

8/23

Memorandum To: President Clinton
Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: Ira C. Magaziner

Subject: Next Steps on Health Reform

Date: 8/21/94

1994
Less doctors
for

The latest "rump group" proposal is less comprehensive than the Senate Finance Committee bill, and accomplishes less than the plan offered by former President Bush during his last year in office. Saturday's Washington Post said accurately that "in its scope and financing, the plan... is closer to the minimalist health care plan sponsored by Dole than it is to Mitchell's scaled-back version of Clinton's plan." Core democratic constituencies such as Labor, Seniors, progressive health care providers and consumer groups will oppose the plan vehemently." The moderate Republicans have "moved the bar" away from us again.

As we have suspected, there is not the will in the Senate to raise the funds necessary to achieve anywhere near 95% coverage. The Mitchell bill contains a number of funding sources --the high cost plan assessment, the removal of tax deductibility for health care in cafeteria plans and the risk adjustment assessment on large companies-- which were bound to be unpopular. The "rump group" removes them. They go further, and remove the assessment for academic health and research and do not integrate Medicaid into the private sector, further reducing available funds.

To compensate for these losses, the "rump group" proposes a tax cap, reduces long-term care spending by 80% from the already reduced levels in the Mitchell bill, eliminates the Medicare drug benefit and the research and academic health initiatives and guts the public health initiatives. They also set a goal of reducing the deficit by \$100 billion over ten years from health reform. Though no coverage estimates are yet available, it is likely that their proposal will fall well short of 95% coverage.

As with the Mitchell bill, the sustainability of the "rump group's" financing is highly questionable. Tax caps are even less likely to pass the Senate than premium caps. Sustaining over \$240 billion in Medicare cuts with no drug benefit, virtually no long-term care program and only marginal increases in coverage may be very difficult.

Other troublesome aspects of the bill are provisions which encourage companies potentially to drop coverage. Requiring companies who cover some full time employees to cover all full time employees in a voluntary world may simply encourage some companies to drop all coverage. This is especially true, when combined with another provision which makes the purchase of insurance deductible to the individual.

The " rump group " proposal contains only a soft trigger to some Congressional review by 2002 if 95% coverage is not reached and when the tax cap is removed, it has no cost containment. Those who thought that one could give up on all forms of premium caps and employer mandates and still produce a comprehensive bill are now learning otherwise.

These latest developments, in my opinion, leave us with three choices:

- 1 If Mitchell can work something out with the " rump group " that Labor, seniors and other health care reform supporters can stomach, we can hope for a stronger bill in the House and go to conference.
- 2 We can fight for a strengthened Mitchell bill, either go to a vote and lose with perhaps 40+ votes or not go to a vote and urge Congress to go home, vowing to fight for universal coverage next year.
- 3 We can propose our own minimalist alternative which makes more sense than those on the table either through a " summit " or as a leadership substitute, try to pass it, and then vow to fight for universal coverage next year.

A Mitchell-Rump Group Compromise

If we believe that the House can pass a substantially stronger bill than the Senate and that a reasonable agreement can be reached between Senator Mitchell and the " rump group, " then this approach could make sense. There would be a health care bill this year. It would accomplish some positive goals. We could avoid total defeat.

On the downside, the passage of this bill over what would likely be the objection of most Republicans, would leave us vulnerable in a number of respects. Because it is a minimalist bill, it will leave in place most of the causes for popular discontent with today's health care system. The poor would get some subsidies to buy insurance, it would be harder for insurers to discriminate against those with pre-existing conditions. But, people would still be denied coverage; their benefits would still be cut back; costs would continue to rise; treatments would continue to be denied to consumers by managed care companies saving money at consumer's expense; hospitals in inner cities and rural areas would close; Medicare and Medicaid cuts in the absence of universal coverage would mean more doctors offices and hospitals might drop coverage for these populations; Medicare premiums would rise for some; etc. Now, there would be a risk that all of these occurrences would be blamed on the Clinton health plan instead of on the status quo health system.

In addition, it is unlikely that either the public or the media would view this bill as a success for the president. We could end up with the worst of both worlds; a political defeat and blame for a health bill that doesn't work. We have always known that once a health bill passes, all ills of the system would be blamed on it. With this minimalist bill, there may not be enough positives nor the correction of enough of today's negatives to win that battle.

No Bill

The Republicans are trying to block any bill from passing and are perceived in many circles as obstructionists. If the public perceives that the President is fighting for principles he and they believe in, that he has been willing to compromise but is being blocked by Republicans who for political purposes are trying to kill health reform (all of which is true), the Republican strategy might backfire on them.

Urging Congress to go home and telling the public that the President would try again next year could avoid our having to accept a bill which later is perceived by the public as a "lemon." It also puts the onus on the other side and leaves us fighting for our principles. We are perilously close to the line now on whether the bill proposed does more harm than good, so this is not a case of allowing the perfect to be the enemy of the good.

If we cannot get good reform from the next Congress, then we can continue to fight for it into the next term. The problems with the health care system will only get worse. The public will want something done. If we continue to fight for our principles rather than accept something which does not fix the problems and be saddled with its failure, we may produce more for the American people in the long run.

This option also has many potential downsides. The next Congress may not do health reform and might take Medicare and Medicaid savings only for the deficit, making health reform that much more difficult. Democrats could be blamed severely at the polls this year and the President in 1996 for having failed to pass any health bill. The recriminations against the President, the First Lady, the health care team and the Administration in general could be devastating.

An Administration Minimalist Approach

If we must accept a minimalist approach, and having some bill is better than having no bill, we could try to put an alternative on the table which will do as much good and as little harm as possible. While this would require broader discussion, a proposal like the following might have merit:

- 1 Use Medicare, Medicaid integration and tobacco tax funds as proposed in the Mitchell bill and eliminate from it all other sources of funding which essentially as those with good insurance today.
- 2 Fund coverage for all children and pregnant women and for all people who have insurance but lose their jobs for six months (with subsidies adjusted for income).
- 3 Fund a scaled back Medicare drug benefit and a scaled back long-term care initiative.
- 4 Provide \$100 billion in deficit reduction over the ten year period.

- 5 Carry out the various insurance and market reforms described in the Mitchell bill as amended by the " rump group," with an eye toward disrupting the current market as little as possible.
- 6 Try to maintain the Mitchell bill trigger with some type of cost containment commission which makes recommendations on slowing the growth of costs if certain specified targets are not met.
- 7 If Medicare cuts cannot be sustained, then cut the drug benefit. If the Mitchell trigger cannot be sustained, there is still worth to the program.

We cannot claim victory with this type of proposal, but it is a responsible one which will allow us to claim correctly that we are helping people with health insurance problems and that we are using health reform to help fight the deficit into the next decade.

The downside to this approach is that the President will still be open to attack for failing to achieve his goals and accepting less than universal coverage. He also will still be open to blame for problems people have with the health care system. Since this will be more closely identified as an administration position if we suggest it, we will have a harder time distancing ourselves from it later on.

This option may also be moot. Congress may not want to take our suggestions.

8/23

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Hillary Rodham Clinton

From: Ira C. Magaziner

Subject: Next Steps on Health Reform

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1994
Less expensive
for everyone

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8/23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1994

94 AUG 22 P7:29

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: R. PAUL RICHARD 
SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL

In response to your question regarding the quote to be used on your presidential medal, I consulted with both Don Baer and George S. They both agree that they prefer the quote: "There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America."

With your approval, I will have the designers at Treasury change the quotation.

☒ Approve

☐ Disapprove

☐ Discuss

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.15.94

August 15, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are the sketches for your official
medal for your approval.

Paul
R. Paul Richard

Admiral
Baer, GSgt

☒ Approve

☐ Disapprove

☐ Discuss

~~Except -~~
Why was
this guy chosen
it won't do much
to get p. more with it
to use would it be better
"There is nothing
wrong in America that
cannot be cured by
what is right in
America" JF

8/15/94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Nancy,

This is the corrected
sketch from Treasurer
Withrow; it just needs
sign-off from the
President and the First Lady.

Please let me know
when approved, and I'll
call Mrs. Withrow.

Thanks,

Karen Ewing

x6-2663

(for Mark
Mudditor

Paul -

This is for

Ken Mark -

It probably
needs to be approved

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 AUG 19 8:06

VP
Do you agree w/
Katie
This idea has been
mentioned B.C.

August 18, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Katie McGinty LAB/KAM

SUBJECT: Federal Pollution Recovery Trust Fund

This memorandum responds to your note to me regarding the Federal Pollution Recovery Trust Fund (Fund), an idea proposed by Mr. Kerry Kirschner. Mr. Kirschner advocates placing all fines and fees collected pursuant to environmental statutes and regulations into a closed Fund which would then be used for the sole purpose of restoring environmental degradation. Currently, all fees and fines that are collected pursuant to environmental statutes are placed in the general treasury. Mr. Kirschner's proposal has some merit; however, as discussed below, given the drawbacks of the proposal, the Fund concept does not warrant Administration support at this time.

The concept of a Fund has several benefits. Businesses and municipalities may be less recalcitrant about paying fees and fines if they can see how those monies are spent, as opposed to seeing them disappear into the general treasury. Public opinion is also generally in favor of this program. A Fund would also eliminate businesses' and municipalities' suspicions that the government is inflating fees and fines pursuant to environmental regulations to finance other social welfare projects that lack obvious sources of funding.

However, there are several potential problems with Mr. Kirschner's proposal for a Fund:

- Because the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) would administer the Fund as well as the enforcement and fee programs, EPA may be accused of increasing fees and fines simply to build up the Fund. Similarly, there might be pressure to decrease fees and fines if the public or regulated community is unhappy with the manner in which the funds are spent or if the state of the environment is reported to be improving.
- The creation of a Fund could result in direct spending of funds that are not subject to the discretionary spending caps and, therefore, could result in an increase in the deficit.

