON, TEXAS
DEBORAH PRYCE, OHIO
JOHN LINDER, GEORGIA
RICK LAZIO, NEW YORK
ROD GRAMS, MINNESOTA
SPENCER T. BACHUS III, ALABAMA
MICHAEL HUFFINGTON, CALIFORNIA

Ms. Veronica Biggins
Director, Office of Personnel
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Biggins:

I am writing to recommend that Peter Kinzler, the Staff Director of the Subcommittee on Financial Institutions of the House Banking Committee, which I chair, be considered for appointment as Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission.

As the Staff Director of my subcommittee, Peter has demonstrated an extraordinary combination of intellect, integrity, and political skill. His strategic and substantive judgments were critical to enactment of the Resolution Trust Corporation Completion Act last year and to House passage of the Interstate Banking Efficiency Act this year.

Peter has a long term commitment to public service and to protection of consumers. During his 24 year career with the Congress, he has been a key staff person on many consumer issues, including the first Superfund law and efforts to adopt federal standards for no-fault automobile insurance.

He spent four years guiding the Federal Trade Commission Improvements Act of 1980 to passage. It was the last FTC authorization bill approved by the Congress. Thereafter, as Staff Director of the Consumer Subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee, Peter was the chief Senate staff person on the Expedited Funds Availability Act of 1987, the Fair Credit and Charge Card Disclosure Act of 1988, the Home Equity Consumer Loan Protection Act of 1988, and the Truth in Savings Act, all of which became law.

Peter has also worked at the FTC. During the mid-1970's, he worked on major FTC legislation and oversight hearings in the Office of the General Counsel.

In addition to his work for the Congress and the FTC, in December, 1992, Peter served as team leader of the Clinton-Gore Transition Team reviewing the RTC.

Ms. Veronica Biggins

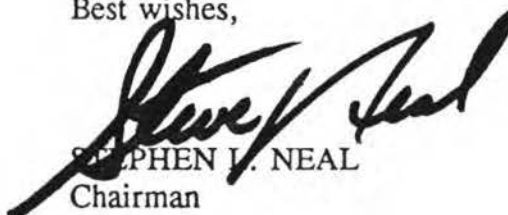
Page 2

What impresses me as much as Peter's substantive and political skills are his abilities to explain complicated concepts in lay terms and to work with people from across the political spectrum and from the business and consumer communities alike. These abilities have enabled him to forge successful compromises on many key bills and would serve him well as a commissioner of a collegial body.

Peter would bring great skill, judgment and balance to the job of Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission. I believe he would be a forceful and articulate advocate for President Clinton in this key position and, again, I strongly recommend him when a position opens up this September.

I am enclosing a resume which outlines Peter's accomplishments and I would be pleased to talk with you if I can add anything further.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Steve Neal", is written over the typed name. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "S" and a stylized "N".

STEPHEN L. NEAL
Chairman

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0702

May 27, 1994

Dear Ms. Biggins:

I am writing to highly recommend Peter Kinzler for appointment to the Federal Trade Commission.

From 1981 to 1993, Peter served as my Staff Director of the Consumer Subcommittee and Counsel to the Banking Committee, and as my Legislative Director. During that time, he helped develop several pieces of major legislation, including four consumer banking bills, and shepherd them into law. He is effective, in part, because he is well liked and respected by those he deals with, on all sides of an issue and across party lines. These qualities would serve him well on a collegial body such as the FTC.

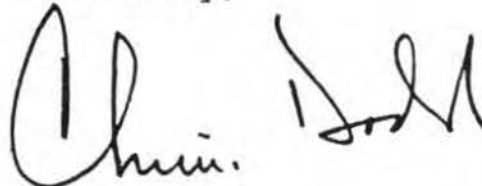
Before coming to the Senate, Peter worked for the Federal Trade Commission and for the House of Representatives. In the House, he was responsible for FTC legislation, including the last FTC authorization bill adopted by the Congress (in 1980).

In 1992, Peter volunteered for the Clinton-Gore Transition Team and served in a key position as team leader for the analysis of the Resolution Trust Corporation.

In addition to Peter's expertise on a wide range of issues, I believe his long service in the Congress equips him well to analyze complicated problems and develop workable solutions with widespread support. Peter would make a fine addition to the Clinton team.

If you have any questions or want to discuss Peter's qualifications further, I would be pleased to talk with you. You can reach me at 224-0343.

Sincerely,



Ms. Veronica Biggins
Director, Office of Personnel
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN
CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0703

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510
(202) 224-4041
STATE OFFICE:
ONE COMMERCIAL PLAZA
21ST FLOOR
HARTFORD, CT 06103
203-240-3586
TOLL FREE: 1-800-225-5605

May 18, 1994

Ms. Veronica Biggins
Assistant to the President and Senior
Adviser and Director, Office
of Personnel
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC

Dear Ms. Biggins:

I am writing on behalf of Peter Kinzler, who I have known since I came to the Senate in 1989. At that time, Peter was Legislative Director to Senator Dodd, and he was of great assistance to me and my staff as we began our operations. Peter is seeking an appointment to the Federal Trade Commission.

Peter is one of those people who has built a career as both a creative thinker and as a "do-er". One his accomplishments during this administration was working with Frank Raines to prepare the transition team report on the Resolution Trust Corporation for the economics cluster.

Peter would bring a tremendous amount of legislative experience and skill to the Administration. He has worked in Washington, D.C. for over 25 years, has had extensive experience on the Energy and Commerce Committee in the House, and has served with distinction both as Senator Dodd's legislative director and on the staff of the Senate Banking Committee. I and my staff have had numerous opportunities to see Peter in action, and to learn from him. He has the ability to help President Clinton get things done.

I hope you will give Peter serious consideration for the position he seeks.

Sincerely,


Joseph I. Lieberman

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1502

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE
APPROPRIATIONS
SMALL BUSINESS
LABOR AND HUMAN
RESOURCES

July 22, 1994

Ms. Veronica Biggins
Director of Presidential Personnel
The White house
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Biggins:

I am writing to strongly recommend my good friend Peter Kinzler for appointment to the Federal Trade Commission.

I have known Peter for many years. He is smart, articulate, effective, and most importantly, a wonderful human being.

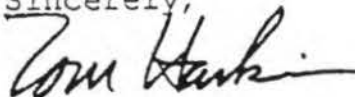
His professional experience is stellar, having served in a number of important positions on the Hill for past twenty years. He also previously worked as an attorney for the FTC and the National Labor Relations Board.

Peter has a tremendous record of direct participation in a number of significant legislative accomplishments, including his work on the House Commerce Committee from 1975-81, which wrote the last FTC authorization bill adopted by Congress (in 1980).

In summary, Peter's expertise on a wide range of issues, as well as his congressional experience, would make him a real asset to the Clinton Administration. I highly recommend him and hope he will be given every consideration for the FTC.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 224-7301.

Sincerely,



Tom Harkin
United States Senator

TH/des

bcc: Peter Kinzler

210 WALNUT ST.
733 FEDERAL BLDG.
DES MOINES, IA 50309
(515) 284-4574

350 WEST 6TH ST.
315 FEDERAL BLDG.
DUBUQUE, IA 52001
(319) 582-2130

BOX 74884
CEDAR RAPIDS, IA 52407-4884
(319) 365-4504

131 E. 4TH ST.
3148 FEDERAL BLDG.
DAVENPORT, IA 52801
(319) 322-1338

320 6TH ST.
110 FEDERAL BLDG.
SIOUX CITY, IA 51101
(712) 252-1550

MEMORANDUM

To: Veronica Biggins
From: Gene Ludwig 
Re: Peter Kinzler - FTC Commissioner
Date: May 17, 1994

I understand that Peter Kinzler is under serious consideration as Commissioner of the Federal Trade Commission. I have known Peter professionally, in his capacity as a key staff assistant for Senator Chris Dodd and as Staff Director of the Important House Financial Institutions Subcommittee, and I think Peter is an extremely able person. He is quite intelligent, knowledgeable about public policy development in Congress and the Executive Branch, and has excellent people skills.

Peter began his career at the FTC so he is knowledgeable about the operations of that important agency. Moreover, he is someone who has dedicated himself to a life of public service and I believe by temperament, intelligence and experience would help to restore the luster of this fine organization that can do so much to support the public good.

To the best of my knowledge Peter has been a supporter of the President and the goals of this Administration.

In sum, I strongly support Peter's candidacy for this position and believe that he would do a splendid job.

Jonathan is under the impression that he may well have already been selected for this important position. However, because I think well of him I thought that I would put in my views in any case.

I will call you re the status of the matter in the next day or so.

PETER KINZLER

Office:

212 O'Neill House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-3280

Home:

7310 Stafford Rd.
Alexandria, Va. 22307
(703) 660-6415

EXPERIENCE:

STAFF DIRECTOR, Subcommittee on Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Deposit Insurance, Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, March 1993 - Present. Directed the development and passage of the Resolution Trust Corporation Completion Act, which became law. Directed House activities leading to passage of the Interstate Banking Efficiency Act of 1994, which is awaiting final approval by the Senate. Planned and organized hearings on a wide range of banking issues, leading to the development of the Community Development Banking and Financial Institutions Act of 1993 and the Regulatory Reform Act of 1993, which is awaiting final approval by the Senate, and the Equitable Escheatment Act of 1994, the Mutual Bank Conversion Act, and the Derivatives Safety and Soundness Supervision Act of 1994. Drafted legislation, developed legislative strategy and organized Subcommittee markups. Conducted negotiations with Administration officials, congressional staff and private sector groups. Negotiated amendments and developed floor strategy. Supervise a staff of 11.

COUNSEL, U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, January 1992 - March, 1993. Drafted and developed strategy for bills to authorize interstate banking and to establish a presidential commission on insurance. Was the chief Senate strategist for legislation to provide federal standards for product liability actions.

TEAM LEADER, Clinton-Gore Presidential Transition, Economic Cluster, December, 1992. Headed a team of four conducting regulatory, personnel and budget review of the Resolution Trust Corporation. Interviewed all senior RTC officials, as well as Senate and House staff, Bush Administration officials, GAO staff and private sector individuals, and produced a briefing book identifying the importance of the passage of a final RTC funding bill and suggesting a strategic plan for its adoption.

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, Office of Senator Christopher J. Dodd, U.S. Senate, January 1989 - January 1992. Supervised and directed the Senator's legislative staff and developed policy on a range of domestic and economic issues. Designed and implemented the Senator's legislative program, including drafting legislation, developing legislative strategy and writing and editing speeches and floor statements. Represented the Senator in meetings with constituent groups and business leaders, as well as with Administration and regulatory agency officials. Had direct responsibility for banking activities, including the writing of the Truth in Savings Act (which became law) and bills to modernize financial services, to permit interstate banking, and to define permissible insurance activities for banks.

COUNSEL AND STAFF DIRECTOR, Consumer Affairs Subcommittee, U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, June 1981 - January 1989. Wrote the Expedited Funds Availability Act of 1987, the Fair Credit and Charge Card Disclosure Act of 1988, and the Home Equity Consumer Loan Protection Act of 1988. Devised legislation to create an alternative compensation system for people injured by defective products, and legislation to compensate people injured by childhood vaccines.

COUNSEL, Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, July 1979 - May 1981. Drafted the Federal Trade Commission Improvements Act of 1980 (the last FTC authorization bill adopted by the Congress), as well as a hazardous waste disposal bill and amendments to the Hazardous Waste Disposal Act of 1980 (the "Superfund" law). Drafted and edited reports on hazardous waste disposal and cost/benefit analysis.

COUNSEL, Consumer Protection and Finance Subcommittee, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, April 1975 - July 1979. Staff responsibility for all substantive and political matters -- including organizing hearings, drafting legislation, staffing committee markup sessions, writing committee reports and arranging support by outside groups -- for the Federal Standards for No-Fault Motor Vehicle Benefits Act and the Federal Trade Commission Amendments of 1979.

ATTORNEY, Office of the General Counsel, Federal Trade Commission, April 1974 - April 1975. Worked on the Magnuson-Moss Warranty - Federal Trade Commission Improvement Act, as well as legislation to repeal the fair trade laws. Prepared the Chairman for the first major oversight hearings in over 20 years.

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT to U.S. Representative Thomas L. Ashley, February 1969 - April 1974. Helped a senior member of the House develop positions on varied domestic and foreign policy topics.

ATTORNEY, National Labor Relations Board, Appellate Court Division, October 1967 - February 1969. Wrote briefs and argued labor cases in the United States Courts of Appeals.

EDUCATION:

Columbia University School of Law, J.D., 1967. Dean's List.

Trinity College (Hartford, Ct.), B.A., 1964. Phi Beta Kappa, Dean's List, Pi Gamma Mu (National Social Sciences Honor Society), and Psi Chi (National Psychology Honor Society).

ACTIVITIES:

President, Hollin Hills Swim Club, Inc.; President, Hollin Hills Tennis Club; President, Vice President and Treasurer, River Park Mutual Homes, Inc.; Vice President, Parents and Associates of Northern Virginia Training Center; Board of Directors, HALT -- Americans for Legal Reform; Instructor, A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans.

References furnished upon request

[From the New York Times, Apr. 18, 1993]

GROUNDING IN FAITH, FREE TO FLY

(By James DePreist)

(The music world and the world at large became poorer places on April 8, when Marian Anderson, the great alto from Philadelphia, died at 96. In 1939, Miss Anderson was refused permission to perform at Constitution Hall in Washington because of her race; backed by Eleanor Roosevelt and others, she sang instead at the Lincoln Memorial to an audience of 75,000. In innumerable other ways as well, she helped pave a career path for later generations of black musicians, including her nephew James DePreist, who is the music director of the Oregon Symphony Orchestra and a poet. Mrs. Anderson spent her last months at Mr. DePreist's home in Portland. Here, Mr. DePreist shares memories of his aunt.)

There is not necessarily a correlation between an artist's character and his or her work, but in the case of Marian Anderson, the way she seemed derived from the way she actually was. Even silent, she was a powerful presence; charismatic, simple, radiating grace and compassion. Her character was the inevitable consequence of being the daughter of Anna Delilah Anderson, my grandmother. I had the singular fortune to grow up in that loving home in which the power of prayer and faith in God were axioms for a lifetime.

Faith was the ultimate source of my aunt's power and the reason for her humility. When she was asked why she often referred to herself as "we," her response was for her as obvious as it was genuine: "I don't feel that we ever do anything alone, rather always with the help of Him above. When viewed in this way, the I involved is very small indeed."

It is hard for me to convey fully the unself-conscious power of that humble household. Indeed, gratitude and humility seem most unlikely progenitors of confidence and strength of character. My grandmother could scarcely have dreamed how celebrated, admired and universally loved her first child would become. She could only be certain that Marian was grounded enough to fly without fear.

My first memories of Marian Anderson were as my aunt, my mother Ethel's sister. When she came to Philadelphia to visit or when the family spent summers with her in Danbury, Conn., she did aunt things: ordinary, domestic, familial chores. She spotted all of us by providing a life of more than adequate comfort. It had not always been like this.

Anna Anderson, a widow, placed God and family first. No job was too menial if it helped provide for her family; her young daughters were mindful of this sacrifice. That is why Aunt Marian, decades of honors later, still regarded as her happiest moment the day she called her mother's employer to say that Mrs. Anderson would not be coming back to work that day or any day. She had liberated her mother, and she became the provider for the family. The correspondence between Aunt Marian and her mother constitutes one of the most poignant and illuminating records of love, devotion and faith one could imagine.

So many memories: a summer's Sunday morning, and through the open windows of the Union Baptist Church across the street the sounds of the choir singing a spiritual—this was the choir of my aunt's beginnings. Those beginnings were a source of wonderful reminiscences in which my mother and Aunt Marian would indulge each summer we were together in Danbury, as recently as 1988. The two sisters laughed until they cried. The memories were fond, warm and indelible.

I owe Aunt Marian so much. Long before I ever imagined becoming a conductor, she

gave me my first scores and recordings of Beethoven's Symphonies Nos. 4 and 7 and the Schubert "Unfinished."

When she sang in Philadelphia, she would stay at home with the family. One day, she returned from a rehearsal with the Philadelphia Orchestra and a guest conductor, who seemed intent on dictating her performance rather than accompanying it. She would need all of her serene professionalism that evening. The limousine arrived, and my aunt and I entered. Seated across from me was the conductor: George Szell. I'll never forget those eyes.

As a graduation present, she took me with her to the Casals Festival in Puerto Rico. Lunch in the Casalses' home was like eavesdropping on the gods at play.

One of the last trips on which I accompanied my aunt was not that unusual for her—singing for the inauguration of a President of the United States. One sensed, however, that John F. Kennedy's Inaugural in 1961 was special to her. Twenty-four at the time, I was her rehearsal accompanist as she went over "The Star-Spangled Banner." Hearing her, one wept.

Aunt Marian was approaching the end of her career as I was beginning mine. It was a time of multiple transitions. My grandmother died in 1964. Her 89 years allowed her to experience the blossoming of her flower Marian. Aunt Marian's sister Alyce died in 1965. Her first concert in Philadelphia after her mother's and sister's deaths was her farewell appearance with the Philadelphia Orchestra. Asked for her choice of conductor, Marian Anderson said that she would very much like to work with the young man who had just won first prize in the Mitropoulos Competition and was about to become Leonard Bernstein's assistant with the New York Philharmonic.

I was overwhelmed. It was my debut with the Philadelphia Orchestra, and the program was an Anderson lover's dream. It included "Ave Maria," Utrilla's scene from "A Masked Ball," Brahms songs, "Mon coeur" from "Samson and Delilah" and a group of spirituals. Onstage, together for the first time, that voice was right beside me.

Some years later, I made my debut with the National Symphony in Washington, and as fate would have it, it was the orchestra's last season in its old home, Constitution Hall. I entered the stage door, conducted my rehearsal and returned to the hotel—three simple, normal acts denied to my aunt in 1939. I called her to tell her how outraged, hurt, sorry and grateful I was. "It is inconceivable that you were not allowed to do what I've now so easily done," I said. "These concerts surely are as much yours as mine." Her response was typical: "Times have changed, and I am very, very happy for you."

A last recollection of Marian Anderson haunts this day without her. She called home one afternoon with a voice that ached from loss. Eleanor Roosevelt had died: the woman whose act of conscience and courage touched my aunt so profoundly. Fate had their extraordinary paths converge and, as a consequence, the social history of this nation was nudged toward justice. "We have lost the great lady," Aunt Marian said. We have, auntie. We have.

PETER KINZLER

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it is with mixed emotions that I rise today to speak about my friend and former staff member, Peter Kinzler.

On the one hand, I am happy for Peter because his new job as staff director of the House Subcommittee on

Financial Institutions is a well-deserved reward for his years of outstanding work in Washington. But I am also saddened because I will miss Peter's wise counsel, his sense of humor, and even his unique taste in neckwear.

After graduating from Trinity College in Connecticut, and receiving his law degree from Columbia University, Peter came to Washington in 1967 as an attorney for the National Labor Relations Board. From 1969 to 1974, he served as a legislative assistant to Representative Lud Ashley.

After a brief stint with the Federal Trade Commission, Peter returned to Capitol Hill as a counsel to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in 1975. There he developed an impressive portfolio of expertise on Federal Trade Commission legislation, no-fault insurance, and the Superfund.

Peter came to work for me in 1981 as a minority counsel to the Senate Banking Committee. When Democrats became the majority party in the Senate in 1987, Peter became staff director of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee, which I was privileged to chair. Peter subsequently served as my legislative director for 3 years.

Mr. President, if there is one guiding principle to Peter's career, it has been his deep commitment to sound policymaking, and to this Nation. Some people come to work in Washington seeking power. But Peter has always been motivated by a desire to better the lives of his fellow Americans. He has labored long and hard on Federal laws governing banking, commerce, and insurance because he knows we can improve our country if we are willing to make the effort.

Peter has made the effort, and has made a real difference. He was in no small measure responsible for the important legislation the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee enacted during the late 1980's, including expedited check clearing and mandated disclosure of credit card and home equity loan terms. Peter has also been instrumental in the progress the Senate has made in recent years on interstate banking, product liability, and financial modernization.

Peter has had such an impact because he is so creative, and is so adept at bringing adversaries together in search of common ground. Time and time again, Peter has seen a problem and has worked to devise an innovative approach to address it. And time and time again, Peter has worked to narrow the gap between people on opposite sides of an issue—which is never an easy task, particularly on contentious financial services issues.

Yet, Peter's most shining trait has long been his kindness toward others. When his fellow staffers seek his counsel on legislative strategy and other policy matters, he is generous with his time and advice.

Peter has always made a special effort to help his younger colleagues. Through the years, he has spent con-

siderable time helping young staffers learn the ropes and avoid Capitol Hill's pitfalls. He has offered support and guidance to number too numerous to mention, and has continued to follow their careers with interest, even after they have left Capitol Hill.

Mr. President, no tribute to Peter Kinzler would be complete without mentioning his taste in neckties. Long before the fashion world rediscovered the styles of the 1960's, Peter was sporting neckwear that looked like haute couture à la Peter Max. They always elicited comment, and much though I hate to admit it, I will miss Peter's assaults on fashion sensibilities.

Mr. President, I must admit in closing that Peter is choosing an odd way to begin the second half of his life. He turned 50 recently, and few sane people I know would choose to mark that milestone by jumping into the battle for Resolution Trust Corporation funding. Still, there is no better person for the job, and it is evidence of Representative NEAL's good judgment that he has chosen Peter for the task.

Mr. President, I am deeply grateful to Peter for all his hard work for me over the past 12 years, and I shall miss him. I wish him great success in all his future endeavors, and I wish health and happiness to his family—this wife Ginny, and his children Samantha, Valerie, Jason, and Kit.

HEALTH CARE

Mr. BREAU. Madam President, I take this time to share with my colleagues some of my thoughts on what I think is one of the more pressing issues facing this Congress and indeed facing every American citizen.

There is no question in my mind that the issue of health care is one of the major priorities that we in this Senate and in the House are going to be dealing with both this year and, I think, probably next year. It is an issue that affects every American, whether they be young or old, a small child or a senior citizen. Everyone is affected by health care and everybody is going to be affected very directly in a very personal way by what we do or what we do not do on the question of health care.

It is clear that is on the minds of all of my constituents. I have just completed a series of six separate hearings in my State of Louisiana in six separate cities on the question of health care and what we should do about it. We had some really interesting conversations and testimony by people who have problems, by hospitals who feel that it is not working. Many medical professionals are uncomfortable with the bureaucracy that dictates that 20 to 30 percent of their costs are not costs they incur in delivering health services but are costs that they have to incur just filling out forms. They think that is time they should be spending on helping people get better.

In 1970, we in this country spent about the same on health care as we spent on all of education. In 1992, just last year, we spent the same amount on health care, both public and private, as we spent on all of education plus all of national defense plus all of the cost of running all of the prisons in all America plus all the money we spent on food stamps, farm programs, plus all of the money we spent on foreign aid combined.

I think that is a frightening realization and factual statement of how much more we are spending on health care in America, and many people feel they still do not have adequate access to quality health care at a price they can afford. While we are spending all of that money we still have 37 million Americans who do not have any health insurance at all, that have to rely on emergency rooms in order to get treatment.

One of the interesting questions people ask at my hearings—it was asked in more than one forum—is: "Well, Senator, or hospital administrator, why does an aspirin cost \$2 in a hospital? I could buy a bottle and bring it with me and save myself a lot of money." I think many Americans are beginning to question the cost of the services and are now starting to find out that many of those costs are because people do not have insurance. The \$2 aspirin is helping to pay for the hospital's 30 or 40 people they might have seen in the emergency room the night before who have no health care insurance at all. So the point is that we are all paying for a system that in many cases is not working very well.

The point I want to make this morning in the few minutes is this: The administration, under the leadership of Mrs. Clinton and the work that she has done in chairing the Commission on Health Care, I think is right on target. That Commission has had days, hours, weeks, and now indeed months of private meetings and public meetings with medical professionals, with consumers, with just interested citizens who say, "I want to contribute to making our health care system work better than it is working now."

And we are going to be receiving, on May 15, from that Commission and from this President a recommendation. I want to commend the Commission and the work that they have done so far. Some say, well, we do not have enough consumers on the Commission. Some say, well, we do not have enough doctors or enough hospitals on the Commission; we do not have enough of this type of doctor or this type of medical supplier on the Commission.

I emphasize that, while we have 60 medical doctors on the Commission, we have literally hundreds of people serving who represent Members of Congress, who represent our constituents on that Commission. The Commission is just the beginning; it is not the finish. It is just the start; it is not the end of the process. The process just begins

with the Commission submitting to the Congress the recommendation. Then we start our public hearings where everybody will be able to come and be represented and have their voices heard as to what they think is right with that recommendation, what they think is wrong with it, whether they like it as it is, or whether they think it can be modified. We will have adequate public hearings where everyone will have a chance to be heard.

The second point I make is that I think the Commission is doing something that should be followed in other legislative efforts. That is advance consultation with Members of Congress, whether they be liberal or whether they be moderate or whether they be conservative, yes, whether they be Democrat or whether they be our colleagues on the Republican side. I want to commend Mrs. Clinton in particular for having the private meetings with Republican Senators, private meetings with Democratic Senators, and private meetings with both Republicans and Democratic Senators sitting together to say, what do you think we should do? And telling them what they have done and what their recommendations are starting to look like and asking for a response.

I suggest that people may not like what this Commission is going to recommend, and I will say something I think needs to be heard, that no one will be able to oppose this recommendation because they have not been consulted. People are being consulted on a daily basis. Meetings are continuing to occur. Members are being asked for their advice regardless of which party or what political perspective they happen to have, to get their input into this process which affects every American. I think that is the right procedure. I think they are right on target. I do not think anyone will be able to say, as a member of our Finance Committee in the Senate who is going to hear this legislation and have our public hearings, that, "I do not want to be part of this plan because I have not been consulted," because they have been consulted.

Everybody has been consulted. I have read in the press, as recently as today, that there have been comments like, "Here is what we are not going to be able to do: We are not going to be able to do NAFTA or health care, and we are not sure about whether we will be able to do a tax proposal."

But I am more optimistic than that. I think that if there is one issue that Americans want Congress to do something about, it is health care. If there is one issue that people think is not right with America, it is the availability of health care that we all need. In a country that is as rich and as strong as the United States, people question why everybody does not have access to quality health care.

I know that when you have a situation, as I perceive it, where doctors, hospitals, and medical professionals,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONAugust 8, 1994
94 AUG 8 P5:16ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
SUSAN BROPHY *SM*

SUBJECT:

Letter from Representative Bill Richardson

*See my letter for
your meeting this*Purpose

To reply to Representative Bill Richardson, who wrote to you to suggest that he and other Members of Congress work with the Administration to develop a U.S. strategy for achieving progress on the Tibet issue.

Background

Representative Richardson's letter notes that he and his staff have been meeting with the Chinese Ambassador in a series of meetings about Tibet. Based on these meetings, it is his judgment that the Chinese government would be willing to acquiesce to U.S. concerns about Tibet "if there was an adequate framework for undertaking this task." He stresses, in particular, the need for the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama to enter into negotiations and requests that the Administration designate "appropriate officials" to work with him and other Members of Congress to begin designing a U.S.-Tibetan initiative.

It appears that, having been at least partially successful in achieving progress on human rights in Burma, Representative Richardson would like to play a similar role in Tibet. However, the situations are radically different. In Burma, the U.S. does not presently have an Ambassador and has very limited access to senior Burmese officials. Consequently, there was a potentially useful role to play for a member of Congress who had unusual access to senior Burmese officials. In China, the United States has access to all of the senior policy makers on Tibet issues, as well as access to the Dalai Lama. In addition, China views the Congress as playing a negative role on Tibet, and a Congressional initiative could raise Chinese suspicions about American support for Tibetan independence and thus jeopardize the prospects for the resumption of negotiations between the Government and the Dalai Lama or his representative.

Your letter thanks Representative Richardson for his interest, informs him of the existing framework for negotiations, emphasizes that the Administration is pushing both sides aggressively to resume the negotiations that terminated in 1989 and offers to keep him informed of progress.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Representative Richardson at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Representative Bill Richardson
Tab B Correspondence from Representative Bill Richardson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bill:

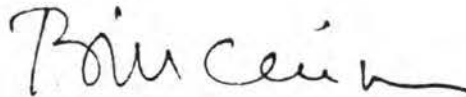
Thank you for your recent letter concerning the human rights situation in Tibet and your offer to assist in designing a U.S.-led strategy for achieving progress on this issue. As you know, I attach great importance to preserving Tibet's distinctive heritage and culture and have had the pleasure of meeting twice with the Dalai Lama since assuming office.

I share your assessment of the situation, including the need for the Dalai Lama and the Government of China to enter into negotiations on a range of issues. The problem, however, is not absence of a framework for such negotiations; indeed, the framework for negotiations has been in existence for some time: Deng Xiaoping's offer in 1979 to meet with the Dalai Lama or his representative as long as independence was not on the agenda. Under this offer, there were intermittent negotiations over a period of years between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama's brother. These negotiations broke off in 1989, after the killings in Tiananmen Square. However, senior Chinese officials, including President Jiang Zemin and Vice Premier Qian Qichen, have repeatedly indicated to Secretary Christopher and other senior U.S. officials that they are prepared to resume these negotiations now, under the same conditions.

Given that the Dalai Lama stated in a speech in New York earlier this year that he was prepared to enter into discussions in which independence would not be on the agenda, there would appear to be a basis for the resumption of these long delayed talks. The Administration has made many senior level representations to both the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama urging them to return to the negotiating table, and we will continue our efforts in that regard.

We will keep you informed about any progress that we make on this issue and welcome the chance to stay in touch with you on it.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized flourish at the end.