- The flow of money into the Fund would be erratic. Therefore, it would be difficult to estimate how much additional money would be needed to be appropriated on a yearly basis to cover the costs of the program.
- The ultimate goal of the environmental enforcement program to reduce violations (and fine payments) to zero could conflict with the goal of restoring the environment if the Fund is viewed as the sole or primary source of funding for environmental restoration. Because the fees charged on most permits are set only as high as needed to cover the costs of the permitting program, the Fund would not be able to rely on fee income.

EPA already has a program in place that allows corporations or individuals who have been fined to reduce their fine payment by undertaking actions that help the environment. For example, a company may reduce its fine by initiating pollution prevention activities or by undertaking an environmental restoration project. EPA advocates using this system of supplemental environmental projects, because it avoids the problems associated with creating a separate fund for environmental restoration while achieving the goal of applying fine money to environmental restoration. The program has been successful to date and EPA is contemplating ways to expand it to give as many corporations and individuals as possible a chance to participate.

In sum, due the concerns outlined above, the Administration should not support the the Fund proposal at this time. My office will continue to discuss the concept with EPA as EPA gains additional experience with its supplemental environmental projects program.

cc: Kathy
August 15
is this
your idea

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1994

Kerry Kirschner
Director of Development
Mote Marine Laboratory
1600 Thompson Parkway
Sarasota, Florida 34236

Dear Kerry:

Thanks for your note of July 17 and for sharing Senator Mack's letter about your idea for a Federal Pollution Recovery Trust Fund.

I'm sorry you won't be able to attend Tim Chorba's swearing-in ceremony. You're right that we'll have to call him home in time to plan our 30th reunion!

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bin



1600 THOMPSON PARKWAY
SARASOTA, FLORIDA 34236
PHONE: (813) 388-4441 FAX: (813) 388-4312



"A nonprofit organization dedicated to excellence in marine sciences"

July 17, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

Thanks so much for your note regarding my suggestion for a "Federal Pollution Recovery Trust Fund." I thought that you might find the response from Senator Mack on this idea reassuring.

I will share all of this with Senator Graham in hopes that he can work with your environmental offices and DOJ to establish meaningful legislation in this area.

I was hoping to get to Washington for Tim Chorba's swearing-in ceremony, but unfortunately I'm not going to be able to make it. Make sure that you mark it on your calendar to re-call him in '98 in time to organize the party for our 30th!

Hope to see you soon.

Best regards

Kerry Kirschner
Director of Development

KK/gb
Enc.

CONNIE MACK
FLORIDA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0904

June 21, 1994

Kerry Kirschner
1600 Ken Thompson Parkway
Sarasota, Fla 34236

Dear Kerry:

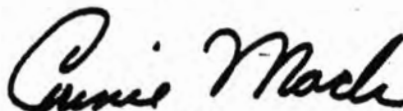
Thank you for your letter concerning fines and penalties imposed by the EPA.

I understand your concerns about fines being imposed by the EPA going directly into the general treasury. Your idea of putting the money directly into a "Pollution Recovery Trust Fund" is a good one.

The one reservation I have about this idea is having the "Pollution Recovery Trust Fund" administered by the same agency that issues the fines. This opens the door to allegations of increasing fines just to build up the fund.

I appreciate having the benefit of your views and although I am not on the committee with jurisdiction over this issue I will keep your thoughts in mind.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Connie Mack".

Connie Mack
United States Senator

CM/bg/ms

Flo
McAfee

(08/22/94)



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

8/22

Dear Bishop Browning

Thanks for your
fine editorial in the LATimes
on the crime bill.

It helped.

On to the sunset!

Sincerely
Barbara

The Most Reverend Edmond L. Browning
Bishop
The Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Street
New York, New York 10017-4594

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.22.94

August 19, 1994

Note to the President

From: Flo McAfee

54 AUG 19 P8:00

The attached editorial appeared
in the Los Angeles Times today.
Bishop Browning attended the last
religious breakfast.

CC! GS

Cartoon should
be saved

PERSPECTIVE ON THE CRIME BILL

Terrible Weapons, Terrible Votes



How can Congress, composed of good and decent people, possibly be opposed to a ban on assault weapons?

By EDMOND LEE BROWNING

As presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States, I have visited congressional offices numerous times. Each time I have entered the impressive halls of the member's offices, I, like everyone, have been compelled to submit to a metal detector check to be sure I was not carrying any kind of weapon. This is a sensible practice, given the violence of so much of our society today, and I'm sure it is appreciated by the members of Congress.

And that is why I find it incredible that so many of these same members in the House voted down the omnibus crime bill because they opposed the ban on assault weapons. They surely know what it means to be the potential target of gun-crazed people. Why, then, did they vote against the ban of these terrible weapons, knowing that the good people who live in our nation's inner-cities do not have metal detectors to protect themselves?

I ask this question very seriously. I have been deeply impressed by the dedication of our congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle. They are good people, decent and competent. Thus, it is all the more so that I cannot believe that any member of Congress could oppose a ban on assault weapons. Why would we want any private citizen to carry such weapons? Of what possible use are they to a civilized society?

This is a deeply moral issue; it is about protecting, rather than destroying, the dignity of human beings.

And yet, people whom I respect and admire and whose company I have enjoyed, blocked the crime bill precisely because of this provision.

One member who voted this way told me last year that he has to listen to what people say in his district, and if I want him to support the concerns of the Episcopal Church, he'd better hear from some constituents who agree with me. It wasn't a brush-off. In fact, he wanted very much to hear from these people because his true sympathies lie with them. But he also must count votes. And, in this case, the vote count back home told him to vote against the ban, even though I am certain he would gladly see these weapons go.

But that's not good enough. When a once-respectable organization like the

National Rifle Assn. becomes a tool of the weapon-makers and turns into the enemy of reason and threatens the health of our inner-cities in order to turn profits, I expect the good people in the House and Senate to show them the door and take their purses with them.

If any more evidence is needed for the necessity of campaign finance reform against special interests, simply look at the insanity of the vote against the ban on assault weapons.

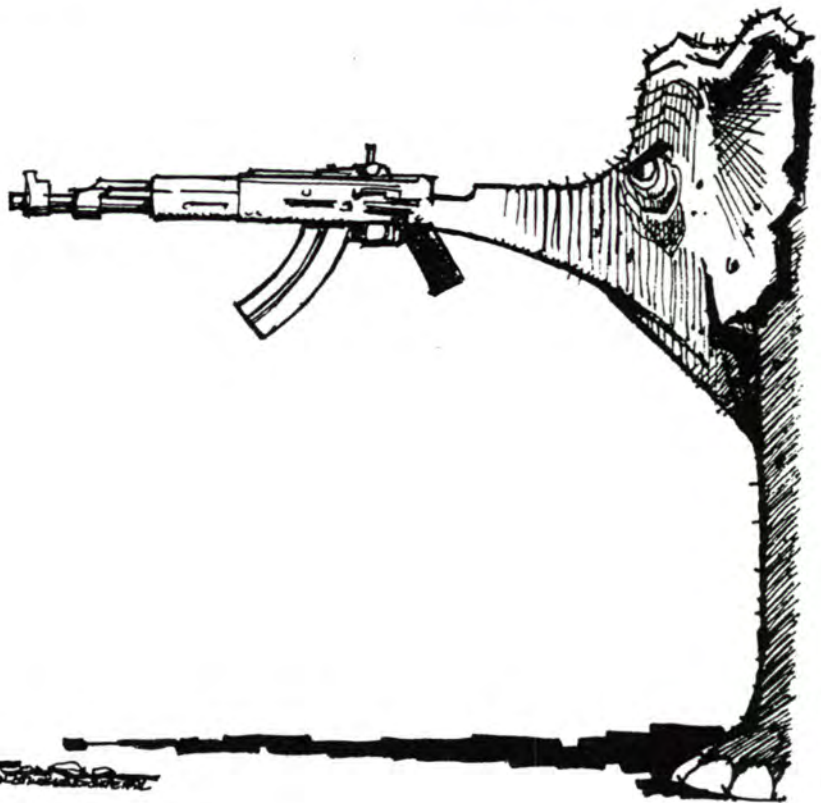
I am not an unconditional champion of the crime bill. It is so complex and embraces so much that no one can like every part of it. If I had to cast a ballot, I would be hard-pressed to vote *yes* because of all the new death-penalty provisions. I have never felt it was in the best interests of our society to practice the very thing we so abhor, the taking of human life. If the crime bill fails because some members share my views on the death penalty and vote against it, I respect that. But if it fails because of opposition to the ban on assault weapons, then I weep for the soul of our nation.

President Clinton invited me to have breakfast with him earlier this month to engage in a discussion on civility and the role of religion in the public arena. Civility is more than mere politeness; it is an expression that helps us define who we are as a nation and people. And in a civil society, there is clearly no place for these dreadful weapons that destroy lives and the youth of our land. The President is certainly agreed on this point.

He, too, is a very able man, big of heart and working flat-out to improve the quality of life in our country. I hope he doesn't back down in refusing to delete the assault weapons ban from the crime bill.

And I hope enough members of Congress can break the strength of the gun lobby and vote for peace in our most troubled communities. Hang in there, Mr. President! I salute you and all those good people in the Congress who know better, and, we must hope, will do better the next time around.

The Most Rev. Edmond Lee Browning is presiding bishop and primate of the 2.5-million member Episcopal Church in the United States.



(08/22/94)



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

8/22

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It helped.
On to the Senate!

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Barack

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KATHIE BERLIN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-22-94

August 19, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

Happy Birthday! At least you're catching up to my age.

I tried to think what I could get to make you laugh (we haven't had a "hot gossip" chat in a while, but I decided I couldn't put it in writing and fax it to the White House!)

So I've decided to give you something most heartfelt that can't be bought in any store -- my time.

I hereby pledge two hours a day to Bill Clinton, which includes talking to press friends, harassing press enemies, Republicans in Congress as well as wayward Democrats. (Today I called Rangel's office on the Crime Bill and told his press person, whom I know, that if he didn't get with the program, I'd work for Adam Clayton Powell IV.

I'll keep a time sheet. And, as my friend, the President says, "Come visit us."

Love,

*Kathie**Celso*

(08/22/94)



THE PRESIDENT

8/22

Katie -

Thanks for your
birthday message - let's
keep going - The biggest
rock now yield - especially
to you 2 hrs. per day. Best!
Bar

Katie Berlin
180 W. 93rd Street
#6E
New York, NY 10025

TO: POTUS
ES / ~~Sandy~~
FROM: GEORGE

I think we should
suggest to Kohl that
he appoint people
to work on this - we
can do better -
Pls follow up - B.



DIRECTOR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.22.94

August 17, 1994

The Honorable George Stephanopoulos
Senior Advisor to the President
for Policy and Strategy
The White House

Dear George:

I am following up on an inquiry you made of Dick Riley recently. You noted that Chancellor Kohl spoke of his perception of "institutional barriers" which restricted European exchange students from studying in U.S. universities. I understand that Chancellor Kohl, in his conversation with President Clinton, noted that Asians far out number Europeans in U.S. universities. The enclosed comment speaks to this disparity and the tables attached describe foreign student populations studying in U.S. universities.

Sincerely,

Joseph Duffey

(1)

Let's pass on
to POTUS

(G)



OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

August 17, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable George Stephanopoulos
Senior Advisor to the President
for Policy and Strategy
The White House

FROM: Joseph Duffey 
Director

SUBJECT: Academic Exchange of European Students

The disparity between the numbers of European and Asian students studying in the U.S. is largely based on financial resources. As the Asian economies have experienced tremendous growth, scholars from these nations have looked to the U.S. for excellent and affordable higher education. The limited higher education infrastructure in Asian nations and the prestige of American degrees in these countries have helped to attract outstanding, qualified, full-tuition paying students to U.S. institutions.

At present, exchange students from Asia comprise approximately 60 percent (260,670 students) of all foreign scholars in the U.S. compared with European students who constitute thirteen percent (58,010). The overall percentage of Europeans studying in the United States has remained relatively constant over the past forty years with Europeans now forming the second largest group of foreign students in the U.S. While overall numbers of European students were up 8% in 1992-93, the percentage of students from East and Central Europe, the New Independent States and the Baltics has, in the past two years, increased by 42 percent.

The "institutional barriers" between the United States and Germany that Chancellor Kohl raised are rooted in our differing systems. The U.S. and German educational structures are not equivalent. Our admissions processes seeming confusing and cumbersome to Germans. Also, because our educational system is not centralized or standardized, the unique admissions standards and procedures of individual institutions prevail, whether the student is from another country or from within the U.S. Finally, unlike Germany, the expectation of a "state" financed university education simply does not exist in the United States.

USIA has been working with German government and education officials (as well as those of other European nations) for many years to overcome or mitigate the barriers to broader U.S.-European exchanges. Our ongoing efforts include annual high-level meetings of U.S. and German officials.

For your information, I have enclosed several pages from "Open Doors," a USIA-funded statistical analysis of international educational exchange. I welcome the opportunity to discuss further with you these issues. If you should need any additional information, please contact me or Linda Rotunno, of the USIA Academic Exchange Program office, at 619-6409.

HIGHLIGHTS OF OPEN DOORS: 1992/93

PART II: Foreign Students in the United States

	1991/92	1992/93	% Change
Annual Census of Foreign Students	419,585	438,618	4.5
Intensive English Language Survey	35,220	36,712	4.2

Foreign Students by World Region of Origin (Chapter 2)

World Region	1991/92		1992/93		% Change
	%	Number	%	Number	
Asia	58.7	245,810	59.4	260,670	6.0
Europe	12.8	53,710	13.2	58,010	8.0
Latin America	10.4	43,200	9.9	43,250	0.1
Middle East	7.3	31,210	6.9	30,240	-3.1
North America	4.7	19,780	4.9	21,550	8.9
Africa	5.2	21,890	4.7	20,520	-6.3
Oceania	0.9	3,870	1.0	4,300	11.1

Leading Countries or Other Places of Origin (Chapter 2)

Locality	1991/92		1992/93		% Change
	%	Number	%	Number	
China	10.2	42,940	10.3	45,130	5.1
Japan	9.7	40,700	9.8	42,840	5.3
Taiwan	8.5	35,550	8.5	37,430	5.3
India	7.8	32,530	8.2	35,950	10.5
Korea, Republic of	6.1	25,720	6.5	28,520	10.9
Canada	4.6	19,190	4.8	20,970	9.3
Hong Kong	3.1	13,190	3.2	14,020	6.3
Malaysia	3.0	12,650	2.9	12,660	0.1
Indonesia	2.4	10,250	2.5	10,920	6.5
Thailand	1.8	7,690	2.0	8,630	12.2

Academic Level of Foreign Students by World Region and Subregion of Origin (Chapter 2)

World Region/ Subregion	Academic Level		
	Under-graduate	Graduate	Other
AFRICA	57.1	38.8	4.1
North Africa	40.7	53.3	6
Sub-Saharan Africa	60.7	35.6	3.7
ASIA	42.9	50.7	6.4
East Asia	41.9	50.5	7.6
South & Central Asia	29.2	66.9	3.9
Southeast Asia	64.1	31.3	4.6
EUROPE	52.4	40.1	7.5
Eastern Europe	49	45.4	5.6
Western Europe	53.1	39	7.9
LATIN AMERICA	64.6	29.7	5.7
Caribbean	79.9	16.5	3.6
Central America	66.8	28.4	4.8
South America	54.8	37.6	7.6
MIDDLE EAST	55.4	36.5	8.1
NORTH AMERICA	58.3	38.6	3.1
OCEANIA	63.8	32.8	3.4

Foreign Students by Field of Study (Chapter 3)

Field of Study	1991/92		1992/93		% Change
	%	Number	%	Number	
Business & Managmt	20.1	84,560	20.1	88,120	4.2
Engineering	17.7	74,150	17.6	77,280	4.2
Physical & Life Scies.	8.8	37,030	9.0	39,490	6.6
Math & Computer Sci.	8.7	36,670	8.4	36,980	0.8
Social Sciences	7.6	31,710	7.6	33,260	4.9
Fine & Applied Arts	5.1	21,490	5.1	22,550	4.9
Health Sciences	4.1	17,100	4.1	18,180	6.3
Humanities	3.8	15,760	3.9	16,800	6.6
Education	3.0	12,700	2.8	12,160	-4.3
Agriculture	2.0	8,120	2.1	8,960	10.3

Foreign Students by Academic Level (Chapter 3)

Academic Level	1991/92		1992/93		% Change
	%	Number	%	Number	
Graduate	45.6	191,330	44.1	193,330	1.0
Bachelor's	35.2	147,690	36.6	160,610	8.7
Associate	11.8	49,380	11.3	49,470	0.2
Intensive Engl. Lang. ¹	3.4	14,500	3.3	14,410	-0.6
Practical Training	2.0	8,230	2.5	11,010	33.8
Nondegree	2.0	8,460	2.2	9,790	15.7

¹Only IELP students reported in the Census are included in these figures. See Part III for other IELP students.