The Honorable Bill Richardson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

3rd DISTRICT, NEW MEXICO
WASHINGTON:
2349 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-6190
WHIP OFFICE:
H-156 U.S. CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

BILL RICHARDSON
CHIEF DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP



5-486
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
NATIVE AMERICAN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
NATURAL RESOURCES
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
HELSINKI COMMISSION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS

19 P4: 32
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-5103
July 15, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing about your recently announced policy regarding Most Favored Nation status for China. Like you, I am deeply committed to seeing greater respect for human rights and a liberalization of trade policy. To pursue both goals simultaneously, we must remain extremely vigilant. Because I am seeking to bridge the concerns of human rights and trade proponents, I have exempted myself from taking a firm position on this issue. As you know, the House will vote on this issue soon and there are many initiatives designed to pare back your unprecedented policy decision. I would like to extend a request that you consider allowing me to assist you on an issue that many agree is the most egregious and difficult to influence.

While my district is home to one of the largest Tibetan populations in the United States, my concerns for these people go beyond my own constituency. As a long time advocate of Native Americans and as the Chairman of the House Natural Resources Subcommittee on Native American Affairs, I have gained a profound respect for the culture and traditions of aboriginal people. The protection of culture, traditions, and religious rights are paramount concerns of any democracy and I deeply believe that the Chinese government, because of its growing relationship with western countries, must show greater understanding for the Tibetan culture. To achieve this goal, it is imperative that the Dalai Lama, or his representative, enter into negotiations with the government of China on a range of issues.

Although the Chinese have been recalcitrant to responding to U.S. concerns on Tibet, I believe that if progress were now made it would benefit you as Congress moves to vote on China-MFN. As part of your China-MFN decision, you outline a sensible policy to "implement a vigorous, multi-faceted human rights policy to achieve continued progress." Boldly, you also acknowledged that there has been little progress on the Administration's exhortations for a resumption of talks between

DISTRICT OFFICES

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411 PASEO DE PERALTA
SANTA FE, NM 87501
(505) 988-7230

GALLUP:
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2ND AND AZTEC STREETS
GALLUP, NM 87301
(505) 722-6522

LAS VEGAS:
SAN MIGUEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE
P.O. BOX 1805
LAS VEGAS, NM 87701
(505) 425-7270

CLOVIS:
602 MITCHELL STREET
CLOVIS, NM 88101
(505) 769-3380

The Honorable Bill Clinton
July 15, 1994
Page two

the Chinese and the Dalai Lama. Lastly, because of your concern for the Tibetan people, you indicated in your statement the seriousness of China's continuing repression.

To begin progressing toward a solution on Tibet, I would like to propose that we work together to develop a solid strategy for resolving long standing problems. I have engaged the Chinese Ambassador and his staff in a series of meetings on Tibet and I believe that the Chinese government would be willing to acquiesce to U.S. concerns if there was an adequate framework for undertaking this task. I, along with other members of Congress, am interested in developing a U.S. led strategy for bringing progress to the Tibet issue. I respectfully request you to direct the appropriate administration officials to contact me to begin designing a U.S.-Tibetan initiative.

I am certain that significant progress on the Tibet issue will have immense consequences on Congressional voting on China-MFN legislation. I look forward to working with you and your administration on this worthy cause.

With warm regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Bill Richardson" with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Bill Richardson
Chief Deputy Majority Whip

BR/mm

Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM ITOH

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached is a copy of the letter sent to the President from Representative Bill Richardson (D-NM), concerning China's MFN status. I would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x7500.

Enclosure

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages ► 2

To *Linda Cader*From *Fran Wessel*

Dept./Agency

Phone #

456-2702

Fax #

638-4141

Fax #

NSN 7540-01-317-7368

5099-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/11

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 8, 1994

RELIGIOUS BREAKFAST MEETING

DATE: August 9, 1994
TIME: 8:30 am
LOCATION: Old Family Dining Room
FROM: Alexis Herman
Linda Lader
Flo McAfee

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the place of religion in the public arena and tolerance and civility in a pluralistic society with religious and academic leaders; and to continue the ongoing conversations with religious leaders.

II. BACKGROUND

This marks the third small religious breakfast since the initial one last August. All the participants are very eager about attending the breakfast discussion with many interrupting their vacations to be here. There will be microphones in the room to record the breakfast for in-house use only.

Only three invited guests are unable to attending including E.K. Bailey, pastor of Concord Baptist Church in Dallas; Tony Evans; and Dr. Lloyd Ogilvie who is leading a conference on a boat enroute to Alaska.

After the breakfast, there will be an opportunity for members of the staff to meet and have a discussion with the participants. The meeting will be in the Roosevelt Room from 10:00 am to 11:00 am.

The eleven participants include:

The Most Reverend Edmund L. Browning---Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. The Episcopal Church has been extremely supportive of the Administration's initiatives, particularly health care reform. Bishop Browning has offered to call the Episcopal members of the Senate regarding health care including Senators Danforth and Chafee.

Dr. Stephen Carter---He has written three books including Affirmative Action Baby and Culture of Disbelief. He is a Yale Law School professor; Episcopalian; moderate.

L Lader
can Mr. follow
up - B.C.

Dr. Os Guinness---Executive Director, Trinity Forum; author of The American Hour, which he gave you last December, and No God But God. At the Christian Booksellers' Convention in June, and elsewhere, he has publicly defended you as being sincere in your faith.

Dr. James Davison Hunter---Author of Culture Wars and Before the Shooting Begins. Professor of sociology and religious studies at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Peggy Jones--Former pastor at Macedonia Assembly of God, St. Paul, Minnesota; CEO of a consulting firm; author of a recent book on developing multi-ethnic congregations; friend of Hazel O'Leary. Ms. Jones is flying from Switzerland where she is attending a convention on multi-culturalism.

Diane Knippers---President, Institute on Religion and Democracy, a conservative think tank based in Washington, D.C.

Max Lucado---Pastor, Oak Hills Church of Christ, San Antonio, TX; author of The Applause of Heaven and God Came Near; suggested by Rex Horne.

Gordon MacDonald---Pastor, Grace Chapel, Lexington, Massachusetts; former president of InterVarsity; best selling author (Ordering Your Private World and other books); on the Board of Directors of World Vision, *Christianity Today*, and Gordon College.

Dr. Martin Marty---University of Chicago Divinity School; leading expert on American religious history; endowed chair at the University of Chicago; senior editor of *Christian Century*; Lutheran; moderate to liberal views and considered to be "fair-minded."

Dr. Michael Novak---Winner of the 1994 Templeton Prize; a Catholic conservative; and American Enterprise Institute George F. Jewett Scholar; author of The Catholic Ethic and the Spirit of the Capitalism, The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism, Belief and Unbelief; syndicated columnist.

Dr. Luis Palau---Evangelist; often called the "Latin American Billy Graham." He has been involved in ministry to Tonya Harding and Bob Packwood. He has a moving story about his son, Andrew, leaving and returning to work with him; lives in Portland, Oregon.

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Podesta
FROM: Si Lazarus Si
SUBJECT: Straw in the Wind
DATE: August 10, 1994

94 AUG 10 P4:14

I neglected to mention this morning when you called that I heard two totally reliable reports that within the past few days: an unnamed second term Republican congressman stated that 13 conservative Democrats have committed to voting with the Republicans to organize the House (or switching parties) if to do so would give the Republicans control next year; Gingrich stated in a speech to some sort of group of supporters that seven conservative Democrats were committed to such a switch and 6-8 were seriously thinking about it. So it appears at the least that Gingrich is actively working on this objective.

Against the possibility that this may be helpful, I pass it on for what it is worth.

cc. Steve Richetti

forward to
Lea
Harold
pat 6.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 AUG 10 P6:17

August 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA



FROM: JOAN N. BAGGETT JNB

Per your request, please find the attached letter from Rachelle Horowitz to the editor of the New York Times Magazine regarding Michael Kelly's July 31st article.

CC HRC
we still need a substitution
Defense

Rachelle Horowitz
613 G Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

August 2, 1994

Letters to the Editor, Magazine
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

To the Editor:

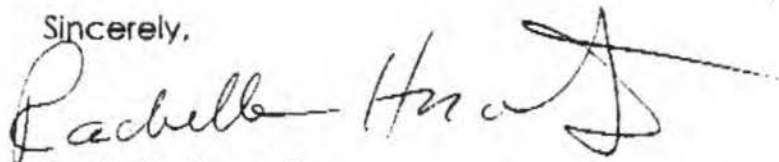
My criticisms of Michael Kelly's article "The President's Past" in *The New York Times Magazine*, July 31, 1994, do not arise because Kelly is a hack or a bad writer. In fact, he is quite talented and has some interesting ideas. The article raises and tries to answer a very important question. To wit: why does a President who has achieved so much in such a short time get so little credit for it?

Kelly begins to write about that, but retreats quickly into today's popular journalism. The Agenda has been on the best sellers' list for weeks. And what's good for Bob Woodward, is clearly good enough for Mike Kelly. He takes us into the President's head and psyche without bothering with facts or quotations. At least Woodward promises some corroboration of his material in forty years. And then, oh God, Kelly rehashes all those boring articles about the Arkansas business elite. To be said for Kelly, he didn't put me to sleep the way the others did.

How sad that so young and talented a reporter should write what's "in," rather than struggle with serious analysis. I shouldn't be surprised though. After all, Kelly practically deified Hillary Clinton when her ratings were high.

Let's hope Mike Kelly's future writings show some character development as well as writing skill.

Sincerely,



Rachelle Horowitz

(202) 448-8877 (Home Phone)
(202) 879-4436 (Office Phone)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/11

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1994

94 AUG 10 P1:46

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:

Senator Jeffords

DATE:

August 10, 1994

RECOMMENDED BY:

Patrick Griffin

PURPOSE:

1. To acknowledge his desire to strengthen the Mitchell bill provisions as they relate to the legal remedies section and the provisions related to market incentives.
2. To acknowledge the pressure he is under from both Republicans and conservative Democrats to support a motion to strike and or to delay the vote itself so that they retain leverage on the floor on other issues of concern to them.
3. To secure a commitment from Senator Jeffords to vote against the motion to strike the fallback employer mandate from Senator Mitchell's bill.

BACKGROUND:

In recent days, Senator Jeffords and his staff have sent signals that they are uncomfortable with an early vote on the motion to strike the employer mandate. He is becoming increasingly receptive to the argument that concludes that an early vote that represents a victory for the Administration will significantly reduce the leverage moderate Republicans and conservative Democrats believe they will need to modify a number of provisions of significant concern to them. It is clear that Senators' Boren, Chafee, Durenberger and Danforth are advocating this argument. Having said this, Senator Jeffords has no real substantive concerns with the mandate itself and does not want to send signals that he has changed his position on this matter.

You will recall that Senator Jeffords agreed to support your bill in return for a specific allocation of dollars to fully fund the WIC program. He is very pleased that this provision is in Senator Mitchell's bill and you should point out that you have worked with Senator Mitchell to achieve that end.

*U. interesting
to discuss - we need
to talk*

DATE OF SUBMISSION: August 10, 1994

ACTION: _____

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 8/11

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1994 94 AUG 2 P4:37

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA, CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: DEE DEE MYERS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND PRESS SECRETARY

SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE TELEVISION

Since its inception in 1949, White House Television (WHTV) has been responsible for the video documentation of the daily activities of the President for historical purposes, to be included in the National Archives and the Presidential Library. Its coverage includes all official functions at the White House, Presidential travel (both foreign and domestic), and as much of the President's personal life as the First Family directs.

The WHTV's footage is currently governed by the President's Records Act of 1978 and access to WHTV footage is controlled by myself and Jeff Eller.

Generally, all footage is processed and stored at the National Archives for historical purposes only.

Special requests for WHTV footage can be made to the National Archives or the White House in which case either Jeff or I will review the merits of the request and approve the contents of the footage for release.

For example, *Doctors Without Borders* will call WHTV and request a copy of the President's statement on Rwanda. This is obviously a worthy cause and the request will be authorized.

Once a specific tape is made available to an individual group, anybody is free to have it. There is no exclusivity.

There are approximately 100 tapes on the Clinton Presidency currently available at the National Archives. Citizens simply have to go to the National Archives' building, fill out a form, and pay a cover cost for the tape.

WHTV footage cannot legally be used exclusively for political purposes. In order for media or political consultants to make use of the tapes, they must request the footage like any other organization. If the request is approved, then the tape must also be made available to the general public for unlimited distribution.

May have
to do this
if only
some for
Camp. 8/11

All WHTC footage is temporarily stored at the National Archives until the Presidential Library is established. WHTV maintains a computer based archival system that catalogues, stores, and retrieves visual information documentation data.

NOTE: As of October 1, 1994, WHTV will become part of the White House Communication Agency (WHCA) -- which reports directly to WHMO. The Naval Media Center will transfer the 12 Navy billets to WHCA along with funding lines.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/11

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

TO the President —
This is following on
your question.
Gary [Signature]



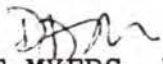
RECORDED IN ROOM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1994

94 AUG 2 P4:39

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA, CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:  DEE DEE MYERS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND PRESS SECRETARY

SUBJECT: BOB DOLE AND FISKE

Attached please find a memo detailing the positive response to the appointment of Robert Fiske by the most outspoken Republican critics of Whitewater.

Included in the document are comments made by Senator Dole praising Mr. Fiske as well as his statements concerning the re-authorization of the Independent Counsel Statute.

Deputy Press Secretary Ginny Terzano and I called the reporters listed below to point out the contrast between Dole's criticism of Fiske today and his earlier comments.

The response was generally good, but I don't think the press was planning to make much of it.

Rick Berke of the *New York Times*
Dan Balze and Al Kamen of the *Washington Post*
Wolf Blitzer of *CNN*
Tim Russert of *NBC*
Mark Halperin of *ABC*
Mark Knoler and Dottie Lynch of *CBS*
Jeff Birnbaum of the *Wall Street Journal*
Bob Cohn of *Newsweek*
Matt Copper of *U.S. News and World Report*
Jay Carney of *TIME*
Gene Gibbons of *Reuters*
John King of *Associated Press*
Frank Murray of the *Washington Times*
Bob Balkin of the *Hotline*

REPUBLICANS ON: ROBERT FISKE

"If you appointed as special counsel a person with a reputation for integrity and competence, there will be no second-guessing of the special counsel's investigation."

-- Republican Leader Bob Dole in a letter to Attorney General Reno, 1/7/94

1) Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole:

- "People who know him think he is extremely well-qualified, is independent. He has some Republican leanings" [Dallas Morning News, 1/21/94]
- "I don't know Robert Fiske, but my reaction is to wait and see what happens. They've chosen someone. That's what we asked them to do," said Dole, who had said a congressional investigation would not be necessary if a suitable investigator was named. [Newsday, 1/21/94]

2) Senate Banking Committee Ranking Republican Al D'Amato:

- "... one of the most honorable and most skilled lawyers anywhere" [L.A. Times, 1/21/94]
- "Bob Fiske is uniquely qualified for this position. He is a man of uncompromising integrity. He will unearth the truth for the American people," the senator said in an interview. [Newsday, 1/21/94]
- In 1989, D'Amato and Republican Senator John Danforth led a group of 20 Republican senators who signed three letters urging President Bush to nominate Fiske to be deputy attorney general in the Bush Justice Department.