continued on next page

TABLE 2.4

Percent of Foreign Students From Leading Countries or Other Places within World Region of Origin, Selected Years, 1954/55 - 1992/93										
Africa			Asia		Europe		Latin America		Middle East	
Locality %			Locality %		Locality %		Locality %		Locality %	
1954/55	Egypt	28.4	China ¹	25.1	Greece	16.9	Colombia	15.4	Iran	24.4
	Nigeria	21.7	India	16.4	Germany, F. R.	14.6	Mexico	14.8	Israel	19.4
	Liberia	15.2	Japan	15.4	United Kingdom	13.6	Venezuela	10.4	Iraq	15.9
	South Africa	12.7	Philippines	14.5	France	9.1	Cuba	8.5	Jordan	14.9
	Ghana	6.6	Korea, Rep. of	11.8	Netherlands	7.2	Jamaica	6.3	Turkey	9.7
	TOTAL	84.6	TOTAL	83.2	TOTAL	61.4	TOTAL	55.4	TOTAL	84.3
1959/60	Egypt	25.0	China ¹	25.5	Greece	17.1	Mexico	14.4	Iran	38.7
	Nigeria	13.2	India	21.2	United Kingdom	15.5	Venezuela	11.9	Turkey	12.9
	South Africa	9.2	Korea, Rep. of	13.9	Germany, F. R.	11.3	Cuba	9.9	Israel	12.5
	Ethiopia	8.7	Japan	12.2	France	8.9	Jamaica	9.6	Iraq	10.4
	Liberia	8.7	Philippines	9.7	Italy	6.9	Colombia	7.3	Lebanon	9.1
	TOTAL	64.8	TOTAL	82.5	TOTAL	59.7	TOTAL	53.1	TOTAL	83.6
1964/65	Nigeria	20.2	India	22.2	United Kingdom	19.4	Cuba	11.5	Iran	37.3
	Egypt	18.7	Taiwan	22.1	Greece	15.3	Mexico	10.0	Israel	15.4
	Kenya	11.3	Japan	11.5	Germany, F. R.	14.9	Colombia	8.8	Turkey	10.7
	South Africa	5.7	Hong Kong	10.7	France	8.2	Jamaica	8.7	Iraq	9.2
	Libena	4.6	Korea, Rep. of	8.5	Italy	6.4	Venezuela	8.6	Lebanon	7.0
	TOTAL	60.5	TOTAL	74.6	TOTAL	64.2	TOTAL	47.6	TOTAL	79.6
1969/70	Nigeria	24.3	Taiwan	23.6	United Kingdom	22.8	Cuba	18.0	Iran	39.0
	Egypt	13.3	India	22.2	Germany, F. R.	14.2	Mexico	10.0	Israel	17.2
	Ethiopia	7.1	Hong Kong	14.1	France	10.7	Colombia	8.2	Turkey	9.9
	Ghana	7.1	Thailand	8.6	Greece	9.8	Venezuela	6.9	Saudi Arabia	7.7
	Kenya	6.5	Japan	8.1	Italy	6.3	Jamaica	5.4	Lebanon	7.7
	TOTAL	58.3	TOTAL	76.6	TOTAL	63.8	TOTAL	48.5	TOTAL	81.5
1974/75	Nigeria	39.2	Hong Kong	18.9	United Kingdom	20.1	Mexico	15.2	Iran	57.6
	Ethiopia	11.1	Taiwan	17.5	Greece	13.7	Venezuela	10.2	Israel	10.0
	Ghana	7.3	India	16.5	Germany, F. R.	11.7	Colombia	9.1	Lebanon	6.6
	Egypt	5.3	Thailand	10.7	France	11.7	Brazil	7.5	Saudi Arabia	6.4
	Libya	5.3	Japan	10.1	Italy	5.2	Jamaica	6.8	Turkey	5.9
	TOTAL	68.2	TOTAL	73.7	TOTAL	62.4	TOTAL	48.8	TOTAL	86.5
1979/80	Nigeria	45.2	Taiwan	21.5	United Kingdom	19.0	Venezuela	23.3	Iran	61.3
	Libya	8.4	Japan	15.0	Germany, F. R.	13.3	Mexico	13.4	Saudi Arabia	11.4
	Kenya	5.1	Hong Kong	12.1	Greece	13.3	Colombia	7.6	Lebanon	7.2
	Ghana	5.0	India	10.7	France	10.0	Brazil	6.9	Jordan	5.6
	Egypt	4.6	Thailand	8.0	Italy	4.9	Jamaica	5.1	Israel	3.3
	TOTAL	68.3	TOTAL	67.3	TOTAL	65.4	TOTAL	56.3	TOTAL	88.8
1984/85	Nigeria	46.5	Taiwan	15.7	United Kingdom	18.1	Venezuela	21.2	Iran	29.4
	Egypt	6.1	Malaysia	15.1	Greece	14.6	Mexico	11.8	Saudi Arabia	13.7
	Ethiopia	5.4	Korea, Rep. of	11.4	Germany, F. R.	12.6	Colombia	8.4	Lebanon	12.3
	Kenya	4.8	India	10.2	France	10.2	Brazil	5.7	Jordan	11.9
	South Africa	4.1	Japan	9.2	Norway	5.4	Jamaica	4.5	Kuwait	7.0
	TOTAL	66.9	TOTAL	61.6	TOTAL	60.9	TOTAL	51.6	TOTAL	74.3
1989/90	Nigeria	18.2	China	16.0	United Kingdom	15.4	Mexico	13.6	Iran	19.9
	Kenya	9.0	Taiwan	14.9	Germany	14.7	Brazil	7.8	Jordan	14.1
	South Africa	8.3	Japan	14.3	France	11.6	Colombia	6.9	Lebanon	11.9
	Ethiopia	8.2	India	12.6	Greece	9.6	Jamaica	5.9	Saudi Arabia	11.0
	Egypt	6.9	Korea, Rep. of	10.4	Spain	7.9	Peru	5.7	Turkey	9.1
	TOTAL	50.6	TOTAL	68.2	TOTAL	59.2	TOTAL	39.9	TOTAL	66.0
1992/93	Nigeria	12.1	China	17.3	Germany	13.6	Mexico	17.5	Turkey	16.5
	Kenya	11.4	Japan	16.4	United Kingdom	13.2	Brazil	10.5	Iran	13.5
	South Africa	9.1	Taiwan	14.4	France	9.8	Venezuela	7.9	Saudi Arabia	12.4
	Egypt	7.6	India	13.8	Spain	8.9	Colombia	6.6	Jordan	10.8
	Ethiopia	7.3	Korea, Rep. of	10.9	Greece	7.5	Jamaica	6.1	Israel	10.0
	TOTAL	47.5	TOTAL	72.8	TOTAL	53.0	TOTAL	48.6	TOTAL	63.2

¹Includes Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao.

~~copy~~ original
to ~~sent~~

Mack

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
82294

Did anything go
wrong here?

Pls write me, advise

B.



RESERVE AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.22.94

94 AUG 19 P 4 : 06 8 August 1994

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I want you to know that I have resigned my position as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Reserve Affairs to be effective 16 September 1994.

Please accept my most sincere thanks and deep appreciation for your friendship and support over the last twelve years. The Military Department in Arkansas really began to move forward with your election as Governor. We were indeed fortunate to have your complete support from the very beginning and all during the time you were in office.

The highlight of my military career was when you appointed me as your Adjutant General in 1986. Throughout your tenure as Governor of Arkansas, I always knew that you and your staff was completely supportive of me and the Arkansas National Guard. And then my appointment at the Defense Department was one that I never expected. It has been a great honor for me to once again be a part of your team and for that I am truly grateful.

Since the time I first met you during your 1st District race back in '72, I have known that you were destined for great things. You are now in the midst of doing those things for our country. Now as then, my belief and trust in you is unwavering. I know you will continue and persevere in all things. Now I believe it is time for me to return to Arkansas to be with my family and friends. I hope to help promote your programs whenever the opportunity arises and to work in your '96 Campaign.

Alice and I send our love and very best wishes to you, Hillary and Chelsea.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. RYAN
Principal Deputy

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Free Speech, Except —

Freedom for political speech has broader support in this country than ever before, I believe. Past repression of unpopular speakers seems anomalous today. One thing on which most conservatives and liberals now agree is respect for the First Amendment.

But not the U.S. Department of Justice. Not, at least, if one goes by an astonishing brief the Department has just filed. In the teeth of precedent and logic, it argues that immigrants in this country have only as much freedom of speech as the Government considers reasonable — and can be deported if they cross that vague line.

The brief was filed in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in a seven-year-old deportation case against two Palestinians. It is the latest turn in a proceeding that is a model of how our Government should not behave.

Eight men and women of Palestinian origin, living in California, were arrested in 1987, held in shackles and described as "terrorists." The Immigration and Naturalization Service charged them with advocating "world Communism" — but later dropped that charge.

The real problem of the eight was that they had raised money for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a radical group. The P.F.L.P. has carried out terrorism, but it also conducts peaceful political and relief activities. Judge William Webster, then Director of the F.B.I., told Congress in 1987 that the eight had "not been found to have engaged themselves in terroristic activities."

Contributing money for peaceful purposes to a group that also engages in violence is plainly protected by the First Amendment. Many Americans gave money to the Nicaraguan contras, and they could certainly not be prosecuted.

Nevertheless the Immigration Service moved to deport Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh, who were lawfully in this country as permanent residents, under a 1990 law allowing deportation of those who support an organization "in conducting a terrorist activity." Many experts in immigration law protested that that language did not cover what these two men had done, but the I.N.S. persisted.

The I.N.S. sought to deport the six others for technical violations. It said, for example, that one who had a student visa failed to take enough credits

Justice's tortured
argument on
deportations.

one year. But an I.N.S. lawyer said the use of such grounds was just "tactical"; the real reason to expel them was their association with the P.F.L.P.

The Palestinians asked a Federal court to block the deportation proceedings as selective, political enforcement of the law. Federal Judge Stephen V. Wilson, a Reagan appointee, granted that request for the six. He refused it in the case against Mr. Hamide and Mr. Shehadeh because their deportation proceeding had already begun, though he said the Government appeared to base its charges against them on constitutionally protected activities.

The two sides appealed Judge Wilson's decisions. In its briefs, the Justice Department says that the First Amendment does apply to immigrants — but has to be read in a way that is "deferential to the Executive." In other words, the Government can decide to select people for deportation because it does not like their beliefs or associations.

To that end the Department argues that immigrants lawfully in the United States have no more rights than outsiders trying to get in. But over many years the Supreme Court has drawn a sharp line between the two, saying that aliens seeking entry have no rights while, once here, every person is entitled to due process of law, free speech and other constitutional protections. For the United States Government to deny that established law seems to me scandalous.

Under the Government's tortured view of the terrorism clause in immigration law, it can deport any immigrant who contributed to Nelson Mandela's speaking tour here, to the contras or to other groups that have engaged in guerrilla activity as well as politics. That adds up to thousands of people. But the only cases brought in the four years of this law are against these Palestinians.

It is especially disappointing that Bill Clinton's Justice Department has decided to push these deportations. There is not even a colorable political reason. The Red-hunting age is happily past, and Israel has just allowed members of the P.F.L.P. to enter Gaza. It is time — long past time — to drop these embarrassing cases. □

*Savage
Lloyd
is Tony Blair
on the
My Mind*

A. M. ROSENTHAL

The Waldheim Bill

The papal knighthood conferred on Kurt Waldheim remains a mystery that can be explained only by Pope John Paul II, who does not. But more important mysteries remain about the former Secretary General of the United Nations. Now and at last Congress has been handed the opportunity to reveal any answers that are within the files of American intelligence.

Representative Carolyn B. Maloney, Democrat of Manhattan, has just introduced the War Crimes Disclosure Act, H.R. 4995. It would push the Central Intelligence Agency to disclose relevant parts of the Waldheim dossier, which has been locked in its files for decades. If the C.I.A. refuses, for the first time it would have to give some good, specific and appealable reasons.

The mysteries go far beyond the question of what Lieutenant Waldheim of the Wehrmacht knew or did when he was an intelligence officer in the Balkans during World War II.

After the war he lied about his war record, completely hiding his intelligence duty during the German massacres in the Balkans.

How many Western and Communist foreign offices and intelligence agencies knew the truth?

There is no question that some did. The evidence exists that the Yugoslavs knew for many years, which meant that the Soviet Union and selected other allies did too.

And it's known that somehow original records of a list of wanted war criminals on which his name appeared never surfaced during Western inquiries into Mr. Waldheim's past. Without the deletion of the intelligence record and the war crimes list with Mr. Waldheim's name, the man could never even have been considered as Secretary General.

So the mysteries surrounding the success of that lie, and what relations Mr. Waldheim might have had with countries that kept his secret, involve not just one rather boring man but the conduct of international diplomacy after the war.

To boil it down: Who used whom for what?

Any information that exists in U.S. files does not belong to intelligence bureaucrats but to the public. Do we

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8 22-94

The key
to locked
files.

really have to say that so many years after the war?

Yes. The State Department has revealed parts of its files — including the excruciatingly embarrassing fan letters about him that kept coming from the U.S. Embassy in Vienna. They were disclosed to Prof. Robert Herzstein of the University of South Carolina.

But the C.I.A. refuses to give the public a peek. The agency keeps invoking provisions of the Freedom of Information Act that allow some "national security" and intelligence material to be kept secret.

On May 24, this column reported Professor Herzstein's belief that the Information Act should be amended to deny government agencies the right to conceal information relating to war crimes.

Almost immediately, Representative Maloney began to move. Last year she led members of Congress who urged Argentina to open its own locked files.

So on Wednesday, Ms. Maloney and six co-sponsors were ready. They introduced the bill before the House committees on Government Operations, the Judiciary and Intelligence. The co-sponsors were Representatives Nita M. Lowey and Jerrold Nadler of New York, Henry A. Waxman of California, Ed Pastor of Arizona and Jim Cooper of Tennessee.

The bill requires release of information about people who, like Mr. Waldheim, are barred from entry into the U.S. for war crimes acts committed during World War II. It is not a license to rummage through even their confidential files.

But it narrows the "security" provision against disclosure to information that would specifically damage current security or intelligence activities. And it demands that the Government agencies adopt a "reasonably segregable" information standard so that pertinent information not a matter of current security can be separated out from real security matters and made public.

The bill is not likely to come up for a vote until the next Congress. The sponsors can use the time to gather more support. Ms. Maloney, if re-elected, intends to re-introduce the bill immediately.

It is an overdue piece of legislation, important to justice and history. The key to the Waldheim file is right there on the table, waiting for Congress to pick it up and use it. □

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.22.94

Mayor Giuliani's Surprise

Despite the current squabbling over the crime bill, shared fear may yet produce legislation of some sort. Although eager to whack President Clinton, the Republicans know that the Democrats are trying to position them for a fall as the party that went soft on crime. The White House, staring at the prospect of a crippled Presidency, will compromise or threaten, depending on what it takes to get the votes to move the bill.

Given the generally craven environment, it is refreshing to see Mayor Rudolph Giuliani of New York taking over the unoccupied high ground of a smarter, loftier bipartisan politics. Stating that his obligations as Mayor outweigh party loyalty, he has been campaigning for the Clinton crime bill. He is attracted by its promise of more money for police, but he has also defended the much-demagogued provisions controlling guns and financing crime-prevention programs such as night basketball.

This, of course, has infuriated Republicans who think Mr. Clinton will be hanging on the ropes and ripe for a knockout by the 1996 election. Mr. Giuliani is being portrayed as a traitor to the party and, in the words of Guy Molinari, a victim of "blind political ambition." Republicans are also suggest-

ing that Mr. Giuliani is blighting his future, a code-word-threat that he is sacrificing his supposed ambitions for higher office.

Although the bill's reliance on capital punishment and the absence of racial justice provisions have led us to oppose it in principle, we respect Mr. Giuliani's approach to it in his role as the city's advocate. Moreover, the eloquence with which he has defended his bipartisanship has broadened the meaning of his statement that he is "a different kind of mayor." Previously such remarks have come in the context of bashing either the Democrats or the civil-service bureaucracy.

This time Mr. Giuliani seems to have a more encompassing vision. "I'm not a partisan operative of the Republican Party," he said. Representative Charles Rangel said he hoped that philosophy would infuse all aspects of Mr. Giuliani's administration.

Perhaps it is not an unreasonable hope that the Mayor's trademark pugnacity is being tempered by his experience. In any event, watching Mr. Giuliani in the first months of office suggests a flexibility and dexterity, an ability to change as he absorbs the experience of governing that undergirds his claim to being different.

Mr. Clinton: Defend Your Trade Pledge

The Clinton Administration fought for consumers when it signed a trade accord in April with more than 100 other countries in Marrakesh, Morocco. But it besmirched its record when it sent Congress implementing legislation that contradicted the Marrakesh accord in dozens of places. It was as if the Commerce Department had decided to protect powerful corporate friends in steel, textiles and cement rather than consumers or the vast number of U.S. companies that need to buy low-cost foreign goods.

Then House and Senate committees took the Administration's draft and made it worse. Conferees will meet soon to hammer out final language — providing a chance to fix the wrongs.

At issue are anti-dumping statutes, which require foreigners to sell in the U.S. at fair prices; foreign companies may not sell at prices either below what they charge in their home country or below their cost of production. But the U.S. and other countries manipulate anti-dumping laws to shut out imports that are not dumped. The Marrakesh accord tries to limit this protectionist practice.

The accord says that the U.S. must make a fair comparison between prices here and abroad. But the Senate committee, at the insistence of Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, proposes a formula that, by treating profit differently here and abroad,

would artificially deflate the calculation of prices some foreign businesses charge in the U.S. — and make conviction for dumping near-certain.

The accord also recognizes that production costs typically decline for new companies during a break-in period; the U.S. is supposed to calculate a foreign company's costs at the end of the break-in period. But the Administration and Congressional committees propose making such costs appear high by using an earlier period.

The Marrakesh accord allows countries to retaliate only if domestic industry has been harmed. To show harm, the U.S. would have to demonstrate substantial imports compared with the size of domestic production. House and Senate committees, with Administration support, propose to make U.S. production look small — and dumping look harmful — by ignoring a substantial part of U.S. output, known as captive production. Captive production refers to goods made not for sale but for use in other goods — a computer business's production of semi-conductors, for example.

In Marrakesh, the Administration stood for open trade and economic growth. At home, it proposed sizable doses of protectionism. The conferees will now decide which version of U.S. policy will be the final version.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, AUGUST 19, 1994

Rubin

What's the deal here? —

B.

Democrats Criticize Gingrich on PAC

125 in House Call for Minority Whip to Identify His Contributors

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Democrats yesterday called on House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) to reveal the names of contributors to his political action committee, GOPAC, claiming the committee is funded in part by people with a direct interest in federal legislation.

"Every similar political action committee in America today discloses fully the sources of its contributions and how those funds are used," the Democrats said in a letter dated today and addressed to Gingrich.

The Democrats, who are worried about the election prospects this fall, said Gingrich's refusal to make public the committee's finances "reveals your contempt for the millions of Americans seeking openness and accountability in the political process." The letter was signed by 125 Democrats.

The Democrats' action came after the newspaper Roll Call published a report yesterday showing that 16 people had each contributed \$100,000 or more to GOPAC between 1985 and 1993, and that the 169 charter members, including five lobbyists for major U.S. corporations or trade associations. Those corporations are Delta Air Lines Inc., General Electric Corp., Siemens Corp., RJR Nabisco Corp. and the National Association of Realtors.

The largest single contributor to GOPAC was Terry Kohler, a Wisconsin investor and conservative activist. He gave Gingrich's group \$578,200 between 1985 and 1993,

and his wife, Mary, gave \$137,300, the newspaper reported.

Gingrich spokesman Tony Blankley declined to answer questions about the committee or the Democrats' letter, other than to say that "somebody has procured a list they are peddling around town." He referred questions to GOPAC officials, who did not return calls.

GOPAC executive director, Lisa Nelson, was quoted by the Associated Press as saying, "Every campaign finance law in existence we follow to the letter."

GOPAC was formed in 1978 by former Delaware governor Pierre S. "Pete" du Pont IV and was designed to aid Republicans running in state and local campaigns.

Gingrich has maintained that because the committee does not directly contribute to candidates running for the House or Senate, it is largely exempt from Federal Election Commission disclosure requirements. The committee files minimal reports to the FEC.

The PAC is one of numerous so-called leadership PACs maintained by Republican and Democratic leaders in Congress, which have been a source of controversy over the years.

The Senate-passed campaign finance reform bill outlaws all leadership PACs, but the House-passed version does not. So far House Democratic leaders have refused to accept the Senate language. The bill has been stalled in a House-Senate conference committee.

Fred Wertheimer, president of the citizens lobby Common Cause, said yesterday Gingrich should fully

disclose his contributors and expenditures but also urged House Democrats to yield to the Senate and get rid of such PACs. "Disclosure should be taking place," he said, "but the only real solution to members' PACs is to ban them."

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9 a.m.
Committees: none.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.
Committees:
Ways and Means— 2 p.m. Markup
Superfund Reform Act. 1100 Longworth
House Office Bldg.
Conferees— 11 a.m. Closed. GATT
agreement. H-137 Capitol.

1994 speech on "what's not working in work force policy."

But terminating the program has proved another matter.

It is strongly supported by a coalition of retail, fast-food and social services companies, and their influential allies in Congress.

McDonald's Corp., Marriott Corp., Pizza Hut Inc., Montgomery Ward & Co. and the Youth Services Project Inc. in Chicago's inner cities are among the coalition members, said Washington lobbyist Ronald L. Pratt of McDermott, Will & Emery.