"He's fine, he's talented, he is a man of great loyalty," D'Amato said of Fiske. "It would be a tragedy to lose a man of enormous integrity." D'Amato, however, would not disclose details of the letters or the names of the senators who endorsed Fiske. [Newsday, 6/23/89; Associated Press, 6/19/89; 6/23/89]

3) House Banking Committee Ranking Republican Jim Leach:

- "... a quality appointment, an individual of appropriate background and integrity" [W.S. Journal, 1/21/94]
- "The Attorney General [Janet Reno] has made a quality appointment, an individual of appropriate background and integrity. My only advice would be that he hire a staff not exclusively made up of lawyers—a CPA (certified public accountant), a real estate expert, and an ethicist would bring a particularist perspective to this very complex issue. In this regard, it should be stressed that where the president is concerned, I would be very skeptical of the appropriateness of any criminal proceedings. What is most at issue here is public ethics and civil accountability," Leach said. [BNA Banking Daily, 1/21/94]

Senator Bob Dole On Robert Fiske & Independent Counsels Historically

"If you appointed as special counsel a person with a reputation for integrity and competence, there will be no second-guessing of the special counsel's investigation."

-- Republican Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole in a letter to Attorney General Reno, 1/7/94

"People who know him think he is extremely well-qualified, is independent. He has some Republican leanings"

-- Republican Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole [Dallas Morning News, 1/21/94]

BOB DOLE WANTS AN INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO INVESTIGATE WHITEWATER:

- "I think it's high time she did what she knows she should do. For the president's sake and for the sake of the integrity of the attorney general's office she should move...she's wasted a lot of time dragging her feet." [Sen. Minority Leader Bob Dole calling for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate President Clinton and Whitewater Development Corp., AP, 1/2/94]

BUT DOLE...

...VOTED AGAINST THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL IN NOVEMBER, 1993

- On November 18, 1993 the Senate passed S. 24, to reauthorize the Independent Counsel law for an additional five years. Bob Dole voted against this measure. [Congressional Record, 11/18/93]

...PERSONALLY BLOCKED THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL BILL IN 1992:

- In 1992, a House subcommittee and Senate committee approved Independent Counsel bills in September. The legislation died later that month when Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole blocked the Senate bill from coming to the floor. [1992 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 316]

...ACCUSED DEMOCRATS OF INDEPENDENT COUNSEL PARTISANSHIP IN 1992:

- "Even more troubling is the fact that the independent counsel law has been turned into a blunt partisan club that the Democrats start swinging whenever they feel the need to rewrite history." [Washington Times, 10/1/92]

...CALLED INDEPENDENT COUNSEL INVESTIGATIONS "FISHING EXPEDITIONS":

- "In far to many instances the investigations conducted by independent counsels have turned out to be partisan political fishing expeditions -- expeditions which have accomplished nothing more than wasting millions of tax dollars." [Washington Times, 8/7/92]

...CRITICIZED OVERREACHING INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LAW LAST YEAR:

- "The statute places no limits on the amount of time and money an independent counsel can spend on his target, nor does it monitor the motives behind a counsel's actions. It has allowed someone like Lawrence Walsh to go down every blind alley, pursuing more conspiracy theories than Oliver Stone." [Sen. Bob Dole, testifying before the Senate Government Affairs Committee, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 5/16/93]

...CALLED COUNSEL LAW "AN UNENDING LICENSE TO DO SOMEBODY IN:

- "I say let's get on with it... The whole independent counsel theory ought to be reviewed by Congress. They seem to have an unending license to do somebody in." [The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1/9/89]

...ACCUSED LAWRENCE WALSH OF CARRYING OUT A POLITICAL VENDETTA:

- "Lawrence Walsh is completely out of control. Now he wants to turn his six years of incompetence into a personal vendetta against President Bush. There is only one final act for Mr. Walsh, immediate resignation." [Los Angeles Times, 12/27/92]

PLEASE NOTE: Bob Dole favored an Independent Counsel for the Iran/Contra scandal -- "No one is trying to second guess the Attorney General, but he is very close to the President. It is in the interest of the President to have an independent counsel." [The New York Times, 12/2/86]

**ROBERT FISKE:
REPUBLICAN ATTORNEY**

Robert Fiske is a "Wall Street lawyer and former U.S. Attorney in New York... [with] well-known, longtime GOP ties." Fiske has made a total of \$9,125 in campaign contributions to federal candidates or committees since 1985. [Dallas Morning News, 3/5/94; Federal Election Commission records]

Contributions to Republican candidates/committees

George Bush for President	\$1,000
Friends of Senator D'Amato	\$2,000
Thornburgh for Senate	\$1,000
Committee for Congressman Bill Green	\$ 250
Republican National Committee	\$1,675
Presidential Dinner '91 Committee	\$ 500
Darien Republican Town Committee	\$ 200
Connecticut Republican Federal Campaign Committee	\$ 500
Republican Federal Committee of Pennsylvania	\$1,000

Subtotal/Republicans: \$8,125

Contributions to Democratic candidates/committees

William Barton Gray for Senate	\$1,000
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TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (1985 - DATE) \$9,125

Former President George Bush:

- Former President George Bush nominated Fiske as deputy Attorney General -- the second-ranking position at the Justice Department. At a gathering of federal prosecutors at the White House, Bush noted that his administration included several former U.S. attorneys in key positions and said, "We hope to see yet another - Bob Fiske of New York - joining our ranks here soon." [Associated Press, 6/19/89]

Bush Administration Attorney General Dick Thornburgh:

- Bush Administration Attorney General Dick Thornburgh helped nominate Fiske -- a personal friend -- to be deputy Attorney General. A Justice Department spokesman said that Thornburgh "has a lot of respect for Fiske's ability as a lawyer and believes that he would be a strong part of a management team here." [Washington Post, 5/30/89]
- Said that Fiske was a "first-rate lawyer" who was a "solid performer" as U.S. Attorney from 1976 to 1980. [Phoenix Gazette, 1/29/94]

THE DOCUMENT HAS BEEN 8/11



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

To the President —

This is following on your
concern about fight against drugs.
If you agree — we'll begin
effort.

[Signature]

*U.S. Govt about
all dealers
should do the
fight against
drugs*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 AUG 2 P 4: 37

July 27, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM:

Christine Varney
Jennifer O'Connor

SUBJECT:

Opportunities for Presidential Visibility on Drug Control Issues

As you requested, we have gathered some possible forums and events in which the President can stress publicly his commitment to fighting drugs.

I. Signature Event to Renew the Fight

The negative data released in the Monitoring the Future (high school) Survey in February and confirmed by the Household Survey last week, is that, after six years of significant declines, adolescent drug use is rising significantly, and that adolescents are becoming more tolerant and less afraid of the effects of drug use. This latter finding, that young people are beginning to think drugs are less and less dangerous, is particularly alarming. The President could pick up on this disturbing news by publicly showing his concern about the trend, pledging to redouble to government's efforts, and challenging the nation to take responsibility and join in the effort to reverse the trend. Options for an event to highlight this message include:

A. Prevention Event with Children

The President would signal a national point of recognition of the bad news that drug use is on the rise among adolescents. He could kick off an anti-drug campaign, challenging parents, schools, his own administration and the nation as a whole to realize the seriousness of the trend and to play a role in reversing it. He could issue the challenge and then participate in an event with children where he teaches them about the dangers of drugs, much the way teachers, counsellors or parents would.

B. Public Service Announcements

Public Service Announcements could be unveiled as part of the event outlined above, or released on their own. They need to be taped. Both the President and Mrs. Clinton have taped PSAs already for the Partnership for a Drug Free

America, but due to technical errors, they need to be retaped before they can be used.

C. Signing of the Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities Act

Yeg

This bill, which is part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization, is the federal government's primary school-based drug prevention and education program, and the President's 1994 National Drug Strategy proposes a \$191 million increase in its funding, in order to address the problem of increased adolescent drug use. The Education Department estimates that it will be passed in October. Whenever it is ready, the signing event will be a major opportunity to focus on drug use, and tolerance of drug use, among young people.

D. Violence Prevention Conference

*Good timing
for our health
crisis fight*

A ready-made forum coming up soon is the Violence Prevention Conference scheduled on August 15-17. The Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, Labor, Treasury, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy are co-sponsoring this event which will highlight effective youth violence prevention programs from around the nation. The President could attend and give a speech highlighting the clear and devastating link between drugs and youth crime.

II.

Linkage of the Anti-Drug Message with other Initiatives

A. Health Care Reform & Drugs

The President could combine his health care reform message with an anti-drug message by visiting a treatment center, preferably a program that treats mothers and small children and is proven to work. ONDCP has a list of potential sites for such a visit.

B. Crime & Drugs

The International Association of Chiefs of Police is hosting its national convention in the latter part of October. The President could attend and speak about the relationship between drugs and crime, a theme that is bound to strike a cord with the nation's law enforcement executives.

C. Community Responsibility & Drugs

The Community Anti-Drug Coalition of America (CADCA) is hosting their annual conference here in Washington in the beginning of November. Approximately one thousand community anti-drug coalitions from around the country are expected to attend. The President could address the group and

discuss the need for communities to take responsibility and take initiative in reversing the trend of increased use and tolerance among adolescents. Jim Burke recommended this event last year and again this year.

III. Ready-Made Forums

The President could speak forcefully about his commitment to fighting drugs at any or all of the following forums.

A. The Congressional Black Caucus Dinner (September 17)

Many members of the CBC have been outspoken on the drug issue and the annual CBC dinner may provide a good opportunity to reinforce the President's commitment on drugs.

B. The President's address to the United Nations in October

It is important that the President's UN speech address the international community's concerns about the US commitment to fight illegal drugs abroad. We would also suggest that Dr. Brown be part of the delegation attending with the President.

C. Pulsecheck

This is the next opportunity for the President to be involved in the release of data on drug use. The Pulsecheck is a newly developed drug indicator of anecdotal evidence about drug trends -- use, availability, price, etc. -- in major cities. Ethnographers, law enforcement officials, treatment providers and others provide information about what drugs are being used, how they are being used, who is selling them. The information is considered fairly accurate as an indicator of current trends.

This report is ready to be released by Dr. Brown any time. Though not a national survey, the Pulsecheck also demonstrates that marijuana use is increasing among teenagers in many areas, that heroine use is also increasing, and that drug sellers are becoming more creative in the ways they are packaging and marketing drugs to attract customers.

We could have Dr. Brown announce the results in the White House, and the President could drop by and address his concern about the trends.

D. The President's address to the Summit of the Americas in Miami in December

Drugs are a primary concern of all the Americas, and the Summit provides the President with an opportunity to show leadership on this issue.

Independent? They're Out to Lynch

Washington — When President Bill Clinton took office on Jan. 20, 1993, two top-level Republican-appointed lawyers had to quit or be fired. They were Solicitor General Kenneth Starr and Jay Stephens, the U.S. attorney for the District of Columbia.

Today, they are both back on the government payroll — investigating, on behalf of you, the taxpayer, the Democratic president who so rudely terminated their happy careers.

Stephens, who left office kicking and screaming when he was routinely fired by Attorney General Janet Reno, is determining whether the Resolution Trust Corp. can sue Bill and Hillary Clinton for losses suffered by the Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan, the bank that financed their Whitewater real estate venture.

Starr, who will look for evidence of criminal wrongdoing, replaces independent counsel Robert Fiske — in an action as bizarre as the Saturday Night Massacre of October, 1973, when President Richard Nixon ordered the dismissal of Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox.

Nixon fired Cox because Cox was closing in on him. Fiske was fired by a Republican-appointed three-judge panel after conservative Republicans complained that he was exonerating Clinton.

David Sentelle, the senior appeals judge who fired Fiske, is a protégé of Sen. Jesse Helms (Yahoo-N.C.). Sentelle is, furthermore, the appeals court judge who wrote the controversial majority opinion overturning the conviction of Oliver North.

Grant Sentelle his logic: Because Fiske, a Republican, was appointed by Reno, he did not have the appearance of independence that is required of a true independent counsel. This is a reasonable argument on which sober men might differ.

But Sentelle and his fellow judges immediately demolished their own logic by replacing Fiske with Starr. The law calls for an independent counsel, not a hostile one, and Starr is a notoriously partisan Republican.

His most immediate ambition, he told Time magazine, is to serve as solicitor general under "President Quayle." His prior claim to fame was that as solicitor general under President George Bush he argued for a ban on burning the American flag — a purely political case that was dropped up during the 1992 presidential campaign to discredit the patriotism of Democrats.

Along among Bush administration veterans — who have been remarkably restrained in criticizing the Clinton administration — Starr volunteered his opinion that Clinton, as president, could be sued for sex harassment by Paula Corbin Jones.

Though he has outstanding political credentials — and is admired as a legal intellect — Starr lacks the two main qualifications to be an independent prosecutor: He is not independent and he has never prosecuted a case.

"I don't care how bright you are," says a Washington lawyer who has worked with him, "but if you've never been a prosecutor, you don't take on as your first case one that might require you to prosecute the

president of the United States. It takes prosecutorial experience to find the kind of evidence that you know you own take to a jury and get a conviction."

But, in last Clinton, Starr doesn't have to prosecute. He doesn't have to do anything at all. The longer he sits there, the longer the agony of Whitewater is prolonged, the longer Clinton's honesty is in doubt, the longer the president is distracted from doing the country's business. Republican political ends are served simply by keeping the name "Whitewater" alive and unresolved.

This is what makes some Republicans so cross at Fiske. He had moved relatively swiftly, finding no evidence of criminal misconduct by the Clinton administration since taking office. Starr's appointment now cancels that verdict.

Fiske found that Vincent Foster committed suicide as a result of severe depression. Right-wingers have never accepted that verdict and continue to hint at conspiracies and coverups. Starr's appointment reopens the door to speculation about Foster's death.

Yes, Clinton's lawyer Robert Bennett can grumble about the appointment of Starr, and yes, some Democrats can raise their eyebrows. But the White House is powerless to defend itself. When George Stephanopoulos complained last year about the ETC's misadventurous hiring of Stephens, he found himself on the cover of Time with a caption that suggested he was guilty of attempting to obstruct justice and was summoned to answer for his lunge at two congressional committees.

The Clintons have no choice but to sit there and take it. They can only hope for the possibility that Americans, somewhere, will have a basic sense of fair play.



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Clintons under partisan attack

Last fall I asked a leading official in the White House why the Clintons declined to acquiesce to a special prosecutor or independent counsel in the so-called Whitewater affair.

He said there was no way to win on such things. He complained that whoever was selected, some Republicans would say he wasn't sufficiently impartial. For some, the official said, only a staunch Clinton-hater would do. Why should a president agree to be investigated by a partisan enemy?

I thought at the time that the source overstated the rawness of the partisanship. That was back when Hillary Clinton was either "paralyzed" or "distracted" by Whitewater, depending on whose diary is read and whose testimony is heard. She sensed a Republican plot to distract and destroy the president by unfairly exploiting and misrepresenting his background in Arkansas.

At the time, I thought her bunker mentality fell somewhere between over-reactive and paranoid.