Pratt said the material in the studies, based on hiring that occurred two years ago, "is not reliable in the least. I'd hazard a guess that many of the hiring managers have changed." The accuracy of the Labor studies cannot be verified, he said, because the inspector general's office has thus far refused requests to examine the methodology.

Peterson argued that the latest report strengthens his position, and he urged Congress to let the program die at the end of this year. "The data we have makes us very confident in this recommendation," he said.

The new study covered 1,150 recipients out of 505,418 workers hired under the program from July 1991 to July 1992. Employers were asked whether they would have hired the workers without the credit and whether they checked the worker's eligibility for the tax credit before hiring. The workers also were surveyed.

Only 8 percent were hired because of the tax credit, the study concluded. "It's a nice windfall for the companies," Peterson said.

Assistant Labor Secretary Douglas Ross responded that the new study "deepens our concern about the program's current design." But Ross added that without a "scientific study" it would be impossible to verify the inspector general's conclusions. "The departments of Labor and Treasury continue to examine ways to strengthen achievement under the program," he said.

U.S. Hiring Program Attacked

By Peter Behr
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Labor Department's inspector general's office yesterday stepped up its attack on a \$300 million program that gives tax credits to companies that hire low-income workers, citing new evidence that employers would have hired the workers anyway.

But department officials called for further study, saying they are trying to find ways to make the program work as intended because the goals are so important. If that can't be done, "the program should not be continued," a department spokesman said yesterday.

Gerald W. Peterson, Labor's assistant inspector general for audit, said he was disappointed and frustrated by the department's call for further study.

"If we can't end a program that is so clearly not working, then you wonder if any program could be stopped," he said in an interview.

The Targeted Jobs Tax Credit program was created in 1978 to increase hiring of disadvantaged youth, low-income Vietnam-era vet-

LABOR, From C1

erans, welfare recipients and other hard-to-employ people.

In most cases, employers receive a tax credit of as much as \$2,400 for each worker hired. Between 1980 and 1990, the cost of the program in reduced tax revenue was \$4.5 billion, according to the inspector general.

A year ago, the inspector general's office audited the jobs program in Alabama and concluded that 95 percent of those hired would have gotten jobs without the tax subsidy. Most were hired before employers knew whether they qualified for the tax break, according to the study.

The conclusions of the Alabama report were confirmed by the new Labor study released yesterday, focusing on seven other states, Peterson said.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich included the program in a January

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.22.94

Leon
can we
do any more
on this? B.

Clinton Seems Unlikely to Produce Code For Changes in Human Rights in China

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—When President Clinton renewed China's trade privileges with the U.S. last May, he vowed to work with American companies to develop a code of business principles to promote human rights there.

But three months later the effort is languishing. And for Beijing, it's business as usual.

U.S. business representatives who have met recently with the administration have shown scant interest in a rigorous code that could be used to prod China to improve human rights. Labor and human-rights groups, meanwhile, are pressing for standards that are tougher than American companies would ever accept.

As a result, the administration is increasingly unlikely to produce the kind of credible code that would be part of the "new and vigorous" human-rights program Mr. Clinton promised when he renewed China's so-called most-favored-nation status.

"There obviously has been a lot of resistance," concedes a senior administration official. "But we haven't pressed people in a serious way yet."

Meetings With Chinese

➤ The administration isn't showing the same kind of half-heartedness when it comes to promoting U.S. commercial interests or strengthening official ties with Beijing. Despite continued human-rights abuses in China, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown this week leads a delegation of U.S. corporate chiefs to China; last week, Defense Secretary William Perry met in Washington with a top Chinese general to pave the way for a visit to Beijing by Mr. Perry in the fall.

U.S. officials insist that human rights will be on the agenda during these

high-level contacts with China, but they certainly aren't the focal point of either Mr. Brown's or Mr. Perry's visit. The signal received by Beijing may be the same one sent last spring, that human rights take a back seat to U.S. commercial interests.

While China's political system won't be altered by a voluntary set of business principles for U.S. companies operating within its borders, the effort could be a potent symbol of U.S. concern, particularly now that Mr. Clinton has severed the link between China's trade status and its human-rights performance.

Relationship Cornerstone

So far, Mr. Clinton appears to be using the notion of business principles more as a figleaf than as a lever to effect change. In a letter this month urging lawmakers not to reimpose human-rights conditions on China's trade privileges, Mr. Clinton insisted that promoting human rights remains "a cornerstone in our relations with China." He listed the development of voluntary principles for businesses operating in China as part of the program.

"Is this whole effort purely public relations or a serious attempt to get businesses engaged on human rights in China?" asks Mike Jendrzeczyk, Washington director of Human Rights Watch/Asia, a private group. "We won't know until we see the results and how energetically the president remains involved in making sure that companies follow through."

Robert Kapp, president of the U.S.-China Business Council, which represents 260 companies engaged in China business, doesn't want much follow-through at all. "I do have a problem with the notion that Americans are responsible for what we perceive to be the moral failings of any other society," says Mr. Kapp, who attended a recent meeting with U.S. officials to discuss a code of business conduct.

Codes of Behavior

Many U.S. companies, of course, do take seriously codes of behavior they have set for themselves abroad. Reebok International forced one of its contractors in China to move workers out of unsafe dormitories by threatening to cancel orders. And Levi Strauss stopped doing business in China because it felt it couldn't maintain its standards.

Meanwhile, Human Rights Watch/Asia says China's abuses continue. On June 4, only days after Mr. Clinton's decision to continue its trade privileges, China criminalized many forms of civil protest, the group reports. Among other things, new laws ban cooperation with nongovernment organizations outside China and make illegal the receipt of assistance from any group that Beijing deems to be a "hostile organization," it said.

Human Rights Watch/Asia concludes that Mr. Clinton's decision "to delink human rights and MFN has left the Chinese authorities with the impression that their repression of dissent will have no negative consequences." To correct that impression, it adds, pressure from the international community — government and business — is essential.

Dutch Industrial Sales Rise

AMSTERDAM — Industrial sales in the Netherlands rose 5.1% in June from a year earlier, buoyed by a 6.8% increase in exports and confirming indications that the Dutch economic recovery is continuing.

Preliminary figures, released by the Hague-based Central Bureau for Statistics, show domestic sales in June were 3.5% higher than a year earlier.

The June year-on-year increase of industrial sales comes after a slightly broader 6.8% rise in May, which was boosted by 11.8% higher exports.

China Opposes Using Bank To Push for Labor Rights

BEIJING (AP) — China said it was opposed to a U.S. plan to use the World Bank and other multilateral lending agencies to push for labor rights in borrowing countries.

President Clinton is expected to sign a bill that would require U.S. representatives to the lending institutions to push for internationally recognized human rights, including the right to form labor unions for bargaining, a ban on forced labor and limits on child labor.

"We are very concerned about this and firmly oppose introducing human-rights labor criteria and other noneconomic factors into the activities of the World Bank and other international development agencies," said a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry. He did not give his name, in keeping with ministry practice.

China is the single largest beneficiary of World Bank loans; the bank's loans to Beijing total \$18.6 billion.

The spokesman said the World Bank's charter "has laid down in explicit terms that its business activities should not interfere in the politics of any member state."

He said existing international conventions should be enough to ensure that human rights are protected.

The U.S. is the biggest stockholder in the World Bank, but it does not have veto power over loans.

However, decisions by lenders such as the World Bank are usually made by consensus, and the U.S. for years prevented loans from going to Vietnam.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.22.94

~~Sunday~~
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Secretary Ron Brown Revitalizes Commerce Department (Washn)

By William Douglas=

(c) 1994, Newsday=

WASHINGTON GTE Corp. vice chairman Michael T. Masin

recently witnessed something he thought unusual: a Democrat aggressively singing the praises of American business.

There was Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown in Buenos Aires, Argentina, talking up the power and promise of GTE and other U.S. companies with government officials as Masin unveiled GTE's new cellular network in Argentina.

"Republicans have traditionally been the friend of business," said Masin, who accompanied Brown and several other corporate heads on a development mission to South America. "To have a Democrat be such an unabashed proponent of American business... If his performance is any indication, there is a revitalization at Commerce."

Next week, Brown is scheduled to lead a trade mission to China, bringing along 25 chief executive officers of major U.S. companies.

Brown's supporters say the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee is using his savvy, political skills and an endless list of influential contacts from his years as a high-powered Washington lobbyist to energize the historically lackluster Commerce Department and bolster his influence within the Clinton administration.

"He's a player," said Robert Rubin, chairman of the administration's National Economic Council and former co-chairman of the investment banking firm Goldman, Sachs & Co. "It's my impression there has been no one as active as Ron Brown."

(Begin optional trim)

When President Clinton chose Brown, 53, as commerce secretary, he "gave me a mandate," Brown said in a recent interview. "He used the word 'powerhouse.' I believe that my job was to energize a department that in years past had been seen as kind of a mishmash of disparate parts that really didn't fit together."

Brown credits his political experience with helping him navigate through the often turbulent waters where politics and business interests converge. "I think it prepares you for dealing effectively not only with policymaking within the administration, but helping as we move our legislative agenda through Congress, and how we speak to the various constituent groups in America," he said.

And it doesn't hurt, Brown added, that the priorities of the administration clearly mirror the functions of the Commerce Department: "The focus is on economic growth, job creation." The principal issues of the department, including trade, export promotion, technology and telecommunications, are priorities "the administration, the president and vice president care about," he said.

Brown acknowledges that the 36,000-employee department, which covers everything from the National Weather Service to the Census Bureau, isn't the president's powerhouse yet. But Brown insists he's making strides.