Months before, one of her best friends, Vince Foster, had written a note as a prelude to his suicide. He wrote that in Washington, people try to ruin each other merely for sport. I thought then that his despair was over the edge; that in Washington, people try to discredit, but not actually destroy, for power and polley.

Now I sense that the White House aide, the first lady and the late Vince Foster were right all along.

The White House eventually acceded to an independent counsel. Attorney General Janet Reno appointed a New York Republican named Robert Fiske who had

John Brummett



a stellar reputation as a lawyer and prosecutor. His selection was almost universally hailed by Republicans.

Fiske set up camp in Little Rock and made two interim reports. One, supported by voluminous police and forensic reports, was that of course Foster committed suicide. The other was that although seeds of meetings about Whitewater matters took place in the White House, no one broke the law in trying to impede the investigation. Of course. The investigation proceeds apace.

Or at least it did until Friday. That was when a three-judge appeals court panel in Washington, D.C., headed by a Republican appointee of Ronald Reagan, fired Fiske. Acting under authority of a new law, the judges ruled that Fiske had to be replaced because he owed his appointment to Reno and therefore couldn't avoid even the appearance of pro-administration bias, though they said there was no evidence of such.

The judges named Kenneth Starr, who, get this:

- Was solicitor general under George Bush.

- Recently declared on "The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour" that he did not believe Clinton should be granted immunity in the Paula Jones matter.

- Was under consideration to be the state Republican Party's lawyer in the term limits case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

It turns out that the appeals judges got 10 letters from Republicans complaining that Fiske wasn't objective. One of these apparently decisive missives was from Floyd Brown, the ranting and raving Republican bad boy who exploited the Willie Horton issue in 1988 and now spreads malicious lies about Clinton to an easy-to-abuse media.

This is an outrage. Republicans throw out a Republican appointed by Democrats so they can take a shot at the Democratic president through a more obviously anti-Clinton Republican appointed by a Republican. And that is supposed to remove the appearance of partisanship?

This squanders taxpayer money and further paralyzes the United States government, all because Bill and Hillary Clinton lost money on a 15-year-old land deal and once were friends with a questionable savings and loan operator.

At this writing, the Republicans have no health care plan and no crime bill. They contributed nothing last year to a budget bill that reduced the deficit and kept the economic recovery percolating.

All they know, apparently, is how to try to ruin the Democratic president. For sport, it would seem. Surely we now can understand why White House and Treasury Department officials kept meeting for "heads-up" briefings on the investigation of Madison Guaranty. They were under a purely partisan attack.

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/11/94

143

FORUM/ESSAY & COMMENT

Rush's never-ending tantrum

By TED BONDA

If Rush Limbaugh and the conservative rhetoric machine are consistent, we should expect them to stoop as low as possible to embarrass and degrade President Clinton, accusing him of everything imaginable and inventing more new and insulting names for him.

Finding original insults may be hard. The administration has been under daily attack from the likes of Limbaugh and Jerry Falwell since Day One. Those attacks have had more to do with revenge than with public policy. Conservatives have reacted to losing the White House like a small child might when a toy is confiscated, raising a public relations temper tantrum. For many of them, it seems, the 1992 presidential election never ended.

Limbaugh in particular has shamelessly used his status as demagogic entertainer/commentator to attack every facet of this presidency. During a recent show, he attacked the qualifications of Clinton to lead the nation or Hillary to do the job assigned to her.

None of us should be amused to hear the man who once said "There is no need for a truth detector; I am the truth detector," question the legitimizing power of the ballot box. Perhaps Rush is oblivious to the outstanding scholarship both Clintons exhibited during their collegiate years, their years of dedicated and successful public service and the vision to work for change to improve our nation's future.

They are certainly more qualified than radio talk-show hosts who major in bigotry, deception and dishonesty.

But Limbaugh's attacks are part of a larger movement. Conservatives without a positive message or platform to match against the Clinton agenda have resorted to a tried and true political weapon — character assassination, launching misinformed political attacks, making inappropriate personal attacks and raising phony "character" issues.

In all their talk about the need for basic values, conservatives have abandoned an important one — respect for the presidency. When you disagree with the president, you still respect the presidency.

Ron Faucheaux, editor of Campaigns & Elections Magazine, recently summed it up in a column: "There is a declining sense of civility in our politics, an abandonment of standards. ... It's an absence that has oozed its toxin throughout the political system. And it's getting worse. ... The decline of political parties and the rise of interest groups, accompanied by the personalization of politics, news-as-entertainment, and accelerated information re-

ality that has skewed notions of propriety."

Hats off to The Plain Dealer's Tom Brazaitis' outstanding article on Limbaugh's dishonesty. He is joined by others who echo the same thing and list facts to prove it.

Outside the rhetoric of ideologies and conservatives lies the reality of what the Clinton administration has accomplished. The victories have been real, making tangible improvements in the quality of American life.

The Clinton budget was the first victory, reflecting the administration's commitment to tax fairness and deficit reduction. It slashed spending by \$225 billion, cutting more than 300 programs and eliminating close to 100. It cuts the deficit by nearly \$500 billion over the next five years. The 1995 deficit is projected to be 40% lower than when Clinton took office.

Republicans whipped themselves into a frenzy over mythical middle-class tax increases. But the Clinton increases affect only the richest 1.2% of Americans. Most Americans, still pay exactly the same; 16.6% actually pay less — through an expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, which helps working families stay off welfare by allowing them to keep more of their earnings.

Overall, the economy is clearly doing better.

■ The first 16 months of the Clinton presidency produced 3.1 million private-sector jobs, almost 2 million more than in the previous four years combined.

■ More than 60% of these jobs pay 45% above median wages.

■ Overall, unemployment has dropped from 7.7% (January, '93) to just above 6.0%.

■ More business incorporations were filed last year than in any year since Dunn and Bradstreet began reporting that date in 1946.

■ 80% of small businesses and major CEOs report that their sales are up.

■ Business investment in equipment in 1993 was the highest it's been in 20 years.

■ Inflation has dropped.

The administration won other popular battles too. Despite strong opposition from National Rifle Association-indebted conservatives, the administration won passage of two of the most important pieces of anti-crime legislation in years: the Brady Bill, which mandated five-day background checks for handgun purchases, and the assault weapons ban. Americans overwhelmingly favored both pieces of legislation, 92% to 8% in favor of the Brady Bill (Time/CNN, August 1993) and 77% to 20% in support of the assault weapons ban (CNN/Gallup, December 1993).

A majority of Americans also



also delivered on, passing a welfare reform bill earlier this summer.

It is ironic that while many presidents have remained popular doing nothing, President Clinton has been attacked for doing what he was elected to do.

The 1992 elections were a reversal of 12 years of Republican rule that made the rich richer, eroded the middle class, increased the national poverty index and sent the deficit soaring. Clinton was elected to reverse many of those trends, to try to rebuild our economy in changing times, and to make progress in solving problems like the deficit, welfare dependency, the health care crisis and the growth in violent crime.

But while President Clinton has been winning the legislative war against gridlock and status quo politics, conservatives have

"Clinton." Being president is extremely difficult. Probably the most difficult job in the world. Presidents don't start revolutions in Rwanda, deny health-care coverage to millions or build neighborhoods under siege from violent crime. Yet they are charged with solving these problems.

Inevitably, presidents grow and mature as people and as leaders. Respecting the presidency and the president is a fundamental component of allowing that growth to take place and of ensuring stable, constructive and effective leadership. Conservatives do great harm to the public good when they engage in guerilla-style personality attacks against the president. Let's let the president do the job he was elected to do.

Bonda is a former president of

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■ *Business investment* ■
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A majority of Americans also overwhelmingly favor welfare reform, which the administration

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But while President Clinton has been winning the legislative war against gridlock and status quo politics, conservatives have been engaged in a cynical public relations war against all things

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Bonda is a former president of the Cleveland Board of Education.

RICHARD L. MAYS

415 MAIN STREET • LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *8/11*

July 25, 1994

Flt-Lt. (Rtd) Jerry John Rawlings
 President of the Republic of Ghana
 P.O. Box 1627
 The Castle, Accra Ghana

Dear President Rawlings:

My recent visit to your country was so informative, enjoyable and inspiring. You were such a warm and gracious host.

Breakfast with you on your yacht while viewing Lake Volta and its tremendous resources was a soothing way to open one's eyes to your country's enormous economic capacity.

Sharing the controls in the cockpit on our brief airplane excursion brought me immense pleasure and allowed me to witness the raw courage of a great leader.

My visits to both the Memorials of Mr. Nkrumah and Mr. DuBois, as well as the slave dungeons of the Cape Coast Castles stirred the deepest emotions within me.

I shall search for ways to fully express my gratitude to you for making my first experience in Africa simply incredible. You are a gifted leader of exceptional charm and devotion to the people of your country. I look forward to a long and fruitful relationship and shall do all in my power to bring our two countries closer together.

Sincerely,



Richard L. Mays

RLM:dj-lets7.25

Post-It™ Fax Note	7671	Date	8-4-94	# of pages	1
To	Richard Mays	From	Reynolds Johnson		
Co./Dept.		Co.			
Phone #		Phone #			
Fax #		Fax #			

Doc

T Lake

Pls. see Mr
Mr. Tins

Box

Jack Rosen

900 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632
201-567-4600

THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN
8/11

Hitcher
We need to discuss
this —

B.

August 1, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

As I talk with people around the country about health care reform these days, two areas of resistance keep coming up:

- most people still have not grasped the importance of universal health coverage to every aspect of our national life and
- even fewer are comfortable with the idea of entrusting the federal government with such a sweeping new entitlement program

If we dramatically altered the level, style, and concentration of the debate by temporarily removing it from the partisan Congressional atmosphere, we might still reach a national consensus in our favor and ultimately enact the comprehensive package we know is needed.

To that end, I've been mulling over an idea I think might prove helpful in reshaping the current debate along more favorable lines. I suggest a *National Health Care Summit* similar to your very successful 1993 National Economic Summit that would allow you to

- re-shape the national discourse by refocusing attention on the problems in need of resolution and the policies being considered as solutions, not the politics of Democrat vs. Republican, President vs. Congress, etc.
- replace bandwagon efforts to enlist public support that are viewed as political marketing with an in-depth showcase for the logic and completeness of the health care reform package and your vast knowledge and commitment.

Jack Rosen

900 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632
201-567-4600

- revive public interest and support by providing open information (which was lacking and criticized during the initial reform package development), focused debate (deriving from diverse and everyday Americans debating the subject together), and a demonstration of presidential leadership (of the kind that will be picked up and covered by news organizations live).

The event could be pulled together quickly, and fast tracked for August, taking advantage of the momentum provided by pending legislation. This could be followed up by a possible Part II of the Health Care Summit and deliver additional unbiased information to Americans as health care reform goes to conference committee. This would provide an open debate on the outstanding areas of disagreement. It would also provide a continuing vehicle to counter the negative perceptions of the presidency being created by Republicans and the news media. In this way, the effects of a National Health Care Summit will be even more beneficial in the long run, no matter what happens in Congress this August.

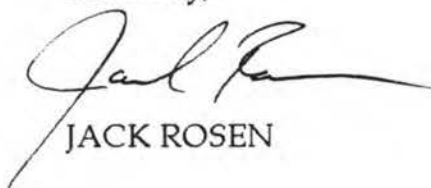
There could be an advantage to having the National Health Care Summit organized by an individual outside the White House political umbrella with a working knowledge of both health care and government. A citizen with an independent perspective on the subject and ways to communicate it would provide you with fresh thoughts on how to achieve a consensus for reform and enhance the non-partisan character of the summit itself.

You might also think of asking Bob Dole to serve in some honorary or lead position to further demonstrate the non-political nature of the event and to show that you are above partisanship.

I feel strongly that this forum will enable you to demonstrate enormous leadership on this issue. It will have a secondary effect of allowing you to talk directly to the American people without the filter of the press,. This will make it clear that you are interested in consensus building in order to draft the best piece of legislation possible, not as a result of more deal making.

Those of us who have come to know you on a personal level know how close this is to your heart and how urgent you feel it is for all Americans. It's high time the American people know this as well.

Sincerely,



JACK ROSEN

Griffin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-10-94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 10, 1994

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Representative James Walsh (R-NY)
~~Representative Fred Grandy (D-IA)~~

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: Representative David Bonior

PURPOSE: To ask for their support on the Rule for the Crime Bill.

BACKGROUND: Bonior believes that both of these Republicans can be moved if they receive a call from you.

Walsh is very concerned with how this bill will benefit his district, in particular the city of Syracuse. You can tell him that we anticipate his district will receive 76 - 84 new cops or the equivalent in community policing grants.

Grandy is concerned that this bill is being bogged down because of partisan politics. He has exhibited political courage by standing up to his party during the Ways and Means health care markup. Please emphasize that this issue cuts across party lines and ask for his support.

CONTACT: White House Operator

ACTION:

added Mr. Weapout
took out Rep. Turley
his vs both

AD 11-2-94
11-10-94
Fund

Have NO

25TH District of New York
Congressman James T. Walsh (R)

— make sure
POTUS has
for call

District population 1990: 580,233* might receive 235 new cops or equiv. community policing grants district wide

Major cities:

- Syracuse 422 cops now, 18-20% might receive 76-84 new officers or equivalent in community policing assistance (Syracuse has unfunded PHS grant request for 20 officers), Local problems include drugs, gangs, weapons, ag assault, fights, trespassing, prostitution, etc.

* Estimate for Pop. of 580,000

- (1) 1990 U.S. Population = 248,710,000
- (2) 1990 Estimated # of local law enforcement officers = 504,363
- (3) Avg. persons per local law enforcement officers = 493
- (4) For a jurisdiction of 580,000 we estimate it is served by 1,160 local law enforcement officers.
- (5) If such jurisdiction received a 20% increase in officers from the Crime Bill, it would receive 235 additional officers.

Leon et al

After the Bill, then for another

Memphis — R.

William Raspberry

Beyond Gun Control

All the Rev. Canon John Frizzell wanted was to have me on a November panel to talk about ending gun violence in America. What he got was a bigger load of my own confusion and frustration than any mortal should have to bear.

The Washington Cathedral, with which Frizzell is associated, is joining with the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence for a three-day conference that will try to supply some answers to questions regarding gun violence.

I'm afraid that none of the answers will be supplied by me. I don't have any. I'm not even all that sure about the questions.

If the search were for a way of curbing accidental shootings, or to keep guns out of reach of children, some combination of gun control and mandatory firearms safety training might suffice. But I don't think the coalition and the cathedral would schedule a three-day conference and invite participants from across the country to discuss accidental shootings that, however tragic, are not what come to mind when we think of gun violence.

What does come to mind are the armed robberies, the almost-offhand assaults and the cold-blooded killings—often involving young men and frequently associated with illegal drug trafficking—that make so many city

*Our communities
won't be safe from
our children until
we make them safe
for our children.*

dwellers petrified of traveling their own communities.

And what might a panelist propose to curb such violence? Gun control?

Well, I'm more of a supporter of gun control than even the reverend, whose preference is for screening, licensing and safety training for gun owners. Mine is for making it much, much tougher than it now is to acquire handguns—and impossible to acquire assault weapons. But I don't believe for a minute that even the toughest gun-control law would make our communities noticeably safer. Maybe if there were some way to retrieve all the guns already in circulation (short, of course, of house-to-house searches), I'd be willing to support a law to do it and to outlaw the manufacture of new firearms. But that's so far beyond the realm of possibility and public tolerance as to be not worth talking about.

The only sort of gun-control legislation that could conceivably be enacted by the most "progressive" legislators would, in my view, do not a blessed thing to make dangerous city streets safer. I can't abide the National Rifle Association, but that gun-lover's lobby is right about one thing: "When guns are outlawed, only outlaws will have guns."

Okay, so gun control is problematical, but does that mean that there's no way to reduce gun violence?

Probably not much in the short term, and for this reason: The violence we are enduring is (in my view) only marginally a firearms problem, or even a law-enforcement problem. It is simply another manifestation of a problem I have described as the "consciencelessness" of a small but significant element among us: children who have reached adolescence and beyond without having internalized any important sense of right and wrong, who have no internal brakes on their behavior, who can maim, destroy and kill without remorse.

These are the young people for whom automatic weapons fire seems a reasonable response to being cheated, cut off in traffic or even "dissed," and who place scant value even on their own lives, let alone yours.

Worse: As the influence of these conscienceless ones increases—in schoolyards and on the streets—youngsters who were brought up as moral and responsible beings find themselves forced to choose between wimpish humiliation and readiness to engage in retaliatory (or even preemptive) violence. Be stripped, or be strapped.

We can try our best to protect our "good" sons and daughters from the violence, by providing safe places for their recreation. We can increase the number of police officers on the streets. And we can do what is necessary to reduce at the source the supply of conscienceless youngsters—by enlisting church and community in a crusade for their academic, economic and spiritual redemption.

We need to do these things, and many others, not so much to protect ourselves as to save our children. And it is those same things that, over time, will make our communities safe again.

Small comfort in that for those—including me—who are increasingly fearful of the violence in our towns and cities. It sounds hopelessly long-term, somewhat vague and a little sappy even to me.

But I think it's the truth. Our communities won't be safe from our children until we first make them safe, decent and nurturing places for our children.

David

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After a Big turn for another
Memphis — R.

William Raspberry

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 9, 1994 94 AUG 9 P7:01

8/10

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE ~~WHA~~
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: MAYOR ED RENDELL

Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell was featured on a segment of the TODAY Show this morning. The piece was a positive representation of the Mayor's efforts on behalf of the city. It highlighted his willingness to do anything to make the city better. There was a shot of you during your visit to Philadelphia for the presentation of the Liberty Medal to Nelson Mandela.

Attached, please find a letter to Mayor Rendell for your signature. I am sure that he would appreciate your recognition of the appearance.

In addition, you should be aware that the Mayor continues to be a true friend of the Administration and a valiant fighter for the Crime Bill. He has made numerous calls, over the past weeks, to Members of Congress in support of the Crime Bill.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1994

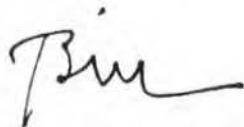
The Honorable Edward G. Rendell
Mayor of Philadelphia
Room 215
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Dear Ed:

I enjoyed your "Today Show" appearance this morning. It was a great piece that demonstrated your enthusiasm and your dedication to serving the people of Philadelphia.

Thank you for being such a good friend to my Administration and especially for your help on the crime bill. I know you will keep up the good work for the city and our nation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill", followed by a horizontal flourish.

8/10
ROUTE SLIP

White House Correspondence
Room 94 - OEOB
Phone 456-7610

TO: Nancy (Hugh RPR)
FROM: Jim D ext. 12

- ☐ For your information only
- ☒ For appropriate action
- ☐ Please draft a reply and return within 5 days
- ☐ For your approval or suggestions
- ☐ ASAP please! This material is time sensitive

COMMENTS:

Per Carol Rocco, this letter is fine. She wishes the last or didn't have to be so firm, but I already have negotiated with Council who wanted it to be even tougher originally.

Jim

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 9, 1994

The Honorable Jim Guy Tucker
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Jim Guy:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding ethanol and HITEC 3000. I share your belief that ethanol represents a renewable national resource that can reduce our dependence on foreign oil imports, and I am always glad to hear of innovations designed to improve our nation's air quality. It is particularly encouraging to hear of an Arkansas company's efforts to find creative solutions to environmental problems.

My Administration is committed to encouraging the production and use of domestically produced renewable fuels. If our nation is to have a secure, environmentally sound energy supply, we must sustain a diverse domestic energy industry. Ethanol plays an important role in our nation's effort to build the domestic market for renewable fuels.

As you know, this matter is now before the EPA, and the White House cannot contact the EPA regarding regulatory or adjudicatory matters pending before it. I do appreciate your taking the time to write and keep me informed.

Sincerely,

Bill



STATE OF ARKANSAS
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

State Capitol
Little Rock 72201



Jim Guy Tucker
Governor

June 30, 1994

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President:

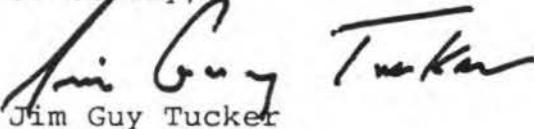
I received the attached letter yesterday and believe it represents an opportunity for the Administration to accomplish two positive objectives with one action.

Ethanol represents a renewable national resource that can reduce our dependence on foreign oil imports. Ethanol in combination with HITEC 3000 can overcome the increased NOx emission issue associated with ethanol alone.

The EPA is chartered to protect the environment, which includes encouraging private industry to develop products which help reduce pollution. Many urban areas are facing the need for major expenses to meet the National Ambient Air Quality Standards. HITEC 3000 is a product which when used in automotive fuels can help reach the NAAQ standards without government expenses.

Please invest the time to read the attachment.

Sincerely,


Jim Guy Tucker

JGT:tp:al

cc: The Honorable Thomas F. McLarty



P.O. Box 729
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Telephone: 501-235-6000
Facsimile: 501-235-6001

Via Telefax

June 24, 1994

The Honorable Jim Guy Tucker
Governor of the State of Arkansas
State Capitol
Little Rock, AR 72201

Dear Governor Tucker:

As you will recall from your visit to the 25th Anniversary Celebration of Albemarle Corporation in Magnolia, we have only recently been spun off by Ethyl Corporation. For the past four years, Ethyl has been trying to gain EPA approval of a manganese based gasoline additive called MMT. Ethyl's brand name for MMT in unleaded gasoline is HITEC[®] 3000. The product is a very inexpensive octane enhancer which also reduces nitrous oxide emissions (an urban smog ingredient) by up to 20%. As you are supporter of the use of ethanol as a fuel (which results in increased NO_x emissions), I wanted to make you aware that approval of HITEC[®] 3000 could be synergistic with wider use of ethanol as a fuel by its ability to reduce NO_x emissions. Additionally, HITEC[®] 3000 use will result in fewer toxic emissions (benzene), harmful refinery emissions and oil imports. This can make HITEC[®] 3000 a tool for improvement in air attainment problems in urban areas of the state.

Ethyl has spent over \$20 million on a 120 vehicle test program, the most extensive test ever conducted on a fuel additive. During the past four years, EPA has conducted four statutory, 180-day reviews. EPA has cited one reason after another to object to MMT. Ethyl has proved EPA's objections wrong and without basis each and every time. Unfortunately, at one point, it required the U.S. Court of Appeals to order EPA to "correct its mistakes" and reconsider a waiver denial. At another point, EPA threatened a denial based on bizarre test results conducted by EPA using gasoline contaminated by EPA itself.

Last November, EPA conceded that Ethyl had proved MMT would not cause or contribute to the failure of emission control systems -- the sole criterion specifically stated by law to obtain the waiver. In the next breath, however, EPA stated it would deny the waiver based on broad discretionary authority unless Ethyl could demonstrate the absence of risk from manganese emissions. Ethyl has produced a wealth of data to support lack of adverse health risk.

Governor Tucker
Page Two
June 24, 1994

Attached you will find a brief summary of what has transpired over the course of the last several months regarding the health issue. An EPA decision is due on July 13. Based in part on 15 years of successful use of MMT in Canada (at twice the concentration level requested in the US), the facts support a waiver. Moreover, Ethyl has offered to conduct a multi-million dollar health testing program to include an air monitoring project with the understanding that if manganese levels in the air reached unacceptable levels, Ethyl would withdraw the product from the market.

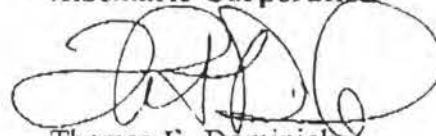
Most frustrating of all has been EPA's repeated refusal over the course of more than four years to articulate for Ethyl a standard against which health effects of manganese might be judged.

With the substantial investment Ethyl (now Albemarle) has made to the state of Arkansas over the years, I would like to see that they are dealt with openly and fairly. I am convinced that the evidence is on their side based upon sound scientific evidence. The benefits of the product are too important to overlook.

Any help or guidance you could lend Ethyl would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Albemarle Corporation

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'T. Dominick', with a large, looping flourish at the end.

Thomas F. Dominick
Plant Manager

ETHYL'S WAIVER APPLICATION SAGA

- **Product:** HiTEC®3000 is an inexpensive octane enhancer for use in unleaded gasoline.
- **Benefits:** Substantial reductions in constituents of urban smog (up to 20 percent NO_x reduction), in toxic emissions (e.g., benzene), in refinery emissions, and in oil consumption.
- **Ethyl Testing:** Most comprehensive test program ever undertaken for a fuel additive: 120 vehicles operated eight million miles at a cost of over 20 million dollars.
- **EPA Review:** More than four years of review, four public comment periods, and two public workshops. Related judicial proceedings have all been Ethyl victories.
- **Statutory Emissions Finding:** In December 1993, EPA found that HiTEC®3000 satisfies the sole statutory approval criterion -- i.e., it will not cause or contribute to the failure of emission control systems to meet applicable emission standards.
- **Discretionary Public Health Review:** According to EPA, the public health impact of manganese is the sole remaining issue. The public record shows the following:
 - Manganese is an essential nutrient and ubiquitous element in the environment. Normal dietary exposures are hundreds of times greater than inhalation exposures.
 - After 15 years of use in unleaded gasoline in Canada at up to twice the proposed U.S. usage, Health and Welfare Canada has concluded "no health concern."
 - Extensive Canadian ambient data show maximum manganese exposures in "typical" cities change little with use of HiTEC®3000, and remain at least two-to-six fold below the lowest conceivable public health threshold for manganese.
 - Nearly 70 million pounds of the Additive have already been used in U.S. gasoline (primarily leaded) from 1974 to 1990, without any discernible ambient impact.
 - To confirm these extensive data, Ethyl has offered to undertake an ambient monitoring program in the U.S. and to withdraw use of the product in the U.S. voluntarily if unacceptable levels are obtained.
- **Problem --** EPA refuses to discuss reasonable conditions to an approval that will ensure no appreciable public health risk associated with manganese emissions, while providing the other health and environmental benefits described above.

Just
C. [unclear]
2. [unclear]
[unclear]

SLK
[unclear]
Pingeon
(single)
LH

HITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1994

Mrs. Emily Lodge Pingeon
21, Rue Monsieur
75007 Paris
FRANCE

Dear Emily:

I greatly appreciate your kind words about my speech to the French National Assembly. I was honored to be there, and I'm glad you thought the speech went well. It is heartening to know of the positive reactions I received in France.

I also appreciate your supportive comments about Hillary and Vice President and Tipper Gore. Your suggestions mean a lot to us. Thanks for getting in touch.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

After letters to

HRC, Gerson
VP, GS.

Tipper

Worth reminding
always that no
American woman
is forgotten -

21, RUE MONSIEUR
75007 PARIS

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

June 13, 1994

Dear Mr. President,

Your speech before the National Assembly about this time being a critical point in history, the first two being after World Wars I and II, was very moving. It was especially so to me given my family's involvement in the evolution of an international peace-keeping forum, my great-great-grand-father being Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr. and my grandfather, Henry Cabot Lodge, the first ambassador to the UN in the Eisenhower years. I think you know my father, George.

Although I have been a journalist, I am now trying my hand at writing books and poetry from Paris where my husband is the French director of the Cigna Insurance Company. We are from the same generation and I just wanted you to know that all of us Americans in Paris were very proud of you. I was very disappointed with the coverage of that speech; it was your most eloquent to date about the direction of American foreign policy. I sent my version of what you said (attached) to The Boston Globe, The International Herald Tribune and the New York Times but none of them ran it. I also wanted you to let Hillary know that she made a very favorable impression on the leading women intellectuals in France, something that is very difficult to do!

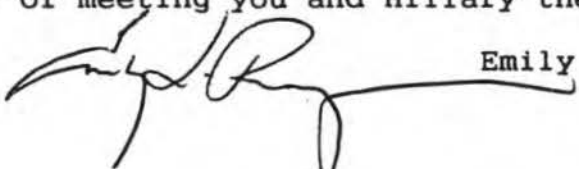
May I make a few humble suggestions?

. When you announced Al Gore as your vice-president, your popularity went through the roof. Use him again, particularly in foreign policy. Make him more of a mouthpiece for international affairs and to help all of us understand how both peace and the earth hangs in the balance.

. Tipper was wonderful in combatting foul language in rock music; why should she shirk from that role. Ugly rap music is exported internationally, a terrifying symbol of what "America" stands for. Her greatness was in saying that not everyone in America agrees.

. Hillary also has a greatness and I believe in her politics of meaning; maybe she should have lunch with a group of leading American intellectuals. Remember what Francoise Giroud, a very critical French intellectual, said after lunching with Hillary: "This woman looked perfectly ordinary but when she opened her mouth to speak, her eyes on fire, she was very very impressive."

Best Wishes to you, Mr. President. Perhaps I'll have the honor of meeting you and Hillary the next time you are here.


Emily Lodge Pingeon

FOREIGN DESK

LODGE-1

Clinton's Triumph in France:

Transforming a Celebration into a Statement of Purpose

In an unprecedented salute to the leader of the Western alliance, the French closed the center of Paris to traffic Tuesday, maintaining barricades and posting officers of the guard every 20 feet, as President Clinton left the Prime Minister's office to speak before the French National Assembly. This flourish of ceremony brought to a dramatic conclusion the elaborate and moving Normandy celebrations of the preceding day commemorating the allied invasion of June 6, 1944. If the heroic veterans of World War II showed their allegiance to their Commander in Chief by praising his understanding of the lessons of history, Philippe Seguin, president of the National Assembly said afterwards that French lawmakers were "relieved" by Clinton's speech, his most eloquent and comprehensive to date on the direction of American foreign policy.

With the end of the Cold War Clinton said "we have arrived at this century's third moment of decision" Clinton said, the first two being the way the democracies responded to World Wars I and II. The President emphasized that the democracies of the world must join together to create in a time of peace the same kinds of safeguards against tyranny and oppression that characterized the years following World War II. Remarking on the high tariffs, trade wars and rise of fascism that resulted from the isolationism of the

post World War I era, the president urged France to integrate the European continent through a strategy based on three sets of bonds: security cooperation, market economics and democracy.