(End optional trim)

Both Brown and the department earned kudos from the White House last year for helping negotiate Saudi Arabia's \$6 billion purchase of passenger jets from the Boeing Co. and McDonnell Douglas Corp.

Lawmakers say Brown was influential in persuading Congress and particularly Congressional Black Caucus members to vote for the North American Free Trade

Agreement. Over the strong objections of labor leaders many of whom supported Clinton's election campaign Brown lobbied hard for NAFTA, which gradually reduces trade barriers among the United States, Mexico and Canada.

Brown's biggest victory so far was persuading Clinton to increase Commerce's budget by \$60 million to \$3.6 billion in fiscal 1995 to enable it to help carry out the administration's favorite technology projects, including the information superhighway.

(Begin optional trim)

Raised among Harlem's cultural and intellectual elite, Brown was the first black to become chief counsel to a Senate committee in 1980.

A year later, Brown, a graduate of St. John's University Law School, became the first black partner in the powerful Washington, D.C., law firm of Patton, Boggs & Blow. In 1989, a year after running the Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, Brown became the first black chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

(End optional trim)

Reflecting on his success, Brown said, "When I became chairman of the party, I tried to define the mission in a way to cause us to be very focused and that mission was to elect a president in 1992." Staying focused on such a mission is "very reflective of my style," he said. And although his job at the Commerce Department is more complex, he added, "I've tried to do the same thing here. First, you create a common sense of mission and purpose, and then you try to provide the requisite leadership to accomplish it."

Some people say Brown would like to be secretary of state, a job that no minority or woman has ever held. Brown was known to have coveted the position during the Clinton administration's transition days.

Distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service

Haitian Army Forces Journalists Into Hiding (Port-au-Prince)

By Ron Howell= (c) 1994, Newsday=

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti Speaking in the living room of a safehouse near here, Ernst Ocean said he remembered a time when there were 12 journalists working in his hometown of St. Marc.

Now there are only three.

Ocean, 27, became the most recent journalist to stop reporting when he went into hiding three weeks ago, following word that soldiers were after him because of a report he had broadcast over independent Radio Tropic FM, where he had been employed for two years.

"Anytime it appears that there is going to be trouble in Haiti, the military says it is the journalists who are responsible," Ocean said, speaking out for the first time since he dropped out of sight on July 31.

According to Ocean's July 28 report, soldiers had held voodoo ceremonies for three consecutive nights at the St. Marc's army barracks earlier in the week. He also reported that the soldiers, together with civilian supporters called "attaches," held black magic voodoo ceremonies and sacrificed three homeless men believed to have been supporters of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The story of Ernst Ocean, and how he came to be a journalist-in-hiding, reflects the good, the bad and the bizarre of Haiti, a land where many people such as Ocean

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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Stories like this
B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/22/94

94 AUG 19 10:56

August 18, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mark Gearan

SUBJECT: Broadcast of Weekly Radio Address on Spanish Language Radio Stations

I would like to update you on our efforts to have your weekly radio address carried by Spanish language radio stations across the country. White House Radio Director Richard Strauss and Joe Valasquez met last week with Carlos Portes, whom you met with recently, and Spanish Broadcasting System Senior Vice President C. Carroll Larkin to work out the details of this project. We hope to have the radio address translated and carried on a delayed basis across the country starting sometime next month.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/20/94

Mr. President:

Pat Griffin phoned to let you know that Chairman Dingell resigned his NRA Board position. He is leaving town tomorrow and suggest you call him this evening to thank him for his support. His home number is 703-734-6945.

Sam Castleman
9:51 p.m., Sunday, August 21

done

Tony
Gibbs

B.

COUDERT BROTHERS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

GARY HART
OF COUNSEL
9785 MAROON CIRCLE, SUITE 210
ENGLEWOOD, COLORADO 80112
TEL: 303 649-4656 FAX: 303 649-9760

August 4, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

The author of this letter, who shares a long-standing concern for peace in Ireland, also shares a profound conviction that time and circumstances now provide a unique opportunity for the United States to assume a more vigorous, though not necessarily more highly visible, role in helping achieve peace on that troubled island.

The confluence of historic circumstances is this:

First, despite nationalist frictions, the world is clearly in a condition for settlement of long-term disputes. The evidence is staggering. The end of the Cold War and reconciliation between the U.S. and Russia. A Middle East peace agreement and a working relationship between Israel and the Palestinians. The first democratic elections and the inauguration of a black majority government in South Africa. German reunification. The end of hostilities in Central America. Ireland is a glaring exception, principally because the parties cannot move further by themselves;

Second, the parties in Ireland managed to negotiate an important but vague Joint Declaration, but may presently be stuck and too exhausted to go further without help. The British people are paying billions of pounds a year on Northern Ireland and know their economy cannot continue to carry this burden. After a brief burst of energy with the announcement of the Joint Declaration last December, the bilateral negotiating process has again become stalled. Although Sinn Fein has recently announced that it will not embrace the Downing Street declaration at this time, there is some optimism that the IRA is prepared to consider a cease fire of some sort in order to allow the peace process (such as it is) to remain alive. For its part, the British government recently announced the transfer of 30 IRA prisoners from incarceration in Britain to incarceration in Northern Ireland. This was a clear humanitarian gesture and is regarded as a signal of potential amnesty in the event of peace;

1. ^{6/14} CC: TONY LAKE

2. PRESIDENT

NEW YORK

PARIS

WASHINGTON

LONDON

BRUSSELS

HONG KONG

SINGAPORE

SÃO PAULO

SAN FRANCISCO

BEIJING

SYDNEY

LOS ANGELES

SAN JOSE

SHANGHAI

TOKYO

MOSCOW

BANGKOK

JAKARTA

THE PRESIDENT P.

8/22/94

Third, there is clearly an opportunity for a good-faith, third-party mediator. The Prime Ministers of Ireland (Reynolds) and the U.K. (Major) are nearing the boundary of their political authority and may be incapable, without outside prodding and pressure, of making further concessions;

Fourth, given its 40 plus million Americans of Irish descent and its long and successful role as mediator in the Middle East, the United States has political precedents and diplomatic authority to seek to bring about a permanent resolution of Ireland's troubles. (Please recall your controversial promises during the campaign to appoint a "peace envoy" to Northern Ireland. Active and interested Irish-American groups remain committed to seeing this promise fulfilled.)

Given the "opportunity for a new departure" described in the Joint Declaration, the author believes the United States should undertake the following initiatives:

1. After consultation with all parties, you should appoint a "personal representative" to observe, monitor and report to you on the progress of further peace negotiations, with an emphasis on seeking new formulas to facilitate progress. (The designation "special envoy" should not be used since it is too laden with political baggage).
2. You should privately recommend to the parties that your representative chair or facilitate the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation called for in the Joint Declaration. No public announcement should be made.
3. Your representative should be knowledgeable of Ireland's history and culture, respected by the parties, totally committed to the endeavor, and operate with low visibility (talking seldom, if ever, to the press).
4. Your representative should operate as a neutral mediator or arbitrator using recognized principles of international dispute resolution.
5. Through the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation, this representative should: (a) isolate and prioritize barriers to resolution; (b) propose alternative solutions; (c) suggest new structures and institutions; (d) help prepare proposed constitutional and statutory amendments; (e) seek to establish time tables for actions; (f) facilitate Forum for Peace and Reconciliation meetings through agenda-setting; (g) hear and resolve complaints.

6. The goal of your representative should be to draft an overall settlement agreement with time tables that recognize the long-term nature of the settlement.
7. This presidential representative should report regularly to the President, but operate within the National Security Council chain of command, and brief State and concerned members of Congress.
8. Necessarily, your representative should regularly visit London, Dublin and Belfast as an on-going intermediary (following the Middle East example) and should principally operate as a "hollow log" receiving and transmitting messages and providing political deniability for experimental proposals by the parties.

Mr. President, I am keenly aware of traditional British diplomatic resistance to proposals of this sort. But I believe very strongly nonetheless that, given world-wide trends toward reconciliation and given the intractable resistance of narrow interest on both sides, the British government might, even while publicly protesting, secretly welcome U.S. involvement as quiet mediator. Moreover, I believe that British views may be changing and can be solicited at a senior ministerial but informal level. I have a long-term personal friendship with Chris Patton, Governor-General of Hong Kong, who formerly held the Ministerial portfolio to Northern Ireland and is one of Prime Minister Major's closest friends and advisors.

The Joint Declaration, by recognizing the right of the Irish people "to exercise their right of self-determination ... to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish," has set the stage for final unification when demographics produce a Catholic majority in the North. Now what is required is a formal Agreement of Peace and Reconciliation to ratify this consensus.

On behalf of the United States and the Irish people, you as President can and should seek to arbitrate and negotiate this Agreement.

Sincerely,



Gary Hart

GH/gmcg

cc: James M. Lyons



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/22/94

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

August 17, 1994

09:08

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lloyd Bentsen *LMB*

SUBJECT: Implementation of the Community Development Banking Act

The purpose of this memorandum is to outline the actions we are taking to make the community development financial institutions (CDFI) program operational as soon as possible. As you know, the legislation passed both houses of Congress with extremely strong bipartisan support (410 to 12 in the House, unanimous consent in the Senate), after an extensive interagency effort led by Treasury. It is anticipated that the bill will be ready for your signature in early September.

Your budget requests funding of \$500 million over 4 years, \$125 million of which is to be spent in the first year. The FY 95 Senate VA-HUD Appropriations bill contains budget authority for the \$125 million, \$39 million of which will go to the Bank Enterprise Act (BEA); the House Appropriations bill provides no funding. The House/Senate conference is scheduled to take up the funding issue as early as Wednesday, August 17. The conferees will also have to address final funding levels for the program sponsored by Congressman Flake based on the Bank Enterprise Act. The CDFI bill allows for one-third of the total money to go toward Congressman Flake's program.