Clinton emphasized the vital importance of European union, "an act of political alchemy, a magical act that turned rubble into renewal, suspicion into security, enemies into allies. He said America and her allies of World War II must set their sites on "the strategic star" of the integration and strengthening of a broader Europe. He exhorted the French lawmakers to remember the hallowed gravestones at the battlefields of Normandy as the price of failure in peacetime.

Assuming the mantle of Commander in Chief as never before, the president announced the grim alternative: militant nationalism "transforming healthy pride...into cancerous prejudice eating away at states and leaving their people addicted to the political painkillers of violence and demagoguery"; he said the signs of the disease range from the purposeful slaughter in Bosnia and random violence of skinheads in all our nations, anti-Semitism and beyond Europe, "we see the dark future of these trends in mass slaughter, unbridled terrorism, devastating poverty and total environmental and social disintegration."

Clinton underscored that the transatlantic alliance clearly stands at a critical point -- to build the bonds among nations as after World War II but at a time when our safety is not threatened as after World War I.

LODGE-3

CLINTON TRIUMPH

The president affirmed America's commitment not only to European Union but to security cooperation through the development of a European defense identity; he called attention to the realization, after just six months, of military exercises on the part of 19 nations as part of NATO's Partnership for Peace.

Clinton admitted that this arrangement, i.e. the expansion of NATO's role, cannot solve all the problems and the most poignant example of this failing is Bosnia, calling it the most challenging European security problem and the most heartbreaking humanitarian one. But he drew attention to three things have been achieved in Bosnia: first, a wider Balkan war has been prevented; second, the most massive humanitarian airlift in history in which France has been the leading contributor of troops has saved thousands of lives; three, "we have prevented the war from moving into the air."

The President encouraged French law-makers to support efforts to integrate Eastern Europe into the "thriving market democracies" through macroeconomic reforms, target assistance to privatization and increased trade and investment and he praised the French for their statesmanship in bringing the GATT talks to fruition saying the agreement will create millions of new jobs. Clinton remarked on the importance of the commitment of the G-7 countries to asking each other what each can do to promote job creation and economic growth in the poorer countries "in a way that advances sustainable development so that they do not squander their resources and in the end assure that all these endeavors fail." President Clinton

LODGE-4

CLINTON TRIUMPH

pointed out that these are important questions being asked in a multilateral forum for the first time.

Clinton harked back to the special kinship of France and America --two republics overthrowing the rule of kings and enthroning in their places common ideals, equality, liberty, community and the rights of man. He paid tribute to the role Montesquieu and Rousseau played at the outset in America as well as the "revolutionary genius" of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. "For just as we helped to liberate your country in 1944, you helped to liberate our country two full centuries ago."

Finally, Clinton told the story of the American medic who had served at Omaha who returned for the 50th anniversary celebrations of D-Day and who knocked on a door that looked familiar: "A Frenchwoman answered the door and called to her husband. "He's back. The American doctor is back," she called. After a moment, the husband arrived, carrying a wine bottle covered with dust and cobwebs. 'Welcome, doctor,' he cried, 'In 1944, we hid this bottle away for the time when you would return. Now let us celebrate.' Clinton concluded, "let us resume the timeless work that brought us here in the first place and that brought our forebears together--the work of fortifying freedom's foundations." In so doing, Clinton transformed, as the French daily Le Figaro pointed out this morning, a commemoration and celebration of the 6 June 1944 into a hymn to a stronger Europe.

by Emily Lodge Tel./Fax: (33.1.)43.06.10.27

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

⑦
Leon
fy-
Let's invite him
over for lunch
or breakfast -
⑧ call
him

August 5, 1994

The Honorable Russell B. Long
Suite 750
801 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Senator Long:

Thanks for your letter of June 29. I deeply regret the delay in responding, but I do want you to know how much I appreciate your sharing with me your thoughts about Secretary Bentsen. He is a fine man, and I am proud to have him play such a prominent role in my Cabinet. I also appreciate your recommendation of him for appointment as Secretary of State.

Thanks, too, for sharing your perspective on my prospects for reelection. I'm working hard to get my message out and to make sure the American people know how much we've accomplished since taking office.

Again, thanks for writing. I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 4, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR TREY SCHROEDER
PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE

FROM: ANNE SWARTZ *4/15*
PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

RE: LETTER FROM FORMER SENATOR RUSSELL LONG
RECOMMENDING LLOYD BENTSEN FOR SECRETARY OF STATE

Former Senator of Louisiana Russell Long wrote to the President on June 29, 1994 to recommend Lloyd Bentsen for the position of Secretary of State.

When the letter was received in Presidential Personnel via Records Management blue tracking on July 11, 1994, it was handled routinely, brought to the attention of an Associate Director and sent a form letter response from Veronica Biggins. There was no indication in Long's letterhead, his letter, or in his signature that he was a former Senator.

On July 29, 1994 Long's secretary called to say that the letter had been received, that she had not shown it to him yet, and that Long might be disappointed that the President had obviously not seen his letter. She said if we would send Long a more personalized letter from Veronica Biggins or one from the President, that she would not show him the initial letter we sent.

After conferring with Veronica Biggins, I called Long's secretary back that same day and assured her a more appropriate response would be sent shortly.

Attached is Long's letter. Could you please have a response from the President sent to Long as soon as possible?

cc: Veronica Biggins

070245

LONG LAW FIRM
BATON ROUGE - WASHINGTON, D.C.

Market Square, Suite 750
801 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2167
(202) 737-9212 FAX: (202) 624-0659

Two United Plaza, Suite 800
8550 United Plaza Boulevard
Baton Rouge, LA 70809-7013
(504) 922-5110
FAX: (504) 922-5105

Russell B. Long
C. Kris Kirkpatrick
Michael A. Patterson*
Joseph E. Juban*
Robert J. Casey
Karen Stall
Melanie Pierron Patrick*

*Louisiana only

June 29, 1994

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have not ever had the occasion to visit with you and offer advice of any sort. However, I voted for you, and I hope that I can, in good conscience, vote for your re-election. At that time, I will be 77 years old and I would like to cast what may be my last vote on a purely non-political basis.

From what I can see of your administration, you have a good chance of running on a peace and prosperity record, and the voting public is not likely to turn a President down who seeks re-election if he has a good record in those two respects. It appears to me that you are receiving very good advice with regard to domestic issues. Therefore, I believe that the country will be prosperous for the remainder of your term.

Unfortunately, most people do not have as much confidence in your foreign policy. As you are aware, there is conversation around the country to the effect that you may pick a successor to your present Secretary of State. If that is to be done, I strongly recommend that you should prevail upon Lloyd Bentsen to take the job. In my judgement, he has the best credentials and the most talent to lead this country in the right direction and to advise you on foreign policy matters. With Lloyd's help, you should have no difficulty in finding an adequate replacement for Secretary of Treasury.

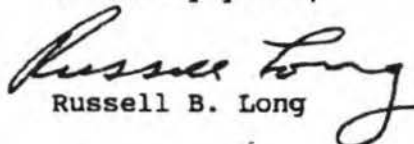
If Lloyd were Secretary of State, the nation's confidence in your leadership in foreign policy and foreign affairs would take an immediate jump of very impressive proportions. You would not be troubled by the kind of cartoon which I saw in The Chattanooga Times on Thursday, June 23, 1994.

The President
Page Two
June 29, 1994

It was my privilege to attend the recent dinner at which the Eisenhower Leadership Award was presented to Lloyd Bentsen by President Eisenhower's granddaughter. It was great considering the fact that this award could have been presented to a Republican just as easily as to a Democrat. The event was impressive.

Thank you for your time, and best wishes for you and the country.

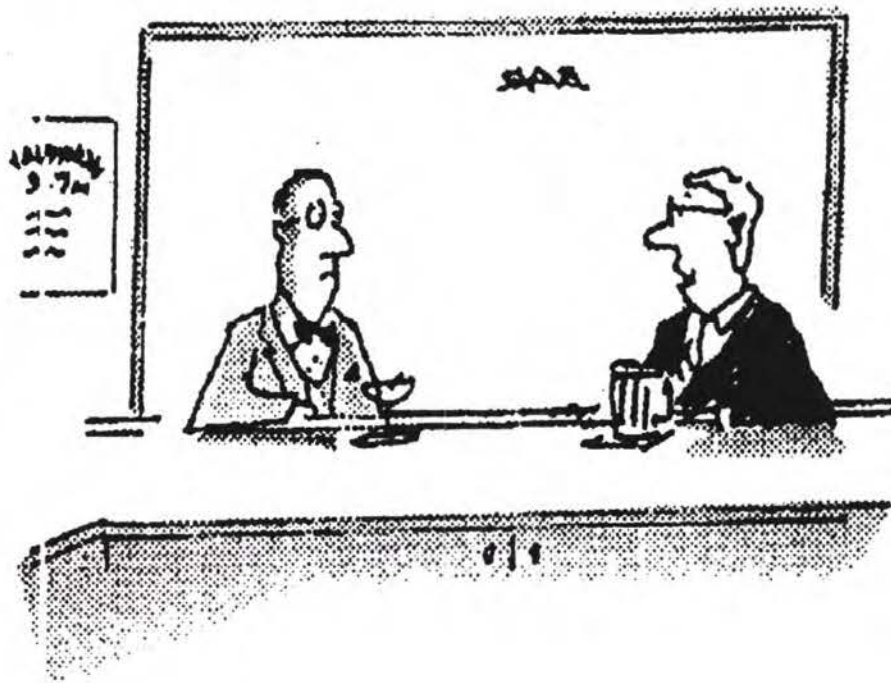
Sincerely yours,


Russell B. Long

Enclosure

P.S. The enclosed cartoon does not reflect my opinion. I enclose it to demonstrate what your opposition might be saying.

BOTTOM LINERS



Eric & Bill

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6-23

"My goal is to become a full-time comedy writer
I'm currently honing my skills by drafting
foreign policy for the Clinton administration."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8 9 94

August 9, 1994

94 AUG 9 P12:02

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE FIRST LADY

FROM: LLOYD N. CUTLER
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT *Inc*

SUBJECT: Legal Expense Trust Fund

1. Without any solicitation by anyone, the Fund has already received \$356,000 (as of 8/8/94).
2. Last Friday the Fund, the Trustees, the First Lady, Steve Potts (the head of the Office of Government Ethics) and I were sued by a newly formed right-wing public interest law group. The suit asks that the Trust be found to be a federal advisory committee subject to the Federal Advisory Committee Act. It also asks that various FOIA requests to me and to the Office of Government Ethics be complied with. As incidental, temporary relief it asks that the Trust be enjoined from receiving any further contributions.
3. The suit appears to me and to the Trust's counsel (Sullivan & Cromwell) to be entirely without merit. We are consulting the Department of Justice on whether it will represent some or all of the government defendants. The Trust and any government defendants whom the Justice Department will not defend will be defended by Sullivan & Cromwell.
4. The organizer of the plaintiff public interest group is a former Reagan administration Department of Justice antitrust division lawyer who is very aggressive and very much persona non grata with the judge because of the number of motions he files.
5. As I believe you know, when legal questions were raised in *The Wall Street Journal* and elsewhere as to whether the Trust could solicit contributions without violating the statutory ban on direct or indirect solicitations of gifts by the President (the Trust's Counsel and I believe it can), the Trustees decided to moot the question by electing that the Trust itself would not do any soliciting. The Trust then reported this decision to the Office of Government Ethics and asked for an opinion confirming that the Trust was legal in all respects. We received an entirely favorable opinion and have made it available on request to the press.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING Per E.O. 13526

Sec. 3.2(C) Initials: *LB* Date: *5/16/18*

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: *LB* DATE: *5/16/18*

Coming: An Urban Primary

By Sharon Sayles Belton
and Norm Coleman

MINNEAPOLIS

For two decades the Federal Government has neglected many critical needs of America's cities, from affordable housing to education to transportation to human services. Mayors around the country have searched desperately for ways to refocus national politics on the priorities of urban Americans.

Now we have a powerful instrument to attract political attention:

Sharon Sayles Belton is Mayor of Minneapolis. Norm Coleman is Mayor of St. Paul.

City Vote, the first national urban Presidential primary. It will take place on Tuesday, Nov. 7, 1995 — three months before the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary.

On that day, Minneapolis, St. Paul and dozens of other cities will conduct their regularly scheduled municipal balloting. But voters in cities participating in City Vote will also have the option to indicate which declared candidate they prefer for the Presidency. We expect that 15 to 20 cities will participate.

The support for City Vote stems from the frustrations of millions of Americans who felt left out of the political dialogue of 1991-92, which was largely set in the early Presidential primaries. Issues like gun control and homelessness were rarely touched on in debates or speeches.

City Vote should give the 1996 Presidential hopefuls reason to campaign — and to listen to voters — not just on the farms of Iowa and in the towns of New Hampshire, but in the streets and neighborhoods of America's cities.

On Nov. 7, 1995, the cities will speak.

Our problems are legion: failing schools, deteriorating neighborhoods, the AIDS epidemic, escalating racial divisions and rising violent crime, homelessness and drug abuse. Yet Washington's message to our great

cities has been clear: Fend for yourselves.

We do not seek Federal handouts, but a national policy recognizing that for America to compete in the international marketplace it needs vibrant urban centers. We need national policies that give cities the flexibility to use our limited resources where they are most needed, on keeping our streets safe and clean and our neighborhoods strong.

City Vote's organizers are inviting the candidates to participate in four nationally televised debates, the first of which will take place in Minneapolis in October 1995. City Vote is not intended to help or hurt any party or candidate, but to give voice to millions of city-dwellers whose concerns have too long been ignored. □

lches
we should build
this out
THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1994 *Be*

23



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.9.94

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

94 AUG 8 P1:28

To the President —

following in press

conference

*(agree with him
about our men conf- →
Should schedule on next week if I get my voice back*

8-9-94

MEMORANDUM

94 AUG 8 P1:28

TO: LEON PANETTA
FROM: MARK GEARAN *MG*
RE: PRESS CONFERENCE
DATE: 5 AUGUST 1994

I attach for your review a letter sent to the President from Ken Walsh, President of the White House Correspondents' Association regarding suggestions for improving access for correspondents covering the White House.

Walsh makes good points on the press conferences -- consistent with your thinking about their regularity and the positive effect it can have on presidential stature. I will forward to you under separate cover a memorandum on a suggested schedule since I have been talking with reporters and others about such a workplan.

Secondly, Walsh mentions access to senior staff which I believe is an important issue that should be addressed. While a staff directory distribution is inappropriate, in my view, I would like to explore with the Correspondents' Association other ways to have regular substantive briefings in addition to the many ongoing efforts.

Finally, since the press conference I have confidentially solicited the opinions of veteran Washington reporters I respect on the President's performance. Some excerpts:

✓ Jack Nelson thought the President was "tremendous" and the tenor looked like a "lovefest". He felt the President displayed competence and "we would be crazy" not to do more -- perhaps once a month providing we have something to say.