The legislation also contains several other noteworthy titles unrelated to CDFIs, including reduction in regulatory burdens for banks, securitization of small business loans, improvements in detection of money laundering, and prevention of abusive second-mortgage practices. Many of these provisions will also require Treasury involvement, but this memo concentrates on the main program you initiated: community development banking.

* The CDFI Fund will be run by an Administrator, to be appointed by you, with Senate confirmation. In addition, there will be an Advisory Board consisting of representatives of key Executive Branch Departments, including Treasury, plus 9 members of the public appointed by you. In anticipation of passage, we started the search, in coordination with Presidential Personnel, for candidates for the key position of Administrator, as well as potential Advisory Board members, with emphasis on strong backgrounds in community development and banking. Working with Veronica Biggins, we plan to have recommendations for you to consider for the Administrator within the next few weeks.

In addition, the bill provides for a special transition role for Treasury to start many of the administrative functions, including hiring limited staff, before the Administrator is confirmed. The Fund is also required to establish and publish standards for applications for funding in accordance with specific criteria. We plan to set this process in motion immediately, so that the program can get off to a running start once the Administrator is officially on board. We hope our efforts will allow the Fund, with the Administrator in place, to begin processing applications and actually start investing in community development financial institutions within the coming fiscal year.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6500

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1994

94 AUG 18 AID: 72

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
ALEXIS HERMAN

SUBJECT:

Travel of Delegation to Rwanda, Zaire and Burundi

A number of prominent private Americans would like to travel to Central Africa to review the relief efforts for the Rwanda refugees. We have deferred these requests until now because we did not want such a group to interfere with more important relief efforts. However, with the situation in the refugee camps in Goma starting to stabilize, the installation of a new government in Rwanda and renewed concerns over instability in Burundi, it would be useful for a group of prominent private Americans to travel to the region on your behalf (see Tab A).

The purpose of the mission would be four-fold:

- It would support our policy of sending high-profile delegations to Bujumbura to shore up Burundi's political stability and to Kigali to reinforce our message that the new government needs to broaden its base, avoid retribution and create conditions for the return of refugees.
- The publicity generated during and after the trip would help enlist continued support and contributions for public and private relief efforts.
- The visit would allow these individuals to see and report back on how we are using American military personnel and tax dollars to save lives.
- The visit would reach out to an important group of Americans to help strengthen the U.S. constituency for Africa.

A seasoned diplomat such as former U.N. Ambassador Don McHenry might serve as head of the delegation and spokesperson in meetings with foreign government officials. For maximum impact and flexibility, the delegation would fly on U.S. military aircraft to Kigali to meet with government officials, UNAMIR forces, the U.N. special representative, private relief agencies and others. The group would then fly into Goma on a relief flight, assuming conditions still permit, where the group would meet with relief agencies, including UNHCR and private groups, and review the relief efforts. We envision a meeting with village elders in the camps who continue to spread ethnic hatred and distrust of the new government in Rwanda. The group would then travel to Bujumbura to convey a strong message to Hutus and Tutsis alike of the need for national

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

*OK - 2 suggestions
1. Ask R. May on
Tina Green for her
Bobby Green for her
be invited
showed in a way
at least 1 more
Don, 1600
Bujumbura?*

reconciliation and the resolution of the presidential succession issue, lest the tragedy in Rwanda be repeated in Burundi. We would refine the message the party would convey as we get closer to its departure. Upon return, the delegation would meet with you and/or other senior officials to report on their impressions of their travel. We are working with the State Department and DOD on arrangements.

Attachment

Tab A List of Potential Participants for Presidential Delegation

List of Potential Participants

1. Ambassador Don McHenry (head of the delegation)
2. C. Payne Lucas
President, Africare
3. Bishop William Graves (Methodist Episcopal Church)
Congress of National Black Churches
4. Charles Brimmer
National Black Caucus of State Legislators
5. Bill Lucy
Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
6. Vivian Derryck
President, African-American Institute
7. Representative Donald Payne
U.S. House of Representatives
8. Dr. Niara Sudarkasa
President, Lincoln University
9. John Sewell
President, Overseas Development Council
10. Rev. Frank Graham (Billy Graham's son)
Graham Ministries Relief Operation
11. Helen Walton
Chairwoman of Walmart Corporation
12. Randy Nugent
President, Global Ministries
13. Lonnie Turniseed
Director, Church World Service
14. Dick Clark
President, Aspen Institute
15. Danny Glover
Actor
16. Denzel Washington
Actor

What's Wirth Worth? Clinton Should Wonder

Jimmy Carter fell in with the 1970s "Limits to Growth" crowd and soon was boring voters with his spiel that dwindling resources were responsible for double-digit inflation and gasoline lines. The voters chose to blame Mr. Carter instead and sent him back to Georgia.

Now, Bill Clinton is consorting with neo-Malthusians, cousins of the Limits-to-Growthers. Like the two-centuries-old lament of their patron saint, Thomas Robert Malthus, their cry is that the planet is nearing its "load-bearing" capacity. A wiser president would have ignored these folks, but it's too late now.

Neo-Malthusianism will be the driving force behind the U.N.'s Third Interna-

Global View

By George Melloan

tional Conference on Population and Development in Cairo two weeks from now. Leading the Clinton delegation will be—who else?—Vice President Al Gore. Opinion polls show that Mr. Clinton's support for this gabfest is losing him one of his strongest constituencies, Roman Catholic voters.

Cairo will bear a certain resemblance to the 1992 "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, where the U.N. marshalled Third World leaders to try to extract \$140 billion from First World taxpayers. But there is one big difference: At Rio, the goal was to save the planet from pollution; at Cairo, it will be to save the planet from people.

Rio, while expensive, was relatively benign. No one likes pollution. But not everyone favors eliminating people, or more specifically, artificially controlling human reproduction. Mr. Clinton thus invited a firestorm by supporting the U.N.'s main

Cairo objective—a 20-year program to curb world population growth.

The president has come under bitter attack from Pope John Paul II. Clinton denies notwithstanding, the pope believes that Cairo will promote contraception, abortion, single-parent families and a whole pathology of casualness towards sex. Rome has messaged all participants that the Cairo agenda invites "moral decline." Ads are appearing in American newspapers denouncing the Cairo gathering.

Other religious leaders are joining the outcry. Cairo's Al Azhar University, a center of Islamic thought, has just issued a statement saying that the U.N. document for the conference condones not only abortion, but also homosexuality, extramarital sex and possibly prostitution.

How did the president walk into this buzz saw? For one thing he seems to have a boundless appetite for U.N. guff. Further, his surgeon general, Joycelyn Elders, is a loose cannon who goes out of her way to offend right-to-lifers. Then there is former U.S. Sen. Timothy Wirth, a man who has achieved minor celebrity by keeping a supply of condoms in a silver bowl in his outer office.

Mr. Clinton early on appointed Mr. Wirth to a new State Department office which might be appropriately titled Undersecretary for the Export of Political Correctness. Mr. Wirth can match the president in glib pieties about "women's issues" and the like, and seems to be equipped with just as large a tin ear when critics of his hip gospel of permissiveness offer him their views.

Not all women think that women benefit from population control, at least not the way it is practiced in some parts of the world. Coercive birth control programs in China and parts of India create a distinct bias against women, or more to the point, female babies. Female infanticide is not

unknown. A Washington Post article last year reported a tilt of the normal male-female population balance heavily in favor of men in China, India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan. They have a total combined deficit of 77 million women, the article said.

There also are hints of racism in the population control movement. The fastest population growth is among people who have black, brown or yellow skins. The idea that if white folks don't do something they will be overwhelmed by the masses of a different color is not far below the surface in these deliberations, although it certainly is not politically correct to say that openly.

It is of course true that non-whites populate some of the world's poorest re-

Not all women think that women benefit from population control.

gions and that these regions have high birth rates on the whole. But some of the most intelligent studies suggest that neo-Malthusians get cause and effect reversed. These places aren't poor because they have large populations. They have large populations because they are poor. Both India and China now are demonstrating that as families gain greater financial security, they emulate richer societies and have fewer babies. Children are no longer seen as extra breadwinners or a bulwark against poverty in old age. Skin color has little or nothing to do with it.

Many religious groups see population control as an interference with the natural order, a sentiment not unlike the one that motivates environmentalists to defend wilderness areas. Mr. Clinton and Mr. Wirth both deny that they favor abortion

for population control, but they have not been able to convince those significant numbers of people, in the U.S. and elsewhere, who find abortion abhorrent. The U.S. already has a serious social problem reflected in picketing and attacks at abortion clinics. Why on earth would a president want to invite the same thing on a global scale?

Why indeed? Perhaps Mr. Clinton doesn't find sufficient challenge in merely running a government. As with Mr. Carter, he seems to feel a strong, even messianic, urge to tackle deep-seated social issues. This kind of politics may win some support from those voters who think that politicians are good at moral crusades. But when politicians venture into areas that many people think of as personal and intimate—such as family planning and childbirth—they are apt to quickly encounter diminishing returns.

This is particularly true if the crusade is built on doubtful premises. The planet is not even close to the limits of its load-bearing capacity. One of my friends is fond of pointing out, figuratively, that you could put all the people of the planet in the state of Texas with each family having enough land for a house and garden. The 1960s predictions of a "population explosion," based like today's on a straight-line projection of the existing trend, have proved to be a gross exaggeration.

Thomas Malthus predicted that the world would soon be unable to feed its growing population. He was dead wrong. There is starvation in the world, but invariably because of wars and political bloody-mindedness. Agricultural nations have surpluses running out of their ears.

The sky is not falling, except maybe on the president's head. Mr. Clinton isn't helping whatever slim chance he has of a second term with his neo-Malthusian cant. Ask Jimmy Carter.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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