✓ Jack Germond said the press conference shows how much he knows about the subject matter and how well he handles the press. He thought the use of the two Health Express busriders was a "stunt" and should not be repeated. He reminded me that JFK did frequent conferences - in 1962, with a six week hiatus during the Cuban Missile Crisis, he still had 26 press conferences.

Memorandum to Leon Panetta
5 August 1994
Page Two

← Tom Oliphant commented that the press conference showed Bill Clinton "as the President ... he looked it, acted it and sounded it." He felt the President could sustain this momentum by making them almost routine ie. once a month providing there is news.

← Tim Russert was concerned about the length of the President's opening remarks and the use of the Health Express busriders. He also saw this as a "stunt" and noted that Andy Lak (President of the News Division at NBC) had complained. This is important, of course, for our future negotiations on press conferences in prime time or an Oval Office address.

In sum, this week's press conference affords the President the chance to build on an excellent performance. I will follow-up with Ken Walsh and schedule a meeting when Dee Dee and I can meet to discuss his ideas. I will keep your office apprised should you wish to stop-by. Barry Toiv would be helpful at this session.

attachment

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION
1067 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045

August 4, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, when I took over as president of the White House Correspondents' Association at our annual dinner in April, I set a goal of working to improve access between the correspondents who cover the White House and the administration. My hope is to provide our readers, viewers and listeners with a more complete and comprehensive view of the Clinton Presidency. To those ends, I'd like to make several suggestions, which I would hope to discuss in detail with you in the coming weeks:

1. News conferences. In 1988, the Harvard Commission on the Presidential News Conference issued a report that concluded: "It is our view that the President, the press and the American public have not been well served by the pattern of presidential interaction with the press which we all have witnessed during the last few administrations." The same holds true today.

The governing board of the correspondents' association calls your attention to the Harvard Commission's assessment: "We believe that all parties would benefit from restoring the habit of frequent, routine and undramatic news conferences and from introducing a variety of alternative formats that are likely to stimulate better communication between the President and the public." We suggest three formats for news conferences:

*Prime-time news conferences, perhaps in the traditional venue of the East Room, open to television coverage. These events are of particular interest to the television networks. We suggest holding a prime-time news conference every two or three months.

*Informal news conferences in the briefing room, in which the President would talk with regular White House correspondents in a more informal and less theatrical setting to facilitate a full discussion of issues. We suggest holding these sessions every two weeks in daytime hours, also open to TV coverage.

*Regional news conferences with out-of-town reporters, on a periodic basis, at the President's discretion. These would not, however, in any way supplant news conferences with the White House press corps.

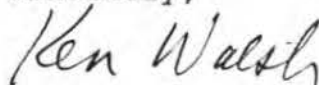
2. Interviews. The President can always grant exclusive interviews to whomever he wishes, and we, of course, encourage this process. To further enhance public understanding of the President and his objectives, we recommend that the President also schedule regular interviews, perhaps monthly, with small groups of White House reporters on a rotating basis so that every White House correspondent eventually interviews the President over a six-month period. The groups could be organized in traditional fashion-wire services, TV networks, large newspapers, regional papers, newsmagazines, radio correspondents, etc. But the goal would be to give the reporters who cover the President an opportunity to have contact with him regularly in a conversational setting. The interviews could be piped into the briefing room as they occurred or immediate transcripts could be provided to the press corps, and the material embargoed so those actually interviewing the President would not be at a competitive disadvantage.

3. Staff access. We have found that access to senior staffers is episodic, and the conveying of information about the administration is not as substantive or illuminating as it should be. We encourage senior policymakers, starting with the chief of staff, to hold periodic news conferences and, just as important, provide regular access to small groups of reporters, rotating through the entire press corps every few weeks. We also suggest that the staff be more cooperative in handling media requests for information about stories that are not immediately in the news. Perhaps a staff directory could be made available to reporters listing officials who are in charge of specific areas.

4. The First Lady and the Vice President. Both Hillary Rodham Clinton and Vice President Al Gore have become important policymakers in this administration. Yet the access they grant to the press corps is severely limited. We suggest periodic news conferences, perhaps every two months, with each one. The board also recommends regular interviews with White House reporters.

I hope you will give serious consideration to these ideas, and I hope we can meet soon to discuss their implementation.

Sincerely,



Kenneth T. Walsh
President

White House Correspondents' Association

Senior White House Correspondent
U.S. News & World Report
202-955-2502

cc: Leon Panetta
Mack McLarty
George Stephanopoulos
Mark Gearan
Dee Dee Myers
Lorraine Voles
Lisa Caputo

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.9.94

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PHONE CALLS

PRIORITY

ETHANOL:

SENATOR KENNEDY
SENATOR MURRAY
SENATOR BIDEN

CRIME:

CONG. JOHN LEWIS
CONG. HAMILTON
CONG. STENHOLM
CONG. RANGEL

UP - There is another
side -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.9.94

THE NEW YORK TIMES **OP-ED** TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1994

When Children Do the Work

By Jack Sheinkman

Summer is a time when children look for jobs to earn some extra money before returning to school. But what about the 100 million to 200 million children worldwide who work summer and winter, with no opportunities at all for schooling?

According to the organization Child-right Worldwide, this number will reach 400 million by the year 2000. Yet Congress may soon agree to put the U.S. signature to a worldwide trade agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, that locks this outrageous situation into place.

While American children are in summer school or at camp, children as young as 3 and 4 are weaving carpets in Pakistan. The International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation has document-

ed appalling conditions worldwide.

In Karan, Pakistan, 5-year-old Sha-keel works with 300 other children from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. for less than 20 cents a day. A sign in his workplace says any child caught sleeping will be fined \$60. If any of these children cry, they are beaten or forced to spend five days chained to the loom. Children in India are often branded like cattle by their employers. Last year in New Delhi, an 11-year-old working in a weaving factory had paraffin poured over his head and was set afire by his boss as a punishment.

When the Clinton Administration signed the North American Free Trade Agreement last year, it declared that workers' rights and environmental standards were as vital to a trade pact as narrow commercial concerns. Led by Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, Administration officials advocated that protections for these rights be included in the GATT accord. But faced with opposition from countries whose competitive advantage derives from a low-wage labor pool, Washington did not prevail.

As soon as next week, Congress,

**Congress needs
to put some
teeth in GATT.**

working with the Administration, could agree on a final version of legislation to carry out the accord. Congress then has 90 days to vote on the bill, with no option to make any changes — what is known as the fast-track procedure.

By racing to carry out the accord without toughening its labor standards, Congress and the Administration are putting millions of U.S. jobs at risk by linking our economy to those of countries that lag dramatically behind us in wages and work standards. Supporting the agreement in its current form means supporting the multinational corporations that roam the globe in search of ever-lower labor costs and don't want to give up their right to rob children and

young adults of their youth.

Thus, setting humanitarian work standards, as recognized by the International Labor Organization, is not only the ethical thing to do — it makes economic sense. GATT should be revised to guarantee rights for children and their parents just as lawmakers seek to protect copyrights, patents and other rights in the expanded global economy.

If the current accord is approved by the U.S. and other member nations, there is a way it can be strengthened. After it goes into effect, GATT will put into place a World Trade Organization to oversee the new trade rules. This body should also include mechanisms to enforce internationally recognized workers' rights, including outlawing child labor, and set environmental standards.

In an era when foreign policy is increasingly intertwined with economic interests, the United States should use its considerable influence to protect American living standards while improving the lot of workers abroad. □

Jack Sheinkman is president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1994

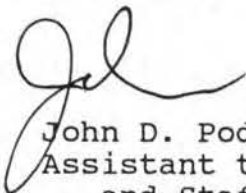
The Honorable Christopher S. Bond
United State Senate
293 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Bond:

While not nearly as enjoyable as fighting over a soybean marketing loan, I want you to know that I appreciate the fair manner in which you questioned me during the Senate Banking Committee hearings.

While I hope that my days as a Congressional witness are over, I look forward to the opportunity to work together again.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "J. Podesta", written in a cursive style.

John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/9

CS
~~Watergate~~
the news about
some of this w/ Clinton
Boggs

Whitewater's false echoes of Watergate

Presidential coup against constitutional government was unique.

"What did the president know and when did he know it?" thundered Sen. Alfonse D'Amato at one point during the Whitewater hearings, rousing me out of my reverie about the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon 20 years ago.

There came flooding back the memory of Nixon on Aug. 8, 1974, one step ahead of the impeachment sheriff, resigning as though frustrated by some policy dispute with Congress — and next day bathing himself in self-pity about having been plunged into "the deepest valley."

Watching Whitewater and thinking about Watergate was an almost-surreal experience. If the lesson of Watergate is not to be lost on a younger generation, it is important to emphasize the difference.

The recent congressional hearings have been restricted to "the Washington phase" — White House-Treasury contacts and the suicide of counsel Vincent Foster. But essentially the investigation concerns what



By Daniel Schorr, senior news analyst for National Public Radio.

the Clintons may have been involved in back in Arkansas in terms of a real estate venture, dealings with a failing savings and loan and commodity trading.

Few of our presidents come to the White House entirely clean of the corruption of hometown and home state politics. But once in an office invested with vast powers and great majesty, they are expected to put all that behind and serve the nation.

Watergate was about a president who betrayed his trust to engage in criminal activity in the White House. Nixon instigated, or at least inspired, break-ins, wiretaps, surveillance and plans to use government as an instrument of reprisal against his "enemies." The posthumously published diaries of his former chief of staff, H.R. Haldeman, record the president's incessant demands to have his foes targeted by the Internal Revenue Service and Justice Department.

Then, fearing he would be caught, Nixon was willing to suborn perjury, pay hush money, create scapegoats and stifle an FBI investigation.

In effect, he mounted from the summit of government a coup against the constitutional functioning of government.

I say this, I think, without personal animus. He had the FBI investigate me, and I appeared on his "enemies list." But I respected his 20-year effort at rehabilitation — a campaign for ex-president — and during his final months we had a personal reconciliation.

But the conspiracy that ended in Nixon's resignation 20 years ago today was a unique event in American history, making a mockery of attempted comparisons with all the ensuing "gates," up to and including Whitewatergate.

To paraphrase Lloyd Bentsen on Dan Quayle, "I knew Watergate. It was not my friend. But believe me, Whitewater is no Watergate."

Daniel Schorr covered the Watergate affair for CBS News and has narrated a five-part retrospective on the cable TV Discovery Channel.

Leon

WORTH making
for good + bad.

25

THE WASHINGTON POST

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Keep That Whitewater Flowing

The Clinton administration made a hash of its handling of Whitewater. But after last weekend, it could be forgiven for thinking that its fate is to face treble damages even for its good deeds.

The administration, albeit belatedly and under pressure, agreed to the appointment of a special counsel to investigate the Whitewater matter. Then, in June, the president signed a renewal of the independent counsel law, an act through which Clinton put sharp limits on his power to affect investigations of his own administration. Many Republicans hated the independent counsel law, and the act had lapsed. So the voluntary appointment of Whitewater counsel Robert Fiske was not covered by the law.

In the meantime, Fiske reported that he had found no grounds on which to prosecute members of the administration for obstructing justice or otherwise illegally messing around with the Whitewater case. Fiske also knocked down all the zany conspiracy theorists and concluded that Vincent Foster, Clinton's deputy counsel, actually did commit suicide, as the police concluded originally.

Then came Friday's stunning news: A three-judge court, led by a Reagan appointee, concluded that while there was no evidence that Fiske had done a bad job, he should be replaced for the sake of appearances. To replace him, the court turned to Kenneth Starr, an intelligent conservative who served as the Bush administration's solicitor general and was a Reagan circuit court appointee. Starr has also long been on Republican short lists for the Supreme Court.

Just imagine for a moment what the outcry from conservatives would have been if the

Iran-contra special prosecutor had been a respected lawyer who had served in Democratic administrations (for example, Joseph Califano, Walter Mondale or Ted Sorensen); or a potential liberal Supreme Court appointee (e.g., Laurence Tribe or Walter Dellinger) with a strong

Kenneth Starr can show his independence by bringing the investigation to a swift conclusion.

interest in seeing the Democrats take back the White House. Republican Sen. Phil Gramm criticized Robert Bennett, the Clintons' personal lawyer, for saying that Starr's political background made him inappropriate for the special counsel's job. But I have no doubt that if the situation were reversed, Gramm would be the first to condemn the Dellingers and Tribes of the world as biased liberals intent on wrecking Republican administrations—and the firing of the old special counsel as an unconscionable delay in the search for the truth.

No metaphor, of course, is precisely accurate. The Clintonians have a problem in going after Starr, since he was once on Attorney General Janet Reno's own short list as an alternative to Fiske. The independent counsel law is, as the court said, partly about appearances. And Starr does have a reputation for integrity. He has

always struck me as a decent and thoughtful man of strong convictions.

But think of the pressures on Starr from his conservative allies and friends. It has been argued that the Clintons could be well-served by Starr's appointment. If someone of his background and philosophy clears them of wrongdoing, who will doubt him? The truth is that the truth doesn't matter a bit to the extreme Clinton bashers for whom Whitewater is and always has been simply a means to wreck the Clinton presidency.

Suppose Starr says that no, there was no conspiracy behind Vincent Foster's death. Suppose he looks at Fiske's work carefully and decides that there is no reason to reopen the investigation of the administration's handling of Whitewater. Woe unto poor Ken Starr. The right wing will come down on him with the vengeance it reserves for alleged "turncoats." And elements of the right will go right on selling conspiracy theories and outrageous charges.

It is, of course, true that the Clinton administration's crack damage enhancement team also helped keep this story alive. The administration was so obsessed with beating back the press that it sent people scrambling in all directions in fruitless attempts to grab control of information. Officials trickled out the truth in a way that made it look as if they were withholding significant portions of the whole truth. During the congressional hearings, officials had to contradict their own diaries and each other and, at times, themselves. The administration got the worst of all worlds: It looked slippery and ineffectual at the same time.

This is a strong argument for shutting down the "war rooms" and the siege mentality associated therewith. It is an argument for taking a long look before leaping into damage control by asking not simply how things will look in tomorrow's paper but how matters will be judged in a month or a year or a decade. Surely that is one of the central lessons of this week's retrospectives on the 20th anniversary of Richard Nixon's resignation.

But Watergate also ought to put the Whitewater frenzy in its place. As far as Fiske's investigators could tell, Clinton's men and women did not try to stop investigations or court actions—let alone pay hush money or run dollars through Mexican bank accounts or manipulate the CIA or use the power of government against their opposition. The events of Whitewater occurred far away from Washington long before Clinton became president. Much, perhaps most, of what we now know about it was already known thanks to investigative reporters' work before the 1992 election. Unless investigators find evidence of a real crime, the matter should be put to rest—and the Clintons should help by making as much information public as fast as they legally can.

Dragging out Whitewater endlessly will make Clinton-haters, extreme partisans and right-wing ideologues very happy. Starr will be the toast of conservative circles if he lets this run on through, say, 1996. Conservatives will call it their revenge for Iran-contra. What will take real courage is for Starr to stare down the ideologues and keep the investigation moving—knowing that efficiency will bring only vilification from many of those who once sang his praises.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST