

send to
Ricki
copy
NSC

Президент
Российской Федерации
и Н. У. Ельцина

просят Вас пожаловать на обед в честь
Его Превосходительства господина Уильяма Дж. Клинтона,
Президента Соединенных Штатов Америки,
и госпожи Хиллари Клинтон
в среду, 28 сентября 1994 года, в 20 часов.

Посольство Российской Федерации



***The President
of the Russian Federation
and Naina I. Yeltsina***

***request the pleasure of your company
at a dinner in honour of
His Excellency William J. Clinton,
the President of the United States of America
and Mrs. Hillary Clinton
at the Embassy of the Russian Federation
on Wednesday, September 28, 1994, at 8 p.m.***

***R.S.V.P. by September 23
Tel: (202)298-5757***

***2650 Wisconsin Avenue., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007***

Black Tie

Non-Transferable

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



John,

This letter was
passed on to me.

94 SEP 16 AIO: 39

Mark
Mallitt

to
Ricki?
+WSC



*Prime Minister
Singapore*

94 SEP 16 AIO : 39

10 September 1994

The Honourable Bill Clinton
President
United States of America

Dear President Clinton

When we met on Blake Island last November, I had invited you to visit Singapore. I am happy to renew my invitation to you to visit Singapore, before or after the APEC Leaders Meeting in Bogor in November this year. But if you are unable to make it (Ambassador Timothy Chorba told me of your other commitments and heavy schedule) I would like you to know that you are always welcome to visit Singapore at any time convenient to you.

The informal Leaders Meeting on Blake Island, which you initiated has boosted APEC. President Soeharto is building on the momentum you generated. We can make the Bogor meeting successful by supporting a programme for freer trade and investments.

I look forward to seeing you this November.

With Best Wishes,

Yours sincerely



GOH CHOK TONG

PS. Ambassador Chorba told me
of your low golf handicap and
awesome 230-250 meter drives!

**EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE**

12 September 1994

Mr Mark E Middleton
Special Assistant to the President
The White House

Fax: 202) 456-2464

Dear Mr Middleton,

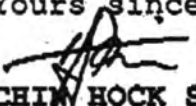
I attach for your information a copy of a letter from my Prime Minister, Mr Goh Chok Tong, inviting President Clinton to visit Singapore around the time of the APEC Leaders Meeting in Bogor this November, or at another time convenient to the President. My Chargé d'Affaires is separately sending Prime Minister Goh's letter to the State Department today for onward transmission to its highest destination.

As you will recall, I had promised during our recent chat on the telephone to keep you informed in a timely manner of any developments in this regard. You were most kind to offer to bring to the President's attention such an invitation from my Prime Minister.

On a personal note, I have been looking forward to getting together with you again soon over lunch, as you had thoughtfully suggested when we last spoke. Ms Jennifer Nelson from your office was very good to call me today to suggest that we try for a date next week. I shall therefore call your office next Monday, 19 September, to fix the date. I very much appreciate your fitting time with me into what is no doubt a very full and busy schedule for you.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,


CHIN HOCK SENG
First Secretary

enc

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/16
7218

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1994
94 SEP 14 PM: 20

Heon/Tony
to be concerned
this

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Washington Times Article "Navy Officers Balk at
Pro-Gay Seminar"

You asked for some additional information on a front page article in the Thursday, September 8, 1994 Washington Times entitled "Navy Officers Balk at Pro-Gay Seminar" (at Tab A) in which "some military officers" objected to being urged to attend a seminar that promotes a homosexual lifestyle.

The memoranda which announced the Diversity Day activities "invited" personnel to attend these events as a prelude to upcoming training in diversity. Participants could choose among a wide range of seminars being offered at the same time as the "Color of Rainbow" seminar cited as promoting a homosexual lifestyle. Diversity Day 1994 was designed to provide educational activities to employees and supervisors of the Partners for Diversity, a consortium comprised of 19 federal, local government and private sector employers and promote respect for different cultures and perspectives. The Commander of the Naval Sea Systems Command (NAVSEA), Vice Admiral George Sterner, cited in the article as urging attendance, did not sponsor the seminar but simply hosted the opening ceremony for Diversity Day generally.

To be on/ then
back to Tony

Attachment
Tab A "Navy Officers
Times, Septen

Chief of Staff

Navy officers balk at pro-gay seminar

Attendance urged on Diversity Day

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

The Navy is urging uniformed personnel to attend a diversity training program today during which homosexual activists will promote their lifestyle, discuss cross-dressers and liken gay sex to heterosexual sex.

Scheduled to be held in Crystal City, the workshops for federal

workers and military personnel will include a discussion of "sexual minorities" as "another color of the rainbow." Also slated is an hourlong videotape of a homosexual activist discussing his sex life.

Twenty government agencies — among them the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Air Force, Army and Navy — are listed as supporting the workshops, dubbed "Diversity Day 1994 Training

"Do the American people realize that their tax dollars are being used to teach federal employees to accept homosexuality as a legitimate and 'healthy' lifestyle?"

Robert Maginnis
retired Army colonel

Event."

But some military officers said yesterday that commanders urging them to attend the pro-homosexual seminars appear in conflict with the military's own policy that calls for discharging

see NAVY, page A13

NAVY

From page A1

open homosexuals. They also complained that the seminars are akin to forced indoctrination of the homosexual lifestyle.

The officers, who asked not to be named, supplied two memos urging attendance that were issued by the Naval Sea Systems Command and the Navy Strategic Systems Programs office in Crystal City.

The officers said they believe the Crystal City seminars mark the first time the armed forces has sponsored a program that promotes the homosexual-rights movement and encourages men and women in uniform to attend.

"This is a blatant effort by the Clinton administration to promote homosexuality," said retired Army Col. Robert Maginnis, who is an analyst at the Family Research Council. "Diversity 1994 advocates homosexuality, and if the program includes military personnel, it will be promoting a cate-

gory of people who cannot legally serve in the military.

"Do the American people realize that their tax dollars are being used to teach federal employees to accept homosexuality as a legitimate and healthy lifestyle?" he asked.

Pentagon spokeswoman Susan Hansen said the program's aim is to promote equal opportunities among diverse groups, not just homosexuals.

"There is no requirement for anyone to attend," she said. "This is one of those sorts of things that, if someone takes exception to an activity and does not want to go into a workshop, they don't do it."

In an Aug. 26 memo written to "all hands," Vice Adm. George Sterner, commander of Naval Sea Systems Command, urged supervisors to encourage attendance.

The memo from the Strategic Systems Programs office states: "I encourage your attendance at the many programs scheduled."

Lt. Bill Spann, a Navy spokesman at the Pentagon, said: "No one is required to go to any of these

Sterner oversees most warships

Vice Adm. George Sterner, the three-star officer who wrote a memo urging sailors to attend diversity seminars that promote the homosexual-rights movement, is a product of the Navy's submarine service.

As commander of Naval Sea Systems Command (NavSea) in Crystal City, he oversees the development and launching of most of the Navy's fleet of advanced warships, from guided-missile cruisers to man-of-war,

There is a difference between requiring someone to go and encouraging someone to go. It's an appropriate forum to discuss diversity. The Department of Defense is on board with this."

Today's 10 workshops and five videotaped presentations were organized by a consortium of 26 government agencies. The Navy took the lead in lining up some of the speakers who specialize in diver-

nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

A native of Ambler, Pa., and a graduate of Pennsylvania State University, Adm. Sterner has commanded both attack and ballistic-missile submarines. He has also done tours as a weapons program manager.

He assumed his command post in April, after serving as NavSea's vice commander since September 1992.

— Rowan Scarborough

sity issues.

One workshop, titled "Another Color of the Rainbow: Sexual Minorities in the Workplace," deals with encouraging acceptance of homosexuals.

Organizers said speakers will "address the myriad issues that sexual minorities face in the working environment. Issues such as noninclusive policies and overt and covert hostility not only im-

pect the individual, they thwart the efficiency of the entire work force."

A written agenda, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Times, said the Navy's civilian chapter of Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual Employees (GLOBE) will present its "lessons learned" as a "reference point for addressing issues faced by sexual minorities."

The second homosexual-oriented program will present a 1986 videotape of homosexual activist Brian McNaught, whom the program described as a "certified counselor and diversity trainer." He will talk about "fallacies, facts and feelings on being gay," the agenda states.

Mr. Maginnis said "On Being Gay" is a "clever and highly effective propaganda tool for the gay-rights movement. It passes isolated opinion as 'scientific evidence. It presents homosexuality as a normal state. It makes gross exaggerations."

Whether uniformed personnel will heed their commander's memo and attend the homosexual

seminars was not clear yesterday. Military personnel serve under different regulations than Defense Department civilians.

President Clinton originally wanted to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military. But faced with stiff congressional opposition, he settled for a compromise policy called "don't ask, don't tell."

Spokesmen for the Army and Air Force said their branches had neither encouraged nor discouraged personnel from attending.

"It's my understanding the Navy really has the lead on sponsoring this and asked the other services if they'd like to be involved," said Maj. Chris Geisel, an Air Force spokesman.

Besides discussing "sexual minorities," the workshops include topics such as "Asian Pacific Diversity," "Diversity, What About The White Male?" and "Middle-Eastern Women in the Workplace."

Other video presentations include "From Dreams to Reality/A Tribute to Minority Inventors" and "The Mosaic Workplace: Why Value Diversity."

121

7218

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/16

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1994

94 SEP 15 A10:11

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Mark Gearan, Richard Strauss, Rica Rodman

SUBJECT: Recommended Future Radio Talk Show Host Interviews

As we continue to pursue our talk radio strategy, the following is a list of talk show hosts we recommend interviews with in the coming weeks. These talk show hosts are generally considered progressive and our strategy is to reward them with a presidential interview and thereby bolster their reputation and standing. They can provide an alternative to the hard right hosts. Although we have listed times for the shows, each show can pre-tape an interview at the most convenient time for you.

We would like to make as many of these interviews happen as quickly as possible (once each week) to take advantage of the momentum of the Talkers/Gene Burns interview and now the Jim Hightower interview.

Ellen Ratner- As you know, Ellen is a supporter and serves as the news correspondent for various radio stations across the country. Her brother, Bruce Ratner, is a Democratic campaign contributor. Finally, she hosts two nationally indicated radio shows daily.

Michael Jackson Show - You have interviewed with Michael Jackson before both during the campaign and as President. Michael's show is on station KABC in Los Angeles and runs daily from 12:00 Noon until 4:00PM EDT. Michael has received numerous awards over the years for his fairness and interviewing style. Michael will stick to the message of the day. The show has constantly been rated as one of the most popular shows in Los Angeles.

3. **Jim Bohanan Show** - Jim Bohanan took over the nighttime slot vacated by Larry King when Larry switched to the daytime. King recently left radio to continue his television career but Jim has continued to have roughly three million listeners every night on 378 radio stations. Jim has been very good to the White House. Recently, Jim interviewed Walter Zelman (twice), Christine Heenan, Gene Sperling, Erskine Bowles. Jim has an excellent following.

4.

Tom Joyner - Tom Joyner is a 45-year-old African American radio morning show host that currently syndicates his morning show on 35 stations from 6 - 11 AM EDT to about 35 stations around the country. He is known to most as the "Fly Jock" and the Hardest Working Man in Radio for the daily trips he used to make for eight straight years during the 1980's when he hosted the morning drive show in Dallas and the afternoon show in Chicago. He no longer commutes between the two cities and is now based in Dallas.

Joyner's morning show combines music (Whitney Houston, Michael and Janet Jackson, Prince, etc.) a live in-studio band, a two-minute daily soap opera, and calls from listeners around the country. Joyner also does celebrity interviews and in the past has interviewed Jocelyn Elders, Spike Lee, Emmitt Smith, Oprah Winfrey, Rev. Jesse Jackson, etc.

Joyner will be in Washington on **September 15th and 16th**. A few months ago, Joyner was at the White House and interviewed Mrs. Gore regarding the mental health aspects of the Health Security Act. Additionally, Joyner interviewed Alexis Herman about the Ad Council crime prevention spot and about the Crime Bill in general. He also interviewed the Vice President regarding a forum on families the VP did in Tennessee. Finally, Joyner flew with you on Air Force One from Washington to Dallas back in March.

Joyner is open and favorable to the administration and has a very good following. His show can be heard every morning in Washington, D.C, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, St. Louis, Charlotte, San Antonio, Memphis, Little Rock Norfolk, Raleigh-Durham, and 20 other markets.

5.

Dr. Dean Edell - A graduate of Cornell University Medical School, Dr. Dean Edell hosts an hour long radio show daily from the studios of KGO Radio in San Francisco. Dr. Edell grew up in New York but has made his home in California for the past 25 years. He is the father of five sons.

In addition to his daily radio show, Dr. Edell does personal health commentary for KGO television and syndicates the commentary to another 100 television stations. He also hosts, "Dr. Dean Edell's Medical Minute," heard on over 370 radio stations nationwide.

This show covers all topics of health ranging from the Administration's health care plan to personal health. The show is heard on 340 radio stations across the country with a weekly audience of 7.5 million. The show is carried nationally on about 340 top market number one stations with a weekly Arbitron rating of 7.5 million people.

Some of the top market stations that carry the show include: **KARN in Little Rock**, KFI in Los Angeles, KGO in San Francisco, WFLA in Tampa, WDBO in Orlando, WHO in Des Moines, WLS in Chicago, WIBC in Indianapolis, WWL in New Orleans, WABC in New York, WWWE in Cleveland, WILK in Wilkes-Barre, and WTMJ in Milwaukee.

6. The **Ron Owens** show airs on station KGO in San Francisco from 12-3:00pm EDT. The day you unveiled the health care plan with the joint session of Congress speech, Ron broadcast his show from the White House lawn. KGO is the number one station in San Francisco.

7. **The Alan Colmes Show** - Alan Colmes is another liberal show host. He is nationally syndicated on 120 radio station by Major Talk based in New York. For almost two years, Colmes has aired various guests from the Administration and has been extremely fair and friendly.

8. **J.P. McCarthy** - McCarthy hosts the number one show in Michigan on station WJR in Detroit. You were interviewed by McCarthy a few times during the campaign and did another interview with him during the economic plan battle. He is extremely popular and fair.

9. **After the Rush** is a show to debut this month nationally on 200 stations this month and airs during the week directly following Rush Limbaugh. The host Aaron Harber, is a liberal challenger to Rush Limbaugh. He has been recently sued by Rush Limbaugh's lawyers for \$20 million using the name "Rush" in the title of his show.

10. **David Tyree** - David Tyree hosts the mid-day and evening drive show on station WWL in New Orleans. WWL has consistently been overwhelmingly ranked as the number one station in New Orleans. David is a friend of the Administration, recently interviewed Mrs. Clinton, and interviewed the President during the campaign.

11. **Paul W. Smith** airs on news/talk station WWDB-FM in Philadelphia weekdays from 5-9:00AM EDT. Paul W. is an extremely friendly host who broadcast his show from the White House Lawn last year. He has interviewed many White House guests including Mrs. Clinton and has been cordial and fair each time.

Eastern Europe Blames Export Woes On West, but Problem Is Mainly Internal

WORLD ECONOMY

By ROBERT KEATLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
VANCOUVER, British Columbia — The Polish politician was angry.

You tell us to modernize but you won't buy our goods, she scolded an assembly of mostly Western analysts and officials meeting here to discuss security issues of the post-Cold War years. Instead, she went on, the former East Bloc faces new trade barriers that subvert needed reforms and undercut efforts to integrate the Eastern states into the larger global economy.

"In the modern, open world of today—a world in which former walls are collapsing—one cannot put up new walls," warned Hanna Suchocka, who until recently was Poland's prime minister.

Her predecessor said much the same, and so have others from the former communist states. Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus has cautioned against redividing Europe "into two parts, a luckier one and a less lucky one." Many complaints concern alleged roadblocks met when trying to export more into Western, especially European Union, markets.

In Ms. Suchocka's words, "what for the West is a marginal restriction of access... may cause great harm to countries undergoing radical economic reforms [while] trade liberalization could increase the chances for the success of both economic and political transformation."

There's truth in her complaint. The East's exports to the West amount to more than half the region's total exports, but Eastern goods are only a minor part of Western commerce. Thus seemingly trivial rule changes in Washington or Brussels can strike grievous blows to a Poland or Hungary, even by accident. And some blows aren't accidental; Western lobbyists often get governments to protect clients, such as steel or garment makers, that don't want Eastern competition.

Record Will Improve

Yet the flawed Western record isn't really that bad and will improve. Eastern nations mainly used to swap products among themselves under a communist system called Comecon; now they're able to ship most goods west for hard currency. In recent months, the EU, reacting to great criticism about its selfish ways, has liberalized trade rules and will soon do more. This month it will announce new plans to pull some Eastern nations closer to full membership, reducing trade barriers in the process. Meanwhile, the U.S. will ex-

tend tariff concessions once other trade legislation finally clears the Congress.

"They can no longer blame problems with economic reform on a lack of market access in the West," says a World Bank official.

Instead, the East's main troubles are internal. For one thing, their former central planners were moderately efficient at producing the wrong things—especially while they had cheap Soviet energy—and this leaves a legacy that trading rules can't fix. Included are surpluses of steel, food and textile products, the very items Western politicians feel compelled to protect as their own economies undergo structural change. Some have revised this unsound mix—Poland exports fewer hams but more autos, for example—but others need to do much more.

But domestic politics have slowed some Eastern reforms, leaving these economies overly dependent upon yesterday's products. In places like such as Russia and Slovakia, former communists and their bureaucratic allies have kept or regained power. They distrust rapid change, and Western tinkering with market access won't change their minds.

Not Entirely Admirable

Not that the Western, especially European, record is entirely admirable. It took years before the West's trading system acknowledged that the Soviet Union was gone, and started adjusting to the change. Protectionists in both Europe and the U.S. file antidumping cases against these struggling states repeatedly. In one fit of petty-mindedness, they forced former Soviet republics to inherit dumping cases from the U.S.S.R., rather than wipe the slate clean and start over. Brussels sometimes offers trade concessions in principle, then has its bureaucrats whittle them down in practice. And it enforces tough rules of origin that make entering EU markets difficult for new Eastern factories.

Japan has been of little help. It buys 18% less from once-communist Europe than in 1989, and offers little other aid. Once again, looking to Tokyo for leadership and generosity on trade matters seems a waste of time.

Ms. Suchocka's complaints are useful reminders that there's more at stake than cheap overcoats or steel rods, and she helps keep pressure on Brussels and Washington to cut barriers faster. But it's even more crucial that Eastern politicians spur internal change that takes advantage of trade opportunities already there and those that are coming.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/16

Brelin
can we do anything
+ keep? — 3.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO: LEON PANETTA
FROM: JOHN PODESTA *JLP*
SUBJECT: IDAHO TRAINING RANGE

Since our last meeting on the Idaho Training Range, I've been discussing with DOD, the Air Force and OEP various options for moving ITR decision making out of the White House and back to DOD and Interior. We've explored several options. I'd like to bring one to your attention which I think has merit.

DOD is now prepared to forego issuing a final Environmental Impact Statement at this time and instead issue a supplemental draft EIS which would trigger another round of public notice and comment.

A rough time line for this approach would be as follows:

- 1) Next week, DOD would inform key State and Congressional leaders that they intend to issue a supplemental draft EIS (draft letter is attached);
- 2) DOD would finalize the supplemental draft EIS, containing the revised ITR plan during the month of October;
- 3) The supplemental draft EIS would be published for comment in mid-November;
- 4) The public would be given 60-90 days to comment;
- 5) DOD would review public comment and if it chooses to go forward, DOD could issue a final EIS in early 1995.

This approach has several advantages. It permits DOD the time and opportunity to convince opponents that criticisms of the original plan have been addressed. It helps quiet the Governor's criticism that we are stalling out on the project while keeping Attorney General EchoHawk's options open until sometime in early 1995. It mutes ITR proponents arguments that Democrats can't be trusted to keep the Mountain Home base open and jobs in place. Finally, it provides a final opportunity to study modifications or alternative that can address the concerns of environmentalists and Native Americans.

Interior does not object to proceeding in this manner. OEP continues to have strong reservations about proceeding at all with the project, but does not object to taking this additional interim step.

I would recommend that we give the go-ahead to proceed with this plan.

cc: Phil Lader
Tony Lake
Jack Gibbons
Marcia Hale
Katie McGinty
T.J. Glauthier



SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON

DRAFT LETTER TO: Idaho Congressional Delegation
Idaho State Land Board:
Governor Cecil Andrus
Mr. Larry Echohawk
Mr. J.D. Williams
Mr. Pete Cenarussa
Mr. Jerry Evans

The post-Cold War era presents new challenges for our armed forces, making it necessary to refocus our defense posture. As our overseas presence declines, rapid mobility of our combat forces becomes an essential element of our national strategy. To rapidly project air power to a potential trouble spot we must have a highly trained expeditionary force that can quickly deploy anywhere in the world and be prepared to fight on a moment's notice. The Air Force responded by forming an air intervention wing, the 366th Wing at Mountain Home Air Force Base, Idaho. In a future crisis, this composite wing will be the first to go, and if necessary, the first to fight.

If we are to ask the men and women of the 366th Wing to go in harm's way, we must give them the training they need. To fully realize the capabilities of the composite wing, they must train as they plan to fight. Training facilities in Idaho today cannot support this type of training.

The Idaho Training Range (ITR) proposal is the product of an extensive public process to balance military readiness and environmental protection. By working closely with our neighbors in Idaho, the Air Force identified Native American and environmental concerns surrounding the location of proposed target areas. In response to these concerns, we have developed a comprehensive mitigation plan that should work to eliminate the potential for damage to wildlife and sacred sites.

Proposed mitigations include building a no-drop, no-scar range in the North ITR, the area of greatest concern for both cultural and biological resources. Under this proposal, aircrews would be prohibited from releasing ordnance over this portion of the range, eliminating potential damage from training ordnance hitting the ground. The North ITR would be built using temporary, moveable targets which could be easily shifted in response to habitat concerns or Native American

ceremonies. The mitigations are designed to minimize the environmental impact of the ITR proposal while preserving military training utility.

Because these mitigations represent a significant modification to the proposal, it is important that we reopen the issue for public debate. To provide the opportunity for complete review by the people of Idaho, the Air Force will release a supplemental draft environmental impact statement (EIS) detailing the new comprehensive mitigation plan. The release of the supplemental draft EIS will initiate another round of public discussions designed to bring us closer to a solution that balances military training and Native American and environmental concerns.

The Air Force has enjoyed a strong relationship with the people of Idaho over the last 50 years. We intend to build an even stronger relationship for the next 50 years. The Idaho Training Range is essential for military readiness at Mountain Home Air Force Base, but the Air Force is mindful that we must be good neighbors -- good environmental neighbors -- if the local community is to welcome us to live, work, and train in Idaho. Responsible use of State of Idaho natural resources for Air Force training requires accommodations. Good stewardship requires that the Air Force address environmental issues and the concerns of the Shoshone-Paiute Tribes with the same focus as matters relating to combat readiness.

The Air Force is proud of a long history of outstanding environmental stewardship. Existing ranges are national assets that provide aircrew training while serving as sanctuaries for irreplaceable resources. Protection and enhancement of natural and cultural resources are fully integrated with the mission of Air Force ranges. By continuing to work together with the people of Idaho, we can ensure that the Idaho Training Range becomes an example of accountable stewardship through effective public liaison.

Sincerely,

Do transfer to him from m
cc: GS/Garman/Wilhelm
Coelho/Henri/Marcia

B

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/15/93

Try for note

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/15/94

Michel C. Daisley
518 Ebb Place
Charlotte, North Carolina 28210
704/527-2272 (home)
704/522-2845 (office-direct line)
704/522-2781 (fax)

Counsel to the Major Case Unit
Royal Insurance

--Facsimile Transmission Cover Sheet--

Date: September 6, 1994

Number of pages(including cover): four

To: Erskine Bowles

Firm/company: SBA Office of the Administrator

Fax No.: 202/205/6802

Message: RE: Charlotte Observer Editorial (Friday, Sept 2, 1994)

Erskine--

Occasionally, we do have some success in making a positive influence on the editorial pages here...Thought you might like to have this in case the clipping service hasn't already caught it.

The "list" that is referenced in the editorial is also transmitted. Feel free to copy it, forward it, or use it in any form you deem appropriate.

Keep the faith.

--Mike

Michel C. Daisley
Direct line: 704/522-2845
Fax: 704/522-2781

P.S. - I faxed to Ed Williams a transcript (down-loaded on my computer) of your press briefing w/ Gov. White of Hawaii. I hope Ed calls you re: small businesses & health care.

*Nancy -
(1) This editorial is
worthy of many the
clips the POTUS sees.
(2) Someone want
to drop M. for
Daisley a note
He is a lawyer &
long time Supreme
Court President
Erskine*

THE ABC'S OF PRESIDENTIAL ACHIEVEMENT

Abortion's "gag rule" overturned by executive order, so doctors can now answer patients' questions at federally assisted clinics.

The Brady Bill, after 7 years of deadlock, is now the Brady Law.

The Crime Bill, backed by the nation's mayors and numerous law enforcement associations, will help put more police officers on the beat in communities, build more prisons and assist neighborhoods to implement programs to take their streets back.

The Deficit has been cut nearly in half; by the end of next year, Bill Clinton will be the first president since Harry Truman to preside over three straight years of deficit reduction.

An Economic recovery, encouraged in part by deficit reduction keeping interest rates low, has produced more jobs in 18 months than were created in four years under George Bush.

The Family Leave Bill, after 7 years of deadlock, is now the Family Leave Law, and America's workers do not now have to choose between caring for a newborn (or an ill parent) and losing their jobs.

Government workforce reduction -- the elimination of 250,000 federal positions over five years -- will bring the federal government down to its smallest size since the Kennedy Administration.

Health Care -- Republican Surgeon General Everett Koop put it this way: "By bringing this issue to the forefront of the national agenda, Bill Clinton has done more for health care than any other president."

The Information "Superhighway" is paving its way throughout the Federal Government, under the direction of the Vice President, which will allow ordinary citizens unprecedented access to their government.

4.1 million new Jobs -- 90% in the private sector -- created in the last 19 months.

Kindergarten funding -- through the highly successful and effective Head Start Program -- has been increased, giving more urban preschoolers a better opportunity for success in school.

Loan repayments for college students have been reorganized, under the guidance of Education Secretary Riley, making them more affordable and decreasing the number of defaults.

Mideast peace accords between Jordan and Palestine and Israel, facilitated by Administration support, have greatly reduced the prospect for conflict in the most crucial area for national security.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), considered dead until the White House risked immense political capital to resurrect it, will provide more jobs in high-tech industries and cheaper goods for the American consumer.

Opportunities for 90 percent of small businesses to receive a tax cut through new investment credits.

Prices remain non-inflationary despite significant job expansion.

Quality schools promoted through the ambitious "Goals 2000" national educational program, developed by the nation's governors through the President's leadership.

Russian missiles not aimed at the United States for the first time in a generation; Russian soldiers out of central and eastern Europe.

Supreme Court nominees (Ginsburg and Breyer) who are unquestionably qualified, and who have brought widespread consensus approval, not division.

Tax rates lowered on 15 million working class families, while raised only on the richest 1.2 percent of the nation's taxpayers.

The Unemployment rate has dropped 1.5%, thanks in part to lower interest rates and a small business investment tax cut.

Voter participation enhanced through the "Motor-Voter Law" which now allows citizens to register when they apply for drivers licenses and auto registration.

Weapons testing moratorium has been extended by Executive Order until September 1995, thereby accelerating worldwide non-proliferation efforts.

X-traordinary service to disaster victims from a reorganized FEMA.

Youth service to hundreds of communities enhanced through the National Service Act, providing thousands of young persons with enhanced opportunities for higher education.

and finally, with all these accomplishments...

Zero compliments from Rush Limbaugh!

Compiled by Mike Daisley, Charlotte NC, August 1994.

A Chinese Gold Rush? Don't Hold Your Breath

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/15

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1994

By Todd Carrel
and Richard Hornik

AHONOLULU After touring China in late August with 24 American corporate chief executives in tow, Commerce Secretary Ron Brown expressed glee over deals signed under his auspices and the money to be made in the Middle Kingdom. But those who think this is a forerunner of a lucrative new wave of U.S. investment in China should think again.

In its latest American bout of Sino-phoria, tramples economic horse sense and repeats a miscalculation American businesses have been making for 200 years. Since the days of the clipper ships, China's huge population and economic backwardness have led to repeated predictions of vast wealth to be harvested by foreigners, but commercial successes have been rare.

American executives today gawk at China and imagine a market of 1.2 billion consumers to whom they can sell chicken or soap or TV shows or fiber-optic cable. John E. Bryson, chairman of Southern California Edison, traveling with Secretary Brown, declared after hearing of China's electricity needs, "This is the largest power market in the world."

The mistake is to confuse need with demand. Demand implies an ability to pay. Chinese people know they will have to struggle just to feed, clothe and offer even a minimal education to the majority of those imaginary consumers.

Even if that massive market did begin to materialize, the absence of an impartial legal system would remain an insurmountable barrier to long-term economic success for Chinese and foreigners. Although the country's rubber-stamp National People's Congress churns out new laws like sausages, enforcement is arbitrary. The only consistent principle is that the Chinese Communist Party is above the law.

Foreigners inevitably become ensnared in the webs of intrigue and graft. An Australian businessman, James Peng, was deported to China

from Macao last October and held nine months before being charged with corruption. His apparent crime: winning a civil court case against the Shenzhen special economic zone. Although even China's biased legal system found in favor of Mr. Peng, he is still in jail and likely to stay there until he pays a large ransom.

Mr. Peng at least has some hope of buying justice. Arbitrary rule by officials deprives ordinary Chinese citizens of the opportunity to apply their talents. About 375 million peasants are unemployed or underemployed. A third of them descend on urban areas each year seeking jobs — so many that the municipal authorities in Beijing announced Monday that they would charge a high fee to migrant workers for the right to live in the city. Government-owned enterprises in China's cities have 30 million redundant employees. Ten million young people enter the labor force every year.

Americans tend to see this as a gigantic reservoir of cheap labor. Yet the Chinese Government knows that serious peasant and worker unrest could explode at any time. The response has been to flood the economy with credit. Instead of shutting down bankrupt enterprises, the Government keeps them afloat with billions of dollars in loans that will never be repaid. This keeps credit from flowing to the more productive private and cooperative sector and to foreign joint ventures. Chinese businesses now demand far more working capital from their Western partners.

Worse still, pumping out money for unproductive ventures fuels inflation, officially estimated at 24 percent in July. Many Chinese believe the real rate is twice that.

Western optimists claim that the Chinese economy is run by clever technocrats. In truth, the best-trained senior officials in Beijing have engineering degrees from Chinese or Soviet universities. Their solution to roaring inflation is to reimpose Govern-

ties for friends and relatives of the ruling elite to make money through speculation, insider trading and influence peddling.

The elite's view of economics does not include concepts like risk and reward. Major foreign contractors anxious to help build China's infrastructure will find that Chinese leaders think profits should not exceed an arbitrary figure of about 10 percent. That return might be fine for building a power plant in Switzerland, but riskier places like China require roughly double that level. Even when profits are not limited in the original contract, Western investors with successful operations often find that their local partner will impose new taxes, fees and expenses as soon as money starts to roll in.

Profitable foreign investments are an exception in China, not a rule. Taiwanese investors have been among the most successful groups on the mainland, but fewer than half their ventures are turning a profit. This year new Taiwanese investment has plunged.

Outside investors provide perfect scapegoats for anything that goes wrong. Chinese officials routinely accuse them of exploiting Chinese workers and operating dangerous shops. When residents of the northwestern city of Lanzhou protested the opening of a new department store backed by investors from Germany and Hong Kong last year, they chanted, "China must not become a colony" and "Chinese who work for foreigners are traitors." If things go badly, American executives will clamor for human rights protection for their local partners and employees and even for themselves.

American investors should at least pose a simple question before taking the plunge: If China is such a great investment, why are its best-connected and richest citizens rushing to get their money out?

In May a Chinese central bank official said his country suffered a net capital outflow to the U.S. in 1993. For the last two years the Hong Kong stock and property markets have been boosted by an influx of hot money from the mainland. A former Chinese banking official estimates capital flight of \$10 billion to \$15 billion a year.

The money trails lead to the leaders, and to their families and cronies. They have been moving money to places where it will be secure from the vicissitudes and risks they see so clearly for their country. They will succeed in getting their money out while many foreign investors will fail. These days China's ruling Communist elite have two economic laws: foreigners are welcome to bring in their money; and most money that goes out will leave inside Chinese-owned suitcases. □

Obstacles to business are huge.

ment controls that will artificially — but only temporarily — put a lid on it. Foreign businesses will see strict controls on the prices they can charge, but their cost of doing business will rise.

Even if some officials understand that inflation can be controlled only by slowing the supply of money and credit, China's elderly leaders do not have the political nerve to stick to an austerity plan. Slashing Government spending is too dangerous; it would increase unemployment — and, not so incidentally, decrease the opportuni-

Todd Carrel and Richard Hornik, former Beijing bureau chiefs on leave from ABC News and Time magazine, respectively, are journalists in residence at the East-West Center, a research institute.

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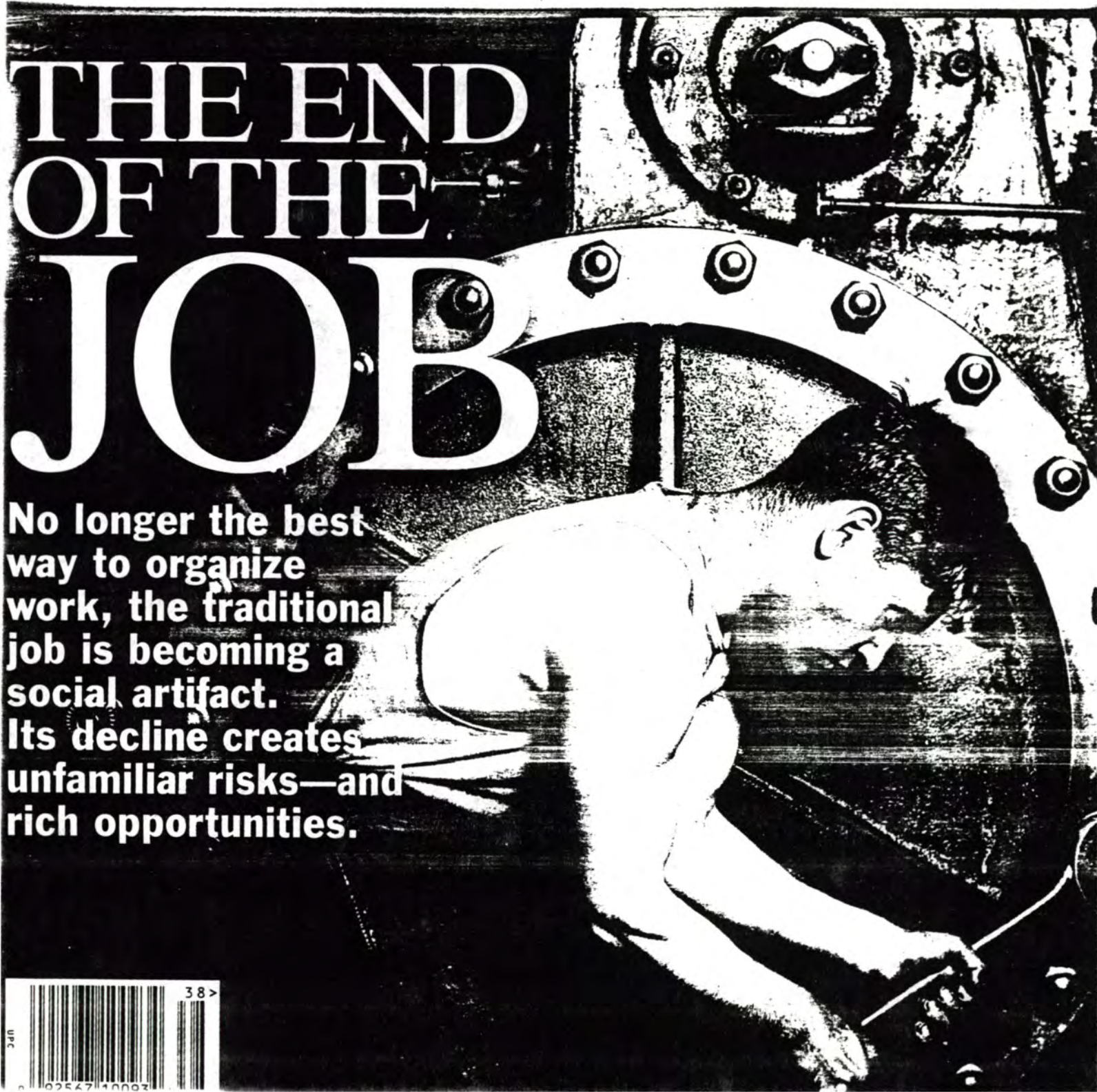
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FORTUNE

THE END OF THE JOB

No longer the best way to organize work, the traditional job is becoming a social artifact. Its decline creates unfamiliar risks—and rich opportunities.



NEW IDEAS FROM THE ARMY

(REALLY)

Surprise—the service is now a learning organization that's way ahead of business in retraining senior managers and keeping the chief's attention fixed on the future. ■by Lee Smith

PICTURE THE U.S. Army three years ago, just after it had demolished Saddam Hussein's fearsome regiments in one of the fastest and most one-sided battles in history. The Army emerged as the world's premier land force. To draw commercial parallels, it was as supreme as IBM ruling over the dominion of mainframes. It

was as commanding as General Motors when it owned more than half the American market. In short, the Army seemed rumbling merrily toward a breathtaking fall. What organization, after all, would be more likely to be suckered by success and blind-sided by the future than the Army: rigid, hierarchical, the archetypal command-and-control organization in which a

smug and remote Pentagon hands down orders to the field. As the old saying goes, the Army was an organization designed by geniuses to be run by idiots.

Remarkably, the Army isn't like that anymore. It's no secret that the service had improved enormously since its near-death experience in Vietnam. But what's surprising is that it has continued to force itself through reexamination and self-renewal since the triumph of Desert Storm, a time when the temptation might have been to repose on its laurels. Dee Hock, founder of the Visa credit card company, toured some bases at the Pentagon's invitation recently. "I came away mildly astonished," he says. "Officers on every level were discussing change, in many ways ahead of business."

The Army is striving to become everything the modern organization is supposed to be—adaptive, flexible, a learning enterprise, even getting closer to, um, the needs of the customer. Army Chief of Staff General Gordon Sullivan—in effect the CEO—finds it useful at times to think of possible adversaries as customers. The exercise helps clarify what services they will require for their control or, perhaps, elimination.

To civilians, the Gulf war looked like an

General Gordon Sullivan, the chief of staff, tries to keep his head in the year 2010.



effortless Nintendo engagement that put the Americans megagenerations ahead of any adversary. But to Sullivan and other generals it revealed weakness: terrible inventory control, a slipping lead in crucial technologies, and a communications system that was still stuck in World War II.

Forcing this bureaucratic body to change are many of the same forces that obsess business. The Army's annual appropriation has dropped from \$90 billion in 1989 to \$60 billion this year (about the revenue of IBM or GE). Downsizing has reduced the number of troops in uniform from 780,000 to 565,000, and the count will drop below 500,000 within a year or so. Like business, the Army is looking out on a world that is volatile and often inscrutable. Says Sullivan: "We are trying to change this organization to do things we can't even predict."

Sullivan, 57, saw combat in Vietnam, but his look and manner are less those of a hell-fire commander than of an archbishop shepherding a flock confused about the expectations of the modern church. Now that the Soviet satan is dead, what does it mean to be a soldier? Since the Gulf war, troops have been dispatched on dozens of unconnected missions, at least one of them botched. Soldiers went off to feed children in Somalia, and because of multiple misunderstandings 29 of them died. Recently troops have purified water for Rwandan refugees, fought forest fires in the Pacific Northwest, and taught their Russian counterparts how to rescue hostages, and Colombians how to chase drug lords.

What's next? Police duty in Haiti, maybe? Sullivan doesn't protest the diversity of the demand. Without those needs Americans might forget they have an Army that has to be paid and provisioned. But how does he keep the organization ready and adaptive? That, of course, is a major challenge for business as well.

Maybe even Alexander the Great worried about how to keep his generals from re-fighting the last campaign. Top management certainly puzzles over how to get

REPORTER ASSOCIATE *Rajiv Ruc*

executives in mid-career to change the way they solve problems. "You get a chance to indoctrinate people in your culture and your way of thinking in their early years," says Richard Pascale, a former Stanford business school professor who counsels companies on adapting to new circumstances. "But it's very hard to retrain them when your culture has to change because the world is different."

Pascale greatly admires the Army's solu-

van, "but we do it because in high-performance organizations, the parts are supposed to talk to one another." A junior officer is informed that enemy "crunchies" (tanker slang for foot soldiers) slipped past his platoon and disabled the fuel trucks. With M1 tanks guzzling two gallons a mile, the loss of fuel trucks renders them useless. And an observer-controller asks the colonel respectfully but pointedly, "What were you thinking, sir, when you



Following a mock battle at Fort Polk, Louisiana, a captain gives his tank platoon an After Action Review.

tion: Put everyone from PFCs to brigadier generals through maneuvers that stress them to the breaking point. Then subject them to the After Action Review, a performance appraisal—in public.

IN THE MOST elaborate form of the critique, an Army brigade of 3,000 or so travels to the National Training Center in California, where it has to go muzzle to muzzle with crack units based at the center. These elite units constantly develop new combat techniques so that the visitors never get the same fight twice. The exercise is videotaped in detail while observer-controllers swarm all over the battlefield taking notes and at times redirecting the action.

The After Action Review is unemotional—and devastating. Colonels see where the lieutenants sinned, and vice versa. "There was a lot of resistance," says Sulli-

van, "but we do it because in high-performance organizations, the parts are supposed to talk to one another."

No other army is so egalitarian. "Delegations who come to study our ways are dumbfounded when they see an AAR," says a Pentagon colonel. "There is no way they would subject their senior officers to embarrassment." Nor are there many corporations in which senior executives sit down with those who will eventually succeed them and explain how under pressure they overlooked some vital information that blew the deal.

"There is more interest in learning in the military than in most organizations I've seen," says Margaret Wheatley, an organizational consultant who has advised dozens of FORTUNE 500 companies. "Generals take time to think." Sullivan, one of the most intellectual chiefs in recent Army history, reads and studies broadly, even into such arcana as chaos theory (see box).

continued

Business folk can point out that in the relative security of the post-Cold War era the brass has the luxury of being able to ruminate abstractly about the Next Big One. Those in commerce, on the other hand, are actually in combat, struggling daily with ferocious competitors.

Corporate chief executives often promise to step aside from their company's latest battles and look ahead. Worthy sentiment, but hard to live by. "Too many CEOs have so structured their jobs that they will always be involved in the day-to-day," maintains Wheatley. "They assume their companies can't get along without them." For whatever reason, absent a wall topped with barbed wire, it's tough to keep the boss out of today's crisis.

Congress, in effect, constructed such a handy barrier for the Army and the other services in the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986. The chain of command for combat now runs directly from the President and Defense Secretary to the regional commander in the field. For example, General Sullivan is not directly involved in the strategy for repelling a possible onslaught by the North Koreans. That's the worry of General Gary Luck, who leads all U.S. forces in Korea.

Sullivan is free therefore to put his head just where he wants it—in the year 2010.

That's distant but not so far away that today's soldiers will think of it as remote. The two-star generals who will command divisions in that year are majors today. Sullivan, now in the final year of a four-year tour, has to hope that his successors share his vision and that Congress funds it.

His aim is to create the world's first Information Age army. "If you know just where you are and just where the enemy is, you have a tremendous advantage," says Sullivan. Sounds banal, but for most of history, commanders have not known those fundamentals. That's part of the fog of war. Knowledge is especially critical for the U.S. Army, which must compensate for its relatively puny size. With roughly half a million men and women in uniform, it is only the world's eighth-largest land force (outnumbered by those of China, Russia, India, North Korea, Vietnam, South Korea, and Pakistan).

FOR ALL OF HISTORY up until the 1860s, armies were what Sullivan refers to as Agrarian Age forces, fighting battle by battle, mostly with cottage-made weapons. "When Grant left Culpepper, Virginia, in pursuit of Lee in 1864 he ushered in the Industrial Age war," says Sullivan. Grant's objective was not so much to beat

Lee in the field as to destroy the South's industrial base, which he did.

Industrial Age strategy prevailed until Desert Storm, the first Information Age war. The U.S. won quickly because it deprived the Iraqis of information by vaporizing radar and telecommunications systems, and used its own information to point cruise missiles and other smart weapons precisely on target.

The war went smoothly—except to Sullivan and others who looked closely enough to see the cracks: Some 40,000 U.S. containers of the size that tractor-trailers haul arrived in Saudi Arabia—unmarked. Many had to be opened and their contents of spare tires, generators, and such sorted out. There was far more than the Army could ever use, partly because supply sergeants traditionally order everything three times in the expectation that two requisitions will go astray in unmarked containers. Huge overshipments are not only expensive; they also put a strain on transportation, a serious weakness in the U.S. ability to fight far away. As a result of that experience, containers are now bar-coded to list their contents, and sensors signal their where-

This blood is fake. But soldiers must rehearse for a complex real world in which civilians are sometimes trapped by combat.



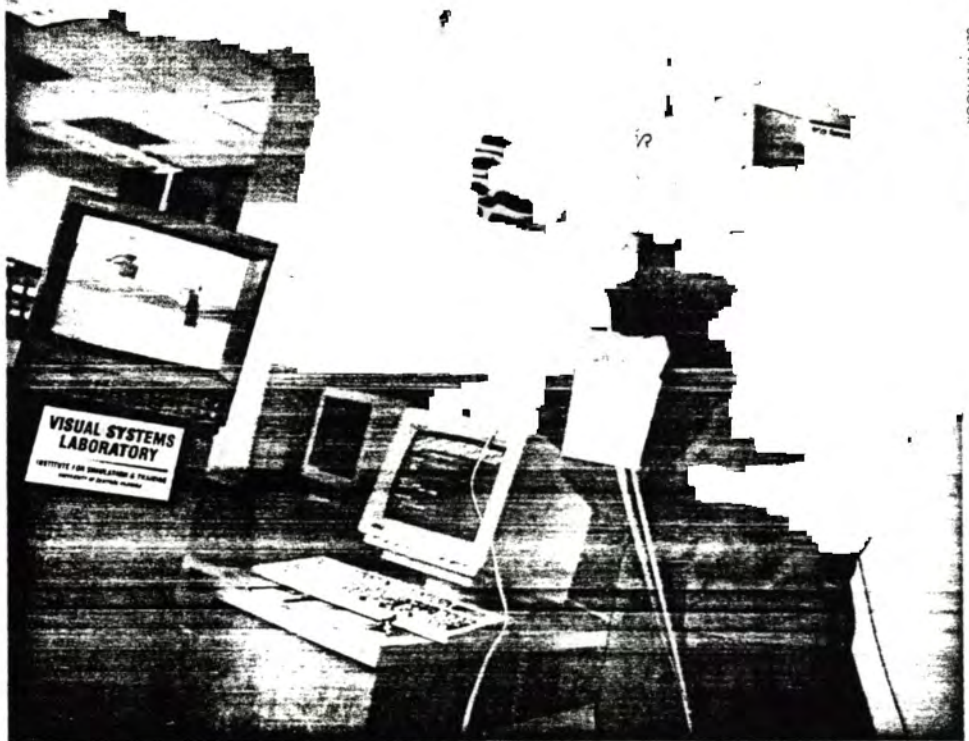
FRITZ HOFFMANN—JB PICTURES

MANAGING

abouts to anxious sergeants via satellite.

American soldiers had an enormous advantage in the Gulf because they had infrared equipment such as goggles and gun sights that enabled them to fight at night, when the Iraqis were effectively blind. Since the end of the war, however, the French have produced night-vision equipment about as good, and cheaper and available to anyone who wants to buy it. Other technological advantages slip away fast. U.S. troops had to leave Somalia by ship because commanders feared that warlords might have Stinger missiles that could bring down 747s.

A LOT OF useful intelligence about enemy troop placements, weather, and such never got down to battlefield troops in Iraq because the communications system was primitive. "I stood looking out of my turret, and jotted down observations in my spiral notebook and spoke to the troops by radio," says Colonel Pat Ritter, who commanded a battalion of 58 tanks in the



Simulation helps to age soldiers fast. This 3-D shootout is taking place at an Army facility in Orlando.

How many States...



Gulf. "There wasn't much going on that George Patton wouldn't have recognized."

What Sullivan wants to create, among other things, is an Army of 2010 that is joined by electronic mail, plus digitally transmitted data and video pictures. The effect on command and control will be staggering. In corporations E-mail tends to erode hierarchies and break down the barriers between functions as, for example, marketing communicates directly with production.

In the same way the Army's communications will tend to fuse the service's branches. The Army hopes to buy a new helicopter now in prototype, the Comanche, to hover over the battlefield, spot enemy positions, and transmit them digitally to tanks, infantry, and artillery. But Sullivan's civilian superiors in the Pentagon and Congress may decide to save \$2 billion or so by killing the Comanche, so the adaptable Army will have to retrofit today's helicopters for the job. Either way, the ground detachments will simultaneously exchange data, select and assign targets, and fire.

The troops of 2010 are already in basic training; that is, they are in kindergarten, tapping joyously on computer keyboards. More difficult is finding the managers—the officers—to prepare the workplace for them. Without question the officer corps is the best educated the U.S. has ever had. Two-thirds of the Army's 55,000 officers have advanced degrees, including 2,000 with MBAs.

Nonetheless, Sullivan estimates that about 5% of active duty officers still have their heads locked in the Cold War; about 65% have caught up to the Gulf war; and only 30% are with Sullivan, standing 15 years in the future and figuring out how to get there from here.

ONE OF SULLIVAN'S fellow visionaries is Brigadier General Bert Maggart, 50, who oversees the Army's battle lab for mounted operations at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Technicians and troops tinker endlessly with dozens of tank simulators, fitting them with new instruments and prepar-

ing them for novel fighting tactics. The electronics are so elaborate that soon simulators at Knox will be plugged into maneuvers with actual tanks in Texas or Germany, and affect the outcomes of those mock battles. Drivers and gunners in the real machines will see the simulators as friendly or menacing icons on their displays.

Maggart—smart, intense, and demanding—has created a brain trust of a dozen captains (and one sergeant first class with a Ph.D. in history) whom he challenges to solve the problems of future combat. He bangs a forefinger on a baffling grid map that displays tanks scattered over rugged terrain. "I want to teach lieutenants to see everything that a colonel can see here," he says, pointing out a troubling paradox that will face the Information Age army. The colonel in command of 50 tanks will know in massive detail and second by second where they are, how much fuel and ammunition they have, and so on, but the battle will unfold so rapidly he will have knowledge without control.

Thus, the lieutenant in charge of four of

does it take...



LOOK WHO'S WHISPERING IN THE GENERAL'S EAR

Want to know where General Sullivan, the Army's top man, gets the ideas that will drive today's fighting force into the future? Consider broccoli. Examine this often reviled vegetable closely and discover that the floret on your plate is made up of hundreds of tiny florets of the same shape as the large. In the language of chaos theory, that makes broccoli a fractal, an object or phenomenon in which the same pattern recurs as the viewer peers more deeply within. Similarly, in a good organization the principles that give form to the whole—integrity and courtesy, say—are repeated in every employee.

Such insights come from Margaret Wheatley, an organizational consultant based in Provo, Utah, who occasionally advises Army Chief of Staff General Gordon Sullivan—an extraordinary relationship, given the inclination of soldiers to cling to conventional thinking. Wheatley's thinking is anything but.

Sullivan sought out Wheatley after reading her mind-expanding book, *Leadership and the New Science* (Berrett Koehler, \$15.95). Wheatley contends that, consciously or not, business has modeled itself on Newton's 17th-century depiction of the universe as a great machine in which the parts move and pull one another in predictable and immutable fashion.

But tomorrow's leaders must draw wis-

dom from a new science, says Wheatley. It's not Crystal Age quackery but the reputable, though sometimes equally bizarre, discoveries of advanced physics, biology, and such. For example, quantum physics teaches that the atom is made up not of the solid billiard balls of the schoolroom model but of electrons, photons, mesons, and whatever that sometimes act like particles and sometimes like waves. In its ambiguity and randomness the subatomic world shares a lot with the ever-changing world in which leaders must operate.

Chaos, moreover, is not what the layman imagines, the total breakdown of order. Whether expressed in the natural world of hurricanes or in the artificial world of esoteric computer experiments, chaos contains those mysterious fractals. What's unpredictable is where and how those repetitive patterns will unfold.

Leaders, in business or in uniform, must learn to adapt to that uncertain environment. While they cannot control the random and ambiguous changes that affect their organization, they can identify the cohesive corporate mission or competency and make sure it is imprinted on every worker or soldier. Like the humble broccoli that keeps repeating its essential form in any weather, the organization will endure.

out fight. Getting ready for conditions other than war is a much fuzzier assignment. How does a soldier, or anyone else, understand the fine distinctions and rules of engagement (when it's okay to shoot) during peacekeeping, peacemaking, humanitarian rescue, nation building, whatever?

By and large the Army doesn't attract those who thrive on soft information and carrying out instructions that are vague or mutate from day to day. Nor are soldiers comfortable in the midst of unfamiliar values and alien behavior. That's one of the reasons given by the military for insisting that gays keep their sexual preferences quiet.



Margaret Wheatley

Wander among the Army elite, the 15,000 members of the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. They are great soldiers—motivated and single-minded in their determination to win. There's not a Type B in the outfit. "People even mow their lawns at a faster pace," a recently arrived officer's wife wrote in the local newspaper.

That's just the temperament required for jumping out of planes and seizing enemy airfields, the mission the 82nd rehearses again and again. But once the target is taken, is it reasonable to expect them or soldiers like them to walk police beats in Haiti, say? It may not be clear who the enemy is or how strongly he should be dealt with. Tom Surles, a retired colonel who commanded a battalion in Korea, considers such missions a serious mismatch. "We train to fire our weapons and hit things with them," says Surles. "To send the military in and say 'Don't shoot'—well, you've got the wrong people to do that."

Sullivan strongly disagrees with that view. He notes that his troops are now carrying out noncombative missions in 105 countries, without incident. Moreover, restraint is incorporated in training programs. At Fort Polk, Louisiana, troops practice fighting while nuns and journalists wander among them. "Killing" civilians costs a soldier points.

SULLIVAN URGES his officers to model themselves on jazz musicians Dave Brubeck and Wynton Marsalis, who although trained in the classics have the gift of being able to improvise in action. The 19th-century strategies of Karl von Clausewitz and the other standards will not suffice in a confusing and turbulent era.

Fast-track colonels at the Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, are told time and again that they are preparing for leadership roles in a world that is violent, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous. They hear it so often they have taken to calling the place, with tongue-in-cheek sarcasm, VUCA U. The world of commerce is teaching the same lesson to millions of business people every day. Most could benefit from studying it with the Army's discipline and zeal.

The Welfare Mess—How It Got That Way

By MICKEY KAUS

A Democrat, Franklin Roosevelt, tried to end the dole. "Continued dependence upon relief," he declared, "induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fibre." A Republican, Richard Nixon, tried to extend the dole. He wanted a "guaranteed annual income" for all poor families, regardless of whether the parents were able to work.

In the rich, perverse history of public assistance for the poor, you can't tell the players with a partisan scorecard. "Right" and "left" have switched sides many times. As Congress prepares to debate the issue yet again, it's worth remembering how we got into the "welfare mess."

In this century, there have been roughly seven phases of government welfare reform as we've known it:

- **Mothers' Aid (1911-35).** What to do about a destitute single mother and her children? One obvious solution is for the government to recognize that being a mother is an important job—and to simply pay single mothers for doing that job. By 1926, all but eight states had set up "mothers' aid" programs that did just that.

The obvious problem with this solution was articulated in 1914 by one mothers' aid advocate: "To pension desertion or illegitimacy would, undoubtedly, have the effect of a premium upon these crimes against society." Most states guarded against this by restricting aid to "suitable homes"—meaning that aid was reserved for "gilt-edged" widows, not bastards or broken families.

- **FDR's Choice (1935).** Franklin Roosevelt spent \$2 billion trying to help the poor during his first two years in office. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration handed out money to the states, most of which chose to spend it on "direct relief"—a cash dole. Prodded by his aide Harry Hopkins, FDR turned against cash relief. In his 1935 State of the Union address he declared that "to dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic." FDR replaced the federal cash dole for the able-bodied with a massive program of public-works jobs, the Works Progress Administration. In effect, he revived the late 19th-century philanthropic practice of the "work test," which required labor in exchange for aid.

There was one crucial exception, however, a little-noticed program called Aid for Dependent Children (ADC), designed to help families in which the breadwinner was "dead, disabled, or absent." That language was lifted directly from state mothers' aid laws that, in practice, were restricted to "suitable homes." At the time, 300,000 children were receiving help from mothers' aid. In 1937, only 3.5% of ADC children were illegitimate.

- **Quiet Revolution (1935-60).** From this inconspicuous beginning, ADC developed into a program that was almost solely di-

rected at supporting the children of desertion, illegitimacy and divorce. The initial impetus came from federal bureaucrats, who saw state "suitable home" policies as irrational (as if children of deserted mothers were any less needy!) and meddlesome (there were horror stories of mothers denied aid because they "spoke gruffly to their children at times"). Under federal prodding, all states technically allowed illegitimate children to receive aid by 1939. By 1940, 30% of the ADC caseload consisted of families with "absent" fathers.

Congress still preferred "deserving" widows, of course. They were so deserving that in 1939 Congress brought them under the far more generous provisions of Social Security. In New Deal theory, as more and more widows qualified for Social Security, ADC (renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children) was supposed to

"wither away." In practice, Social Security siphoned off the "deserving" elements of the single mother population, leaving on AFDC mainly the children of those who had divorced or whose husbands had deserted. By 1960, 64% of AFDC families were "absent father" cases.

- **Panic (1960-68).** Faced with such statistics, states tried to reassert "suitable home"-type restrictions—especially when the number of people on welfare started rising rapidly. Some states staged "midnight raids" to catch welfare mothers in the act of receiving "male callers." But the racist theme and heavy-handed enforcement of many of these restrictions made removing them a cause of the civil-rights movement. A few thousand regulations and court decisions later, it was clear that any poor single mother with a child was entitled to aid, whether or not she had married the father of the child or had any idea who the father of the child was.

In the early 1960s, liberals panicked about AFDC along with everybody else. "I have been appalled at the thought of generation after generation on welfare," said Abraham Ribicoff, President Kennedy's secretary of health, education and welfare, in 1961. Mr. Ribicoff produced the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments, which tried to cut the welfare rolls through a massive application of social work. Hyped as "momentous," the 1962 law served mainly to drain the federal treasury as states scrambled for federal dollars to subsidize vaguely defined "preventive" and "consultative services" for the poor.

- **The Give-Them-Cash Consensus (1968-78).** Because AFDC was available only to single mothers, it seemed to offer a perverse "incentive" for poor fathers to desert

their families. Why not extend it to families that stayed together, without middlemen ("poverty pimps") and moralizing?

This was the idea of the guaranteed income. It had terrific appeal to both the left and right. Milton Friedman first floated the idea; James Q. Wilson was an early proponent, along with John Kenneth Galbraith. Sargent Shriver, head of the War on Poverty, soon converted, along with Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Why would recipients of this guaranteed income work? Marginal incentives, said the economists. The "archaic" language of morality, of "deserving" and "undeserving," of "legitimacy" and "desertion," gave way to clean-sounding technical talk about the slope of income curves.

Lyndon Johnson resisted the new left-right consensus. But President Nixon proposed a guaranteed income in 1969, after

Mr. Moynihan, his domestic adviser, assured him it would "get rid of social workers." George McGovern famously promised "\$1,000 a person" in 1972, and Jimmy Carter offered a modified guaranteed income plan in 1977. All these schemes failed, in part because the numbers never added up, but mainly because the public at large never bought the idea of giving people money whether they worked or not. Gov. Ronald Reagan of California denounced the Nixon plan as a "megadole."

The main effect of the expert pro-dole consensus seems to have been to help remove the stigma associated with welfare. In the early 1960s only about a third of those eligible actually signed up for AFDC. By 1971, the percentage had risen to 90%. This was the "welfare explosion." Between 1960 and 1974 AFDC rolls more than tripled, to almost 11 million from 3.1 million.

- **Workfare (1980-present).** With Mr. Reagan, the welfare debate settled into a familiar configuration: Conservatives pushed "tough" work requirements. Liberals, somewhat pathetically, defended the AFDC program they had once tried to supplant.

Congress didn't authorize an authentic workfare regime. But Mr. Reagan won approval for states to experiment with milder approaches that threatened to cut welfare checks if recipients didn't attend training or "work experience." This approach was extended nationwide in the 1988 Family Support Act.

- **Time Limits and Cutoffs (1992-???)**. The 1988 law had at best modest effects. Meanwhile, sociologist William Julius Wilson had made it acceptable again to talk about poverty in cultural as well as eco-

nomic terms. Didn't it make a difference if someone grew up in a neighborhood filled with broken, welfare-dependent homes? Charles Murray pointed out that even if AFDC didn't create this "underclass," AFDC sustained it. Liberals, such as Harvard researcher David Ellwood, began to once again acknowledge that long-term dependence was a real problem. And it became difficult for the left to argue that mothers on welfare should somehow be exempt from work; thanks in part to feminism, most mothers now worked.

Mr. Ellwood came up with a fairly radical idea: Instead of first sending checks, and then trying to make recipients "work them off," why not end the checks after a certain fixed period? In 1988, he proposed a time limit of 18 to 36 months, after which ex-recipients would be offered a low-paying WPA-like job. Bill Clinton picked up Mr. Ellwood's idea. His proposed Work and Responsibility Act embodies Mr. Ellwood's time limit, modestly diluted.

Oddly, just as Democrats are learning to embrace work as the solution to the welfare problem, conservatives have begun to abandon it. "I don't care how many women go to work," says Mr. Murray. According to this sexy new right-wing line, "illegitimacy" is the problem, not non-work—and the solution is to discourage illegitimacy by simply abolishing welfare.

There is less to this debate than there appears, since the Clintonites clearly want their time limit, in part, to discourage illegitimacy. The fight is over means, not ends. Both sides have returned to older moralistic language that acknowledges the virtue of "playing by the rules," of lasting marriage and of self-sufficiency.

Given this comeback of culture and virtue, it is tempting for conservatives to see the history of welfare as a neat, cautionary arc: Americans try helping single mothers with cash, learn that it has perverse consequences, and stop.

But the story isn't really that neat. For one thing, the guaranteed-income solution dies hard, especially on the libertarian right. Even Mr. Murray, of all people, still occasionally proposes it. For another, no respectable moralistic 19th-century philanthropist would suggest that you can fairly enforce a "work test" without providing the work. To provide hundreds of thousands of WPA-style jobs (as Mr. Clinton's plan contemplates) will cost money. But American voters seem to prefer Mr. Clinton's two-years-and-go-to-work solution to the right's offer of orphanages. And the clearest lesson the history of welfare teaches is that the voters—who have consistently opposed giving cash to those who can work, but who have supported providing the work—are usually wiser than the experts.

Mr. Kaus, author of "The End of Equality" (Basic Books), is a senior editor at the *New Republic*.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.14.94

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Pruel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9 14 94

94 SEP 14 P2:09

September 14, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **JOAN N. BAGGETT**

SUBJECT: PRIMARY RESULTS

I. SUMMARY

Primaries were held yesterday in Arizona, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin.

II. DISCUSSION

ARIZONA

✓ **Gubernatorial:** With 99% of the precincts reporting, AP has declared supermarket mogul Eddie Basha the winner with 37% to former Phoenix mayor Terry Goddard's 35.4%. Former Phoenix Mayor Paul Johnson lost with 28%. Though Goddard has not yet conceded, he is likely to do so in an afternoon press conference today. Goddard and the more conservative Johnson were the early favorites in the race, but Johnson's attack strategy backfired under a barrage of counterattacks during the final stretch. Basha went up with a heavy, self-funded television buy late in the campaign with a folksy ad expressing disappointment that Johnson would launch such a desperate attack, and it worked. As an outsider with appeal to rural voters and independents, Basha should be a strong general election candidate if he can avoid naive mistakes.

In the GOP primary, Governor Fife Symington easily defeated ex-Reagan Administration official Barbara Barrett 68%-32%. His strong showing in the face of a reasonably well funded challenge by a credible opponent indicates Symington is not as vulnerable as he appeared to be last year.

Senate: With 99% of the precincts reporting, this race is too close to call. Freshman Representative Sam Coppersmith leads Secretary of State Richard Mahoney by less than 800 votes. State Senator Cindy Resnick finished a strong third with 30%. This race may not be decided until late this afternoon, and even then it is unknown whether the results will be contested. Rough trends suggest that Coppersmith will be the nominee. The winner will face well funded Republican John Kyl. Though Coppersmith would probably be a stronger

candidate than Mahoney, a recent poll put Coppersmith 15 points behind Kyl, while Mahoney trailed by only 5 percent.

CD01: State Senator and early Clinton Supporter Chuck Blanchard was unopposed in the Democratic Primary and has \$150,000 on hand. He will face conservative State Senator Matt Salmon, who beat Susan Bitter-Smith 39%-22%. Salmon is anti-choice and is the easiest candidate of the Republican field for Blanchard to run against.

CD 02,03,04, and 05: Incumbent Ed Pastor (D-2nd District) easily won his primary and faces token general election opposition. Bob Stump (R-3rd District) and Jim Kolbe (R-5th District) will win easy re-election. The conservative John Shadegg won the Republican primary for the Fourth District and will face Democrat Carol Campbell Cure in this heavily Republican, but pro-choice, district.

Democrat Karan English had no Primary opposition and will face former television sportscaster J. D. Hayworth. He is a disciple of the radical right and did not raised a significant amount of money in the primary. Nonetheless, English will have a tough fight in her district that leans slightly Democratic but voted heavily for Bush in 1992.

David Wilhelm is in Phoenix today for a unity press conference with the nominees, but the inconclusive results may complicate his efforts.

CONNECTICUT

✓ **Gubernatorial:** In a surprising upset, state Comptroller Bill Curry defeated state Representative John Larson in the primary election, 55 percent to 45 percent. Larson received the endorsement of the State Democratic Party Convention and outspent Curry in the primary; recent polls showed Larson with a 23 percent to nine percent lead over Curry among Democrats. In his concession speech on September 13th, Larson stated his support for Curry in the general election.

✓ In the GOP primary election, former U.S. Representative John Rowland easily defeated Secretary of State Pauline Kezer, 68 percent to 32 percent. Throughout the primary race, Rowland led in the polls as well as fundraising, with a fundraising total of more than \$1 million.

✓ Lt. Governor Eunice Groark (A Connecticut Party) and radio talkshow host Tom Scott will both run as independents in the general election. A Hartford Courant poll conducted July 29th - August 1st showed Rowland defeating Curry in a general election match-up, 35 percent to nine percent, with Groark taking eight percent of the vote.

Senate: Incumbent Democrat Joseph Lieberman was unopposed in the Senate primary. For the GOP nomination, former state Senator and physician Gerald Labriola defeated Joe Bentivegna in the primary, 68 percent to 32 percent. The Hartford Courant poll conducted July 29th - August 1st showed Lieberman defeating Labriola 51 percent to 11 percent in the

general election. Lieberman currently enjoys a job approval rating of 49 percent "excellent/good" and 43 percent rating of "fair/poor."

CD05: In the fifth district race, state Senator Jim Maloney defeated state House Majority leader Tom Luby 55 percent to 45 percent for the Democratic nomination. Maloney will face incumbent Republican Gary Franks in the general election. This race is considered a toss-up and represents one of our best opportunities for a Democratic pick-up of a Republican seat.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mayoral Race: In the Democratic primary for the D.C. Mayoral race, former Mayor Marion Barry defeated Councilmember John Ray and incumbent Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly with 48 percent of the vote. Ray received 37 percent of the vote and Kelly 15 percent.

MARYLAND

call us
Gubernatorial: In the hotly contested Democratic gubernatorial primary, Prince Georges County Executive Parris Glendening won his party's nomination with 53 percent of the vote. State Senator American Joe Miedudiewski followed with 18 percent, Lt. Governor Mel Steinberg with 15 percent, and state Senator Mary Boergers with 14 percent. Glendening enjoys strong support from Maryland's African American supporters--most notably a strong base of support among inner-city Baltimore voters. He received the early endorsement of Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke in the primary election.

The GOP primary was equally as contested, with the projected frontrunner, U.S. Representative Helen Delich Bentley, coming in second to state House Minority Leader Ellen Sauerbray. With all precincts reporting, Sauerbray led Bentley 52 percent to 38 percent, with 1990 gubernatorial nominee placing third with 10 percent of the vote.

✓
Senate: Incumbent Democrat Paul Sarbanes faced only minimal opposition in the primary election. The GOP primary was a "down to the wire" fight between former U.S. Senator and RNC Chair Bill Brock and Montgomery County Planning Commission member Ruthann Aron. State Delegate Ron Franks was also a candidate. Brock defeated Aron 38 percent to 26 percent in the final tally.

In a general election match-up, the Baltimore Sun poll showed Sarbanes defeating Brock 58 percent to 23 percent, with 19 percent of voters undecided in the general election.

✓
CD02: In the open second district race, state Delegate Gerry Brewster defeated state Delegate Connie Galizza DeJuliis 38 percent to 35 percent. This seat is considered a toss-up in the general election. Although Democrats have a two-to-one registration advantage, the district is predominantly white conservative. Helen Delich Bentley held this seat for ten years.

CD06: In the sixth district, Republican incumbent, Roscoe Bartlett will face businessman Paul Muldowney who defeated former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Transportation Neil Dhillon, businessman Galen Clagett, and legislative aide Don DeArmon for the Democratic nomination.

MINNESOTA

Gubernatorial: Governor Arne Carlson (R) defeated former State Representative and radical right activist Allen Quist (R) by a 67%-33% margin. State Senator John Marty (D), the DFL-endorsed candidate, won the Democratic nomination with 38% of the primary vote, followed by former DFL Chair and former State Commerce Commissioner Mike Hatch (D) with 35% and former Minneapolis Police Chief Tony Bouza (D) with 25%. Marty is a weak general election candidate.

✓ **Senate:** Former State House Majority Leader Ann Wynia (D) won the Democratic nomination, defeating Ramsey County Attorney (and early supporter of yours) Tom Foley (D) by a 62%-33% margin. On the Republican side, conservative freshman Representative Rod Grams (R) defeated moderate Lt. Governor Joanell Dyrstad (R) by a 58%-35% margin. A St. Paul Pioneer Press poll released last week showed Wynia and Grams tied in a general election match-up, though many believe the poll does not reflect Wynia's strength and her potential as a candidate.

✓ **CD01:** The seat is open because Representative Tim Penny (D) is retiring. State Senator John Hottinger (D) was unopposed in the Democratic primary. On the Republican side, State Representative and 1988 Kemp supporter Gil Gutknecht (R) defeated former Representative Arlen Erdahl (R) by a 57%-30% margin. The general election is a toss-up.

✓ **CD02:** Representative David Minge (D) was unchallenged in his primary and will face Gary Revier (R), the Mayor of Redwood Falls, who was unopposed in the GOP primary. Minge is vulnerable (he won only 50.7% of the vote in '92) but so far the Revier campaign appears to be fairly weak.

✓ **CD06:** The seat is open because incumbent Grams is running for the Senate. State Senator Bill Luther (D) won the Democratic nomination by a 57%-30% margin over attorney David McCarthy (D). McCarthy's showing was surprisingly strong given that he was widely viewed as a token opponent. On the Republican side, anti-choice advocate Tad Jude (R) defeated moderate and pro-choice former State Human Resources Commissioner Natalie Haas Steffen (D) by a 57%-30% margin. Jude is a former Democratic member of the state House and Senate, where he was strongly identified with the abortion issue.

✓ **CD07:** Representative Collin Peterson (D) and former State Representative Bernie Omann (R) were unopposed in their respective primaries and are headed for a rematch. Peterson defeated Omann by only a 51%-49% margin in 1992.

Other House Races: All of the remaining House incumbents were unopposed (or faced only token opposition) in yesterday's primary and are considered safe in their re-election bids. They are: Jim Ramstad (R), Bruce Vento (D), Martin Sabo (D) and James Oberstar (D).

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Gubernatorial: State Senator Wayne King (D) and Governor Steve Merrill (R) faced no serious opposition in their respective primaries. Merrill is one of this year's safest incumbents.

✓ **CD01:** Representative Bill Zeff (R) was unopposed in the GOP primary. On the Democratic side, political activist and businessman Bill Verge (D) defeated former State Representative Douglas Lachance (D). Zeff is safe.

✓ **CD02:** Representative Dick Swett (D) was unopposed in the Democratic primary. He will face State Senator Charlie Bass, a millionaire businessman and son of former Representative Perkins Bass (R-NH), in November. Bass decisively won the 10-way Republican primary. Swett is favored to win in November.

NEW YORK

✓ **Gubernatorial:** Governor Mario Cuomo (D) easily defeated perennial New Alliance Party candidate Lenora Fulani (D) by a 79% to 21% margin. On the Republican side, Party-endorsed state Senator George Pataki (R) crushed his opponent, ex-NY Republican Party Chair Richard Rosenbaum by 73% to 27%. Pataki also secured the Conservative Party nomination. Polls show the general election to be very close, with Cuomo running slightly behind in most surveys.

✓ **Senate Race:** Incumbent Senator Pat Moynihan (D) easily defeated community activist Reverend Al Sharpton (D) in the Democratic primary by 74% to 26%. Moynihan will face businesswoman Bernadette Castro (R) in the general election and is a heavy favorite for re-election. Castro was unopposed in her bid for the GOP nomination.

* **CD04:** Freshman incumbent David Levy (R) lost to Daniel Frisa by only 300 votes out of 24,600 cast. Levy is the only incumbent in New York who lost yesterday. Frisa will face Ferne Steckeler (D), who was unopposed, in the general election.

CD08: Incumbent Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D) received 62% of the Democratic vote and overcame a challenge from openly gay and HIV+ City Councilman Tom Duane with 29%. Nadler faces only minor Republican opposition in November and will win easily.

CD15: Incumbent Rep. Charlie Rangel (D) defeated City Councilman Adam Clayton Powell (D), son of the former congressman, by 60% to 33% in a bitter and sometimes personal primary battle. Also running was Albert Davis (D). Rangel is unopposed in November.

CD17: Incumbent Rep. Eliot Engel (D) defeated Puerto Rican performer Willie Colon in this majority-minority district (about one-third is Hispanic, one-third African American, one-third white) by 61% to 39%. Engel faces only minor Republican opposition in November and will win easily.

CD19: Incumbent Hamilton Fish (R) is retiring. His son, Ham Fish, Jr., is running for the seat as a Democrat, and he defeated two others in the Democratic primary winning with 48%. The race among the seven candidates for the Republican nomination is still too close to call. Fish should defeat any of the potential GOP challengers, and will represent another Democratic pick-up for us.

RHODE ISLAND

Gubernatorial: In the Democratic gubernatorial primary, Rhode Island Governor Bruce Sundlun was trounced by state Senator Myrth York, 57 percent to 27 percent. Sundlun had suffered from low approval ratings throughout his current term in office. In the GOP primary, former U.S. Attorney Lincoln Almond defeated U.S. Representative Ron Machtley 58 percent to 42 percent for his party's nomination. Almond's lead--which became apparent in the final weeks of the primary campaign--came as a surprise to many, given Machtley's conventional advantages, including the state Party's endorsement and a strong fundraising lead. A WPRI/Channel 12 poll released September 13th showed York and Almond in a 50/50 dead heat in the general election race.

Senate: State Representative Linda Kushner did not face opposition in the Democratic primary. For the GOP nomination, incumbent John Chafee defeated businessman Thomas Post 69 percent to 31 percent. Chafee is expected to win re-election in November.

CD01: For the open first district seat, state Representative Patrick Kennedy (son of Ted Kennedy) defeated Norman Jacques for the Democratic nomination, 78 percent to 22 percent. Kennedy will face physician Kevin Vigilante in the general election. Vigilante won the GOP primary against Massachusetts Department of Transportation Secretary Valerie Southern, 74 percent to 26 percent. The general election should be a tight race.

VERMONT

Gubernatorial: Governor Howard Dean (D) was unopposed in the Democratic primary. Attorney David Kelley (R), who ran with the support of most of the Republican establishment, won the GOP primary with 35% of the vote, followed by radical right millionaire Tom Morse (R) with 30% and retired scientist and longtime Republican activist John Gropper (R) with 27%. Dean is one of the safest incumbents in the country.

Senate: Senator Jim Jeffords (R) was unopposed in the Republican primary. State Senator Jan Backus (D) won the Democratic nomination, defeating former University of Vermont Law

School Dean Doug Costle (D), who served as EPA Administrator during the Carter Administration, by a 58%-42% margin. Jeffords is safe.

House-at-large: Representative Bernie Sanders (I) is running as an Independent and was not on yesterday's ballot. No Democrat ran in the Democratic primary while State Senate Majority Leader John Carroll (R) swept past token opposition in the Republican primary. Sanders is heavily favored to win in November.

WISCONSIN

Gubernatorial: Governor Tommy Thompson (R) and State Senator Chuck Chvala (D) (pronounced "koala") were unopposed in their respective primaries. Thompson will breeze to a record third term. He has a 51-point lead in the most recent public poll.

Senate: Senator Herb Kohl (D) was unopposed in the Democratic primary. State Representative Bob Welch (R) won the Republican nomination with 47% of the vote. Sports marketing executive Matt Gunderson (R), the brother of Representative Steve Gunderson (R), placed second with 23%, followed by State Treasurer Cathy Zeuske (R) (pronounced "zigh-skee") with 17% and attorney Tom Fitzpatrick (R) with 13%. The nomination of Welch, an archconservative, is good news for the Kohl campaign, which was most worried about Zeuske. Kohl is well-positioned for November.

CD01: Representative Peter Barca (D) and millionaire businessman Mark Neumann (R) were unopposed in their respective primaries and are headed for a rematch. The race is a toss-up.

CD03: Representative Steve Gunderson (R) fended off a GOP primary challenge from radical right activist Donald Brill (R) by a 63%-37% margin. State Representative Harvey Stower (D) won the Democratic primary with 35% of the vote, followed by businessman and former State Senator Peter Bear (D) with 34% and Lee Rasch (D), president of Western Wisconsin Technical College, with 22%. Gunderson is favored to win re-election in November.

CD08: Representative Toby Roth (R) fended off a primary challenge from Nancy Nusbaum (R), the Mayor of DePere, by a 68%-32% margin. State Representative Stan Gruszynski (D) was unopposed for the Democratic nomination. Gruszynski is a good candidate but Roth is favored to win re-election.

Other House Races: All other incumbents were unopposed in their primaries (or faced token opposition) and are considered safe in their re-election bids. They are: Scott Klug (R), Gerald Kleczka (D), Thomas Barrett (D), Thomas Petri (R), David Obey (D) and Jim Sensenbrenner (R).

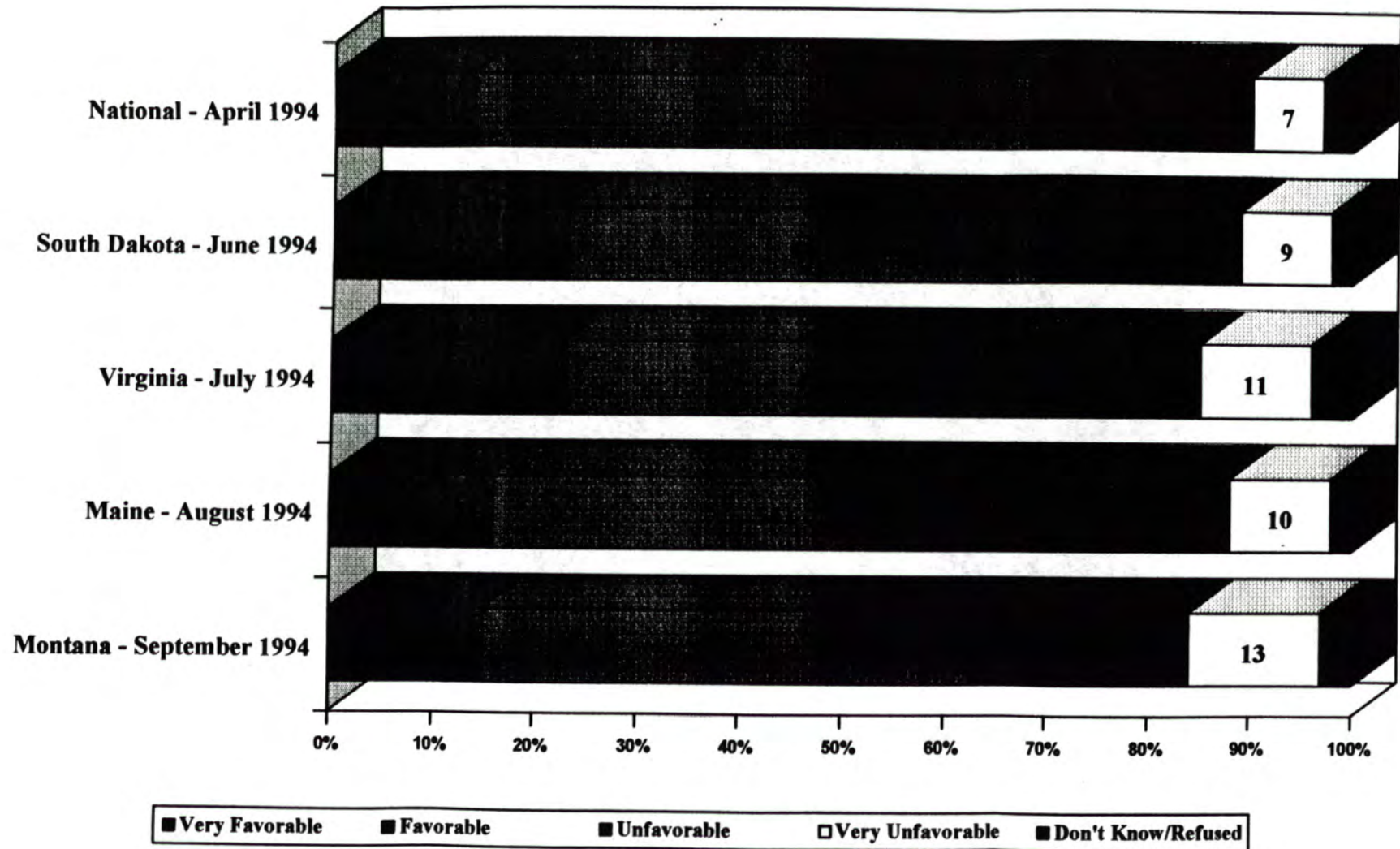
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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Joan B

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NEA Support for President Clinton





Aerospace
Industries
Association

5

NEWSLETTER

94 SEP 14 P4:35

AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1994 VOLUME 7, NUMBER 3



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*TERRY
McCarthy*

*Fyi
Podest*

9-14-94

I am delighted to greet the members of the Aerospace Industries Association as you celebrate your organization's seventy-fifth anniversary.

Aerospace technology will continue to be a primary source of innovation and economic prosperity for our nation well into the future. As we prepare for the challenges of the twenty-first century and beyond, we must strive to foster the bright promise of aviation and space exploration. Developments in this field will serve to bolster trade and commerce, expand the boundaries of scientific knowledge, and safeguard our national security for years to come.

The members of AIA can take great pride in your efforts to advance the aerospace industry and to educate the American public about the tremendous opportunity it represents. I salute the dedication to excellence and the commitment to progress that your members have shown since the early days of human flight. Your efforts have the potential to help our nation tomorrow in ways that we are just beginning to imagine today.

Best wishes for a wonderful celebration and for much continued success.

Bill Clinton

75th

Anniversary

Issue

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: September 14, 1994

94 SEP 14 P5:05

Date of Request: 7/21/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chair
Requestor Name: Mr. Al From
Title: President
Organization: Democratic Leadership Council
518 C Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
Contact Tel. #: 202/546-0007
Event Date: 12/06/1994
Event Description: 10th anniversary gala
Notes:

Recommendations:

JP



PL

9-14-94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{9/13}

orig w/RM

*AN ISSUE OF THE HEART:
HOW TO BUILD
CONGREGATIONS AND
PARACHURCH ORGANIZATIONS
TO BECOME MULTIRACIAL*

To L Lader

Author Rev. Peggy L. Jones

Linda Lader
Suite 201
1026 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

to Rahm
C. Niles
DONE
TRAHM
EMMANUEL
9/13
copy to DONE
Rahm
September 8
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Sewage

TE HO
NGTON

Mr. Ollie Adams Burton
2323 Highway 14 East
Newport, Arkansas 72112

Dear Ollie:

Thank you for your heartfelt letter.
of Shinika's tragic death, and I am
the time to share her story with me.

Such acts of violence not only violate our security, they
take away our brightest hope for the future -- our young
people. Shinika's poignant words are a dramatic reminder
of the fears our children must face every day -- that "too
much wrong" will deny them the opportunity to "be someone"
in the future. Tragically, Shinika became a victim of the
very subject she wrote about so passionately. We can best
honor her memory by working hard to save other young lives.

The level of gun violence among our nation's youth is
especially disturbing, and I believe the recently passed
crime bill gives us a good foundation to address this growing
problem. In addition to banning 19 of the most dangerous
assault weapons, this new law will ban the sale of handguns
to juveniles. It will also provide funding for more police,
more prisons, and more prevention programs to help our people
to rebuild and strengthen their communities.

Through shared responsibility, we can change our children's
despair to hope and turn the tide on this wave of violence.
As I continue to speak out on this vital issue, I will keep
your letter in mind.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I am so sorry -
Thank you for sharing
her letter with me

Lead Copies of
Ally Hiss to
Sen. Tampers
Sen. Pryor
Doug. Blanche
Amber

this paper is made from 100% Levi Strauss & Co. denim scrap

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1994

94 SEP 13 P5:21

PRIVILEGED AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: MARVIN KRISLOV *mk*
ASSISTANT COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

Joel Klein concurs with recommendation to expand
Presidential Service Certificate to include members of
the Public Health Service. Do you agree?

Yes

copy
MARVIN
BOB DANNUS

MARVIN —
why is this privileged
& confidential?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRIVILEGED AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR JOEL KLEIN

FROM: MARVIN KRISLOV

RE: Presidential Service Certificate

Attached is a memorandum from Laura Radack responding to Ms. Gebbie's suggestion that the authority for the Presidential Service Certificate be expanded to include members of the Public Health Service. As Ms. Radack explains, the pool of those eligible has been expanded over the years.

I agree that changing the Executive Order to include members of the Public Health Service would not be inconsistent with the trend and would not violate the spirit of the law. A draft Executive Order implementing the change is attached.

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

Sec. 3.2(C) Initials: OB Date: 5/17/18

August 17, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO MARVIN KRISLOV

FROM: LAURA S. RADACK

RE: PRESIDENTIAL SERVICE BADGE

History of the Presidential Service Certificate and Badge

By way of Executive Order 10879, President Eisenhower first established the White House Service Certificate and the White House Service Badge. Such distinction was awarded to members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard who were detailed to duty in the White House for at least one year by the appropriate Secretary.

On September 1, 1964, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11174, amending Executive Order 10879, by re-naming the White House Service Certificate and Badge as the Presidential Service Certificate and Badge. A later amendment expanded those persons eligible for such award to "military units and support facilities under the administration of the Military Assistant to the President," who have served the White House for at least one year. E.O. 11520 (Mar. 25, 1970).

President Bush, in March 1992, issued Executive Order 12793 which continued the tradition of awarding the Presidential Service Certificate and Badge. This order yet again expands the list of persons eligible to receive such badge to "other direct support positions within the Executive Office of the President." Executive Order 12793 supersedes Executive Order 10879.¹

Ms. Gebbie's Proposal

Kristine Gebbie, former National AIDS Policy Coordinator, proposes to amend Executive Order 12793 by substituting the term "Uniformed Services" for "Armed Services." This amendment would, in effect, include members of the Commissioned Corps of the U.S. Public Health Service in the pool of detailees eligible for the

¹ It appears that such "support positions" are ones held by military personnel.

Presidential Service Certificate and Badge.² Consistent with this last suggestion, Ms. Gebbie recommends that the executive order be further amended to allow the Secretary of Health and Human Services to make such award to her respective officers.

Throughout the history of the Presidential Service Certificate and Badge, the pool of persons eligible to receive the award has grown. Thus, amending the order to include yet one more group is certainly feasible. It would simply require an Executive Order to accomplish. The question is whether to extend such honor to persons outside of the Armed Services.

Commissioned officers of the Public Health Service are given grades, ranks and titles similar to that held by officers of the military. 42 U.S.C. § 207. Like military personnel, officers of both the Regular and Reserved Corp stand ready to serve in time of national duty. 42 U.S.C. § 204. PHS officers are eligible to receive military ribbons, medals or decorations.³ See Memorandum of President Bush (Dec. 30, 1992); 58 F.R. 3485. Given the similarities, there is no reason to exclude PHS commissioned officers from the receipt of the Presidential Service Badge and Certificate, assuming satisfaction of all other requirements.

² By virtue of this substitution, detailees from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration would also be eligible for such award. 42 U.S.C. § 201(p) (definition of "uniformed service").

³ However, the Secretary of Defense may not make such an award without the approval of the Secretary of Health and Human Services. *Id.*

DRAFT EXECUTIVE ORDER

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

Section 1. *Presidential Service Certificate.* The Presidential Service Certificate ("Certificate") is hereby continued, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this order. The Certificate shall be awarded in the name of the President of the United States by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Air Force, or, when the Coast Guard is not operating as a service in the Navy, the Secretary of Transportation, or the Secretary of Health and Human Services. It shall be awarded by the appropriate Secretary to members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Coast Guard and Public Health Service, respectively, who have been assigned to the White House Office; to military units and support facilities under the administration of the White House Military Office; or to other direct support positions within the Executive Office of the President ("EOP"). The Certificate shall not be issued to any member who is issued a Vice Presidential Certificate, or similar EOP Certificate, for the same period of service. Such assignment must be for a period of at least one year, subsequent to January 21, 1993.

Section 2. *Presidential Service Badge.* The Presidential Service Badge is hereby continued, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this order. The Badge shall be awarded to those members of the Uniformed Services who have been granted the Certificate and shall be awarded in the same manner in which the Certificate has been given. The Badge shall be worn as part of the uniform of those individuals under such regulations as their respective Secretaries may severally prescribe.

Section 3. Only one Certificate may be awarded to an individual.

Section 4. The Certificate and the Badge may be granted posthumously.

Section 5. This order shall supersede Executive Order 12793 of March 20, 1992.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
(Date)

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

☐ O - OUTGOING☒ H - INTERNAL☐ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence
Received (YY/MM/DD)

94108102

Name of Correspondent: Kristine Gebbie

☐ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) (B) (C)

Subject: Presidential Service Budget

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
CUCUR	ORIGINATOR	9408102		C	9410810
CU AT 16 (Kristine)	Referral Note: A	9410810			1 1
	Referral Note:				1 1
	Referral Note:				1 1
	Referral Note:				1 1
	Referral Note:				1 1

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet
to be used as Enclosure

I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

SCANNED

OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments:

Keep this worksheet attached to the original Incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

34 AUG 2 P4: 35

August 2, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO THE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Kristine M. Gebbie, RN, MN
National AIDS Policy Coordinator

SUBJECT: Presidential Service Badge

PURPOSE

The purpose of this memorandum is to request that Executive Order 12793, dated March 20, 1992 regarding the authority to award and wear the Presidential Service Badge be amended to include members of the Commissioned Corps of the U.S. Public Health Service. Upon that change, I recommend that Arthur J. Lawrence, Captain, U.S. Public Health Service Commissioned Corps, receive Presidential Service recognition.

BACKGROUND

Executive Order 12793 provides the authority to the Secretaries of the "Armed Services" of the Department of Defense to award in the name of the President, a Presidential Service Certificate and a Presidential Service Badge to those officers serving a White House office for one year or more. I recommend and request that the Executive Order be amended to provide the same authority to the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services for issuing the certificate and badge, and that the term "Uniformed Services" in be substituted in the Executive Order for the existing "Armed Services." The Commissioned Corps of the U.S. Public Health Service, being a statutorily established uniformed service, utilizes an awards and recognition system which parallels that of the other uniformed services (e.g. the military branches of the Department of Defense). By this recommended action, all members of the uniformed services serving under analogous conditions will be treated in an equitable manner for the purpose of White House recognition.

As HIV/AIDS and other health care issues gain an increased level of policy prominence, expert assistance from members of the Commissioned Corps of the U.S. Public Health Service will be required by White House offices on an on-going basis. Members of the Corps, by statute, cannot participate in awards and recognition systems available to members of the Civil Service who work in or are assigned to White House offices. They should be eligible for those forms of recognition available to other members of the Uniformed Services. I identified the need for a change in the Executive Order when seeking to appropriately recognize someone who has provided service to the White House AIDS Policy Office for the last year.

For over a year, Captain Arthur J. Lawrence, a career Public Health Service Commissioned Officer has served as my deputy. Dr. Lawrence will continue to serve as the principal liaison between this office and the Department of Health and Human Services and the Public Health Service. He has met all time and service conditions outlined in the current Executive Order for the granting of the Presidential Service recognition, and I recommend that he receive the award immediately upon modification of the Executive Order.

cc: M. Joycelyn Elders, M.D.

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CROSS REFERENCES

Annual report on advisory councils, see 42 USCA § 3509.
Combined payment plan for higher education loans by eligible lender, see 20 USCA § 1092(a).
Eligibility for public welfare assistance benefits for newly legalized aliens, see 8 USCA § 1255a.
Extension of patent term for products related to this chapter, see 35 USCA § 156.
Federal agency cooperation for purpose of carrying out programs related to elderly, see 42 USCA § 3013.
Limitation of federal funds for capital expenditures to health care facilities, see 42 USCA § 1320a-1.
Prohibition of consideration of political affiliations for advisory committees, see 42 USCA § 217a-1.
Prohibition on importation or shipment of injurious mammals, birds, fish, amphibia, and reptiles, see 18 USCA § 42.
Sterilization or abortion, prohibition against discrimination in performance thereof based upon religious or moral grounds, see 42 USCA § 300a-7.

SUBCHAPTER I—ADMINISTRATION

CROSS REFERENCES

Length of service of Government physician for purposes of computing comparability allowances, see 5 USCA § 5948.

§ 201. Definitions

When used in this chapter—

(a) The term "Service" means the Public Health Service;

(b) The term "Surgeon General" means the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service;

(c) Unless the context otherwise requires, the term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

(d) The term "regulations", except when otherwise specified, means rules and regulations made by the Surgeon General with the approval of the Secretary;

(e) The term "executive department" means any executive department, agency, or independent establishment of the United States or any corporation wholly owned by the United States;

(f) Except as provided in sections 246(g)(4)(B), 247c(c)(1), 254d(h)(3), 263c(5), 264(d), 292a(9), 300a(c), 300f(13), and 300n(1) of this title, the term "State" includes, in addition to the several States, only the District of Columbia, Guam, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Northern Mariana Islands, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(g) The term "possession" includes, among other possessions, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands;

(h) Repealed. Pub.L. 97-35, Title IX, § 986(a), Aug. 13, 1981, 95 Stat. 603.

(i) The term "vessel" includes every description of watercraft or other artificial contrivance used, or capable of being used, as a means of transportation on water, exclusive of aircraft and amphibious contrivances;

(j) The term "habit-forming narcotic drug" or "narcotic" means opium and coca leaves and the several alkaloids derived therefrom, the best known of these alkaloids being morphia, heroin, and codeine, obtained from opium, and cocaine derived from the coca plant; all compounds, salts, preparations, or other derivatives obtained either from the raw material or from the various alkaloids; Indian hemp and its various derivatives, compounds, and preparations, and peyote in its various forms; isonipecaine and its derivatives, compounds, salts, and preparations; opiates (as defined in section 4731(g) of Title 26);

(k) The term "addict" means any person who habitually uses any habit-forming narcotic drugs so as to endanger the public morals, health, safety, or welfare, or who is or has been so far addicted to the use of such habit-forming narcotic drugs as to have lost the power of self-control with reference to his addiction;

(l) The term "psychiatric disorders" includes diseases of the nervous system which affect mental health;

(m) The term "State mental health authority" means the State health authority, except that, in the case of any State in which there is a single State agency, other than the State health authority, charged with responsibility for administering the mental health program of the State, it means such other State agency;

(n) The term "heart diseases" means diseases of the heart and circulation;

(o) The term "dental diseases and conditions" means diseases and conditions affecting teeth and their supporting structures, and other related diseases of the mouth; and

(p) The term "uniformed service" means the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Public Health Service, or National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

(q) The term "drug dependent person" means a person who is using a controlled substance (as defined in section 802 of Title 21) and who is in a state of psychic or physical dependence, or both, arising from the use of that substance on a continuous basis. Drug dependence is characterized by behavioral and other responses which include a strong compulsion to take the

Transfer of Functions

The Bureau of Medical Services, Bureau of State Services, National Institutes of Health, excluding the several research Institutes in the agency, and the Office of the Surgeon General were abolished by section 3 of Reorg. Plan No. 3 of 1966, eff. June 25, 1966, 31 F.R. 8855, 80 Stat. 1610, and all functions thereof were transferred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare by section 1 of Reorg. Plan No. 3 of 1966, set out as a note under section 202 of this title. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was redesignated the Secretary of Health and Human Services by section 509(b) of Pub.L. 96-88 which is classified to section 3508(b) of Title 20, Education.

All functions of the Federal Security Administrator were transferred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and all agencies of the Federal Security Agency were transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by section 5 of Reorg. Plan No. 1 of 1953, set out as a note under section 3501 of this title. The Federal Security Agency and the office of Administrator were abolished by section 8 of Reorg. Plan No. 1 of 1953. The Secretary and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were redesignated the Secretary and Department of Health and Human Services by section 509(b) of Pub.L. 96-88 which is classified to section 3508(b) of Title 20.

CROSS REFERENCES

Transfer of funds, see 42 USCA § 300aaa-5.

LIBRARY REFERENCES**American Digest System**

Authority and powers of officers and agents and exercise thereof, see United States ¶40.

Health and environment; officers and agents, see Health and Environment ¶7(1 to 3).

Encyclopedias

Health and environment; boards, departments, and officers, see C.J.S. Health and Environment §§ 9 to 15.

Officers, agents, and employees; power and authority to bind government, see C.J.S. United States §§ 38 to 40.

WESTLAW ELECTRONIC RESEARCH

Health and environment cases: 199k[add key number].

United States cases: 393k[add key number].

See, also, WESTLAW guide following the Explanation pages of this volume.

§ 204. Commissioned corps; composition; appointment of Regular and Reserve officers; appointment and status of warrant officers

There shall be in the Service a commissioned Regular Corps and, for the purpose of securing a reserve for duty in the Service in time of national emergency, a Reserve Corps. All commissioned officers shall be citizens and shall be appointed without regard to the civil-service laws and compensated without regard to chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of Title 5. Commissioned officers of the Reserve Corps shall be appointed by the President and commissioned officers of the Regular Corps shall be appointed by him by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Commis-

Army; the Deputy Surgeon General and the Chief Medical Officer of the United States Coast Guard, while assigned as such, shall have the grade corresponding with the grade of major general; and the Chief Dental Officer, while assigned as such, shall have the grade prescribed by law for the officer of the Dental Corps selected and appointed as Assistant Surgeon General of the Army. During the period of appointment to the position of Assistant Secretary for Health, a commissioned officer of the Public Health Service shall have the grade corresponding to the grade of General of the Army. Assistant Surgeons General, while assigned as such, shall have the grade corresponding with either the grade of brigadier general or the grade of major general, as may be determined by the Secretary after considering the importance of the duties to be performed. *Provided*, That the number of Assistant Surgeons General having grade higher than that corresponding to the grade of brigadier general shall at no time exceed one-half of the number of positions created by subsection (b) of section 206 of this title or pursuant to subsection (c) of section 206 of this title. The grades of commissioned officers of the Service shall correspond with grades of officers of the Army as follows:

- (1) Officers of the director grade—colonel;
- (2) Officers of the senior grade—lieutenant colonel;
- (3) Officers of the full grade—major;
- (4) Officers of the senior assistant grade—captain;
- (5) Officers of the assistant grade—first lieutenant;
- (6) Officers of the junior assistant grade—second lieutenant;
- (7) Chief warrant officers of (W-4) grade—chief warrant officer (W-4);
- (8) Chief warrant officers of (W-3) grade—chief warrant officer (W-3);
- (9) Chief warrant officers of (W-2) grade—chief warrant officer (W-2); and
- (10) Warrant officers of (W-1) grade—warrant officer (W-1).

(b) Titles of medical officers

The titles of medical officers of the foregoing grades shall be respectively (1) medical director, (2) senior surgeon, (3) surgeon, (4) senior assistant surgeon, (5) assistant surgeon, and (6) junior assistant surgeon. The President is authorized to prescribe titles, appropriate to the several grades, for commissioned officers of the Service other than medical officers. All titles of the officers of the Reserve Corps shall have the suffix "Reserve."

Surgeon General and the Chief Medical Officer of the Coast Guard, while assigned as such, shall have the grade of major general; and the Chief Medical Officer, while assigned as such, shall have the grade of major general or the officer of the Dental Corps selected and assigned to the position of Assistant Secretary for the Public Health Service shall have the grade of General of the Army. During the term of office of the Assistant Secretary for the Public Health Service, while assigned as such, shall have the grade of brigadier general or major general, as may be determined by the Secretary of the Army, in importance of the duties to be performed. The number of Assistant Surgeons General having a grade corresponding to the grade of brigadier general shall not exceed one-half of the number of positions authorized by section 206 of this title or pursuant to section 206 of this title. The grades of commissioned officers of the Public Health Service shall correspond with grades of the Army as follows:

- (1) director grade—colonel;
- (2) senior grade—lieutenant colonel;
- (3) full grade—major;
- (4) senior assistant grade—captain;
- (5) assistant grade—first lieutenant;
- (6) junior assistant grade—second lieutenant;
- (7) officers of (W-4) grade—chief warrant officer (W-4);
- (8) officers of (W-3) grade—chief warrant officer (W-3);
- (9) officers of (W-2) grade—chief warrant officer (W-2);
- (10) officers of (W-1) grade—warrant officer (W-1).

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officers of the foregoing grades shall be designated (1) director, (2) senior surgeon, (3) surgeon, (4) assistant surgeon, (5) assistant surgeon, and (6) junior assistant surgeon. The President is authorized to prescribe titles, grades, for commissioned officers of the Public Health Service. All titles of the officers of the Public Health Service shall have the suffix "Reserve."

- (c) Repealed. Pub.L. 96-76, Title III, § 304(b), Sept. 29, 1979, 93 Stat. 584.
- (d) Maximum number in grade for each fiscal year

Within the total number of officers of the Regular Corps authorized by the appropriation Act or Acts for each fiscal year to be on active duty, the Secretary shall by regulation prescribe the maximum number of officers authorized to be in each of the grades from the warrant officer (W-1) grade to the director grade, inclusive. Such numbers shall be determined after considering the anticipated needs of the Service during the fiscal year, the funds available, the number of officers in each grade at the beginning of the fiscal year, and the anticipated appointments, the anticipated promotions based on years of service, and the anticipated retirements during the fiscal year. The number so determined for any grade for a fiscal year may not exceed the number limitation (if any) contained in the appropriation Act or Acts for such year. Such regulations for each fiscal year shall be prescribed as promptly as possible after the appropriation Act fixing the authorized strength of the corps for that year, and shall be subject to amendment only if such authorized strength or such number limitation is hereafter changed. The maxima established by such regulations shall not require (apart from action pursuant to other provisions of this chapter) any officer to be separated from the Service or reduced in grade.

- (e) Exception to grade limitations for officers assigned to Department of Defense

In computing the maximum number of commissioned officers of the Public Health Service authorized by law to hold a grade which corresponds to the grade of brigadier general or major general, there may be excluded from such computation not more than three officers who hold such a grade so long as such officers are assigned to duty and are serving in a policymaking position in the Department of Defense.

July 1, 1944, c. 373, Title II, § 206, 58 Stat. 684; Feb. 28, 1948, c. 83, § 4, 62 Stat. 39; Oct. 31, 1951, c. 653, 65 Stat. 700; July 17, 1952, c. 931, 66 Stat. 758; 1953 Reorg. Plan No. 1, §§ 5, 8, eff. Apr. 11, 1953, 18 F.R. 2053, 67 Stat. 631; Sept. 7, 1962, Pub.L. 87-649, § 11(1), 76 Stat. 497; Dec. 19, 1977, Pub.L. 95-215, § 8(b), 91 Stat. 1507; Sept. 29, 1979, Pub.L. 96-76, Title III, § 304, 93 Stat. 584; Oct. 7, 1985, Pub.L. 99-117, § 9, 99 Stat. 494; Aug. 16, 1989, Pub.L. 101-93, § 5(p), 103 Stat. 614; Nov. 3, 1990, Pub.L. 101-502, § 5(k)(1), 104 Stat. 1289.

HISTORICAL AND STATUTORY NOTES

Revision Notes and Legislative Reports 1948 Act. Senate Report No. 437, see 1944 Act. House Report No. 1364, see 1948 U.S. Code Cong. Service, p. 1103. 1944 U.S. Code Cong. Service, p. 1211.

§ 209. Appointment of personnel**(a) Original appointments to Regular and Reserve Corps; limitation on appointment and call to active duty**

(1) Except as provided in subsections (b) and (e) of this section, original appointments to the Regular Corps may be made only in the warrant officer (W-1), chief warrant officer (W-2), chief warrant officer (W-3), chief warrant officer (W-4), junior assistant, assistant, and senior assistant grades and original appointments to a grade above junior assistant shall be made only after passage of an examination, given in accordance with regulations of the President, in one or more of the several branches of medicine, dentistry, hygiene, sanitary engineering, pharmacy, psychology, nursing, or related scientific specialties in the field of public health.

(2) Original appointments to the Reserve Corps may be made to any grade up to and including the director grade but only after passage of an examination given in accordance with regulations of the President. Reserve commissions shall be for an indefinite period and may be terminated at any time, as the President may direct.

(3) No individual who has attained the age of forty-four shall be appointed to the Regular Corps, or called to active duty in the Reserve Corps for a period in excess of one year, unless (A) he has had a number of years of active service (as defined in section 212(d) of this title) equal to the number of years by which his age exceeds forty-four, or (B) the Surgeon General determines that he possesses exceptional qualifications, not readily available elsewhere in the Commissioned Corps of the Public Health Service, for the performance of special duties with the Service, or (C) in the case of an officer of the Reserve Corps, the Commissioned Corps of the Service has been declared by the President to be a military service.

(b) Grade and number of original appointments

(1) Not more than 10 per centum of the original appointments to the Regular Corps authorized to be made during any fiscal year may be made to grades above that of senior assistant, but no such appointment (other than an appointment under section 205 of this title) may be made to a grade above that of director. For the purpose of this subsection the number of original appointments authorized to be made during a fiscal year shall be (1) the excess of the number of officers of the Regular Corps authorized by the appropriation Act or Acts for such year over the number of officers on active duty in the Regular Corps on the first day of such year,

of personnel

o Regular and Reserve Corps; limitation on to active duty

in subsections (b) and (e) of this section, the Regular Corps may be made only in (1) chief warrant officer (W-2), chief warrant officer (W-4), junior assistant, and grades above that of senior assistant, and (2) original appointments to a grade above that of senior assistant shall be made only after passage of an act in accordance with regulations of the President, in several branches of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, psychology, nursing, or other sciences in the field of public health.

Appointments to the Reserve Corps may be made to any grade including the director grade but only after a period of time given in accordance with regulations of the President. Commissions shall be for an indefinite period or for a definite period, as the President may determine.

Persons who have attained the age of forty-four shall be eligible for appointment to the Regular Corps, or called to active duty in the Regular Corps, in excess of one year, unless (A) he has been on active service (as defined in section 212(d)) for a number of years by which his age exceeds the age when General determines that he possesses special skills not readily available elsewhere in the Public Health Service, for the performance of the Service, or (C) in the case of an appointment to the Commissioned Corps of the Service, the President to be a military service.

Original appointments

For each fiscal year, the number of original appointments to the Regular Corps authorized by the President shall be (1) the excess of the number of original appointments authorized by the President for such year over the number of officers in the Regular Corps on the first day of such year,

plus (2) the number of such officers of the Regular Corps who, during such fiscal year, have been or will be retired upon attainment of age sixty-four or have for any other reason ceased to be on active duty. In determining the number of appointments authorized by this subsection an appointment shall be deemed to be made in the fiscal year in which the nomination is transmitted by the President to the Senate.

(2) In addition to the number of original appointments to the Regular Corps authorized by paragraph (1) to be made to grades above that of senior assistant, original appointments authorized to be made to the Regular Corps in any year may be made to grades above that of senior assistant, but not above that of director, in the case of any individual who—

(A)(i) was on active duty in the Reserve Corps on July 1, 1960, (ii) was on such active duty continuously for not less than one year immediately prior to such date, and (iii) applies for appointment to the Regular Corps prior to July 1, 1962; or

(B) does not come within clause (A)(i) and (ii) but was on active duty in the Reserve Corps continuously for not less than one year immediately prior to his appointment to the Regular Corps and has not served on active duty continuously for a period, occurring after June 30, 1960, of more than three and one-half years prior to applying for such appointment.

(3) No person shall be appointed pursuant to this subsection unless he meets standards established in accordance with regulations of the President.

(c) Issuance of commissions

Commissions evidencing the appointment by the President of officers of the Regular or Reserve Corps shall be issued by the Secretary under the seal of the Department of Health and Human Services.

(d) Date of appointment; credit for service

(1) For purposes of basic pay and for purposes of promotion, any person appointed under subsection (a) of this section to the grade of senior assistant in the Regular Corps, and any person appointed under subsection (b) of this section, shall, except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, be considered as having had on the date of appointment the following length of service: Three years if appointed to the senior assistant grade, ten years if appointed to the full grade, seventeen years if appointed to the senior grade, and eighteen years if appointed to the director grade.

(2) For purposes of basic pay, any person appointed under subsection (a) of this section to the grade of senior assistant in the Regular Corps, and any person appointed under subsection (b) of this section, shall, in lieu of the credit provided in paragraph (1) of this subsection, be credited with the service for which he is entitled to credit under any other provision of law if such service exceeds that to which he would be entitled under such paragraph.

(3) For purposes of promotion, any person originally appointed in the Regular Corps to the senior assistant grade or above who has had active service in the Reserve Corps shall be considered as having had on the date of appointment the length of service provided for in paragraph (1) of this subsection, plus whichever of the following is greater: (A) The excess of his total active service in the Reserve Corps (above the grade of junior assistant) over the length of service provided in such paragraph, to the extent that such excess is on account of service in the Reserve Corps in or above the grade to which he is appointed in the Regular Corps or (B) his active service in the same or any higher grade in the Reserve Corps after the first day on which, under regulations in effect on the date of his appointment to the Regular Corps, he would have had the training and experience necessary for such appointment.

(4) For purposes of promotion, any person whose original appointment is to the assistant grade in the Regular Corps shall be considered as having had on the date of appointment service equal to his total active service in the Reserve Corps in and above the assistant grade.

(e) Reappointment; credit for service

(1) A former officer of the Regular Corps may, if application for appointment is made within two years after the date of the termination of his prior commission in the Regular Corps, be reappointed to the Regular Corps without examination, except as the Surgeon General may otherwise prescribe, and without regard to the numerical limitations of subsection (b) of this section.

(2) Reappointments pursuant to this subsection may be made to the permanent grade held by the former officer at the time of the termination of his prior commission, or to the next higher grade if such officer meets the eligibility requirements prescribed by regulation for original appointment to such higher grade. For purposes of pay, promotion, and seniority in grade, such reappointed officer shall receive the credits for service to which he would be entitled if such appointment were an original appointment, but in no event less than the credits he held at the time his prior commission was

basic pay, any person appointed under subsection (a) to the grade of senior assistant in the Regular Corps shall be considered as if he had been appointed under subsection (b) of this section in lieu of the credit provided in paragraph (1) of this subsection with the service for which he is entitled to such credit under any other provision of law if such service exceeds the length of service he would be entitled to under such paragraph.

On promotion, any person originally appointed to the senior assistant grade or above who has been in the Reserve Corps shall be considered as if he had been appointed the length of service provided in paragraph (1) of this subsection, plus whichever of the following: (A) The excess of his total active service in the Regular Corps (or the grade of junior assistant) over the length of his service in the Reserve Corps in or above the grade of senior assistant in the Regular Corps; or (B) his active service in the Reserve Corps after his appointment to any higher grade in the Reserve Corps after his appointment under regulations in effect on the date of his appointment to the Regular Corps, he would have had the training and experience for such appointment.

On promotion, any person whose original appointment was to the senior assistant grade in the Regular Corps shall be considered as if he had been appointed to the senior assistant grade in the Reserve Corps in and above the grade of senior assistant in the Regular Corps.

Reappointment for service

Any person who has been appointed to the senior assistant grade in the Regular Corps may, if application for reappointment is made within two years after the date of the termination of his commission in the Regular Corps, be reappointed to the same grade without examination, except as the Surgeon General may prescribe, and without regard to the numerical limitation in subsection (b) of this section.

Reappointment pursuant to this subsection may be made to the grade held by the former officer at the time of the termination of his commission, or to the next higher grade if the officer meets the eligibility requirements prescribed by regulations for appointment to such higher grade. For purposes of seniority in grade, such reappointed officer shall be considered as if he had been appointed for service to which he would be entitled if he had been appointed on an original appointment, but in no event shall his seniority be held at the time his prior commission was terminated.

terminated, except that if such officer is reappointed to the next higher grade he shall receive no credit for seniority in grade.

(3) No former officer shall be reappointed pursuant to this subsection unless he shall meet such standards as the Secretary may prescribe.

(f) Special consultants

In accordance with regulations, special consultants may be employed to assist and advise in the operations of the Service. Such consultants may be appointed without regard to the civil-service laws.

(g) Designation for fellowships; duties; pay

In accordance with regulations, individual scientists, other than commissioned officers of the Service, may be designated by the Surgeon General to receive fellowships, appointed for duty with the Service without regard to the civil-service laws, may hold their fellowships under conditions prescribed therein, and may be assigned for studies or investigations either in this country or abroad during the terms of their fellowships.

(h) Aliens

Persons who are not citizens may be employed as consultants pursuant to subsection (f) of this section and may be appointed to fellowships pursuant to subsection (g) of this section. Unless otherwise specifically provided, any prohibition in any other Act against the employment of aliens, or against the payment of compensation to them, shall not be applicable in the case of persons employed or appointed pursuant to such subsections.

(i) Civil service appointments by Secretary

The appointment of any officer or employee of the Service made in accordance with the civil-service laws shall be made by the Secretary, and may be made effective as of the date on which such officer or employee enters upon duty.

July 1, 1944, c. 373, Title II, § 207, formerly § 208, 58 Stat. 685; July 3, 1946, c. 538, § 4, 60 Stat. 421; Aug. 13, 1946, c. 958, § 3, 60 Stat. 1049; renumbered § 207, and amended Feb. 28, 1948, c. 83, § 5(a)-(d), 62 Stat. 39; Oct. 12, 1949, c. 681, Title V, § 521(a), 63 Stat. 834; 1953 Reorg. Plan No. 1, §§ 5, 8, eff. Apr. 11, 1953, 18 F.R. 2053, 67 Stat. 631; Apr. 27, 1956, c. 211, § 3(a)-(c)(1), 70 Stat. 116; Apr. 8, 1960, Pub.L. 86-415, §§ 2, 3, 74 Stat. 121; Sept. 29, 1979, Pub.L. 96-76, Title III, § 305, 93 Stat. 585; Pub.L. 96-88, Title V, § 509(b), Oct. 17, 1979, 93 Stat. 695; Aug. 13, 1981, Pub.L. 97-35, Title XXVII, § 2765(c), 95 Stat. 933; Jan. 4, 1983, Pub.L. 97-414, § 8(a), 96 Stat. 2060.)

Term of Reserve Commissions in Effect on April 27, 1956

Section 3(c)(2) of Act Apr. 27, 1956, provided that: "The enactment of paragraph (1) of this subsection [amending subsec. (a)(2) of this section] shall not affect the term of the commission of any officer in the Reserve Corps in effect on

the date of such enactment: [April 1956] unless such officer consent writing to the extension of his commission for an indefinite period. In event his commission shall be so extended without the necessity of a new pointment."

CROSS REFERENCES

Professional categories, see 42 USCA § 210b.

LIBRARY REFERENCES**Administrative Law**

Appointment policies, see 42 C.F.R. § 21.21 et seq.

Services of consultants, see 42 C.F.R. § 22.3.

American Digest System

Appointment and tenure of agents, clerks, and employees, see United S
 ¶36.

Health and environment; appointment and tenure of officers and agents.
 Health and Environment ¶7(1).

Encyclopedias

Appointment of agents and employees, see C.J.S. United States § 36.

Health and environment; appointment, qualifications, and tenure of officers
 C.J.S. Health and Environment § 11.

WESTLAW ELECTRONIC RESEARCH

Health and environment cases: 199k[add key number].

United States cases: 393k[add key number].

See, also, WESTLAW guide following the Explanation pages of this vol.

NOTES OF DECISIONS**Administrative review 7****Construction with other laws 2****Prior law 1****Property interest in employment 5****Rules and regulations****Generally 3****Violations 4****Termination of employment 6****Violations of rules and regulations 4**

1879 between that officer and "the medical officers" of the service, but merely legalize the position of the latter, to raise them to the grade of regularly commissioned officers and to fix in the law regulations as to their promotion. 129 Op.Atty.Gen. 287.

2. Construction with other laws

Provision of this section that Public Health Service reserve commissions "shall be for an indefinite period" may be terminated at any time, as President may direct" is analogous provision of § 1162 of Title 10 that serve commissioned officers in armed forces with less than three years of service "may be discharged at the pleasure of the President"; in both instances legal effect of those provisions is the same: each clearly specifies that officer with its terms has no vested right, and consequently no entitlement to continued employment. Mazaleski v. Treusdell, 1562 F.2d 701, 183 U.S.App.D.C. 182.

1. Prior law

Prior to the enactment of Act Jan. 4, 1889, c. 19, 25 Stat. 639, there was no law specifically regulating the appointment of medical officers in the Marine-Hospital Service and the appointments were made in accordance with the general authority conferred on the Secretary of the Treasury to direct the affairs of the Marine-Hospital Service, and the general purpose of said Act was not to change the method of appointing the Supervising Surgeon-General nor to disturb the distinction recognized by the regulations of the Marine-Hospital Service of

§ 213. Military benefits

MEMORANDA OF PRESIDENT

Dec. 30, 1992, 58 F.R. 3485

PRESCRIPTION OF THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE MAY BE AWARDED MILITARY RIBBONS, MEDALS, AND DECORATIONS; DELEGATION OF FUNCTIONS TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; APPROVAL OF SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Health and Human Services

The authority of the President under section 212(b) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 213(b)) (subsec. (b) of this section) is hereby delegated to the Secretary of Defense. In the exercise of that authority, the Secretary of Defense shall ensure that no military ribbon,

medal, or decoration is awarded to an officer of the Public Health Service without the approval of the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

The Secretary of Defense shall ensure the publication of this memorandum in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

§ 217a. Advisory councils or committees

CROSS REFERENCES

Applicability of this section to the advisory council established under the Office of Alternative Medicine, see 42 USCA § 238g.

§ 217b. Volunteer services

(July 1, 1944, c. 373, Title II, § 223, as added Dec. 5, 1967, Pub.L. 90-174, § 6, 81 Stat. 539, as amended Oct. 17, 1979, Pub.L. 96-88, Title V, § 609(b), 93 Stat. 696; June 10, 1993, Pub.L. 103-43, Title XX, § 2008(h), 107 Stat. 212.)

HISTORICAL AND STATUTORY NOTES

Revision Notes and Legislative Reports

1993 Acts. Senate Report No. 103-2 and House Conference Report No. 103-100, see 1993 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 196.

Amendments

1993 Amendments. Pub.L. 103-43, § 2008(h), directed that "Department of Health and Human Services" be substituted for "Department

of Health, Education, and Welfare", which change of name had already been made in text pursuant to section 609(b) of Pub.L. 96-88.

Effective Dates

1993 Acts. Amendment by Pub.L. 103-43 effective June 10, 1993, see section 2101 of Pub.L. 103-43, set out as a note under section 201 of this title.

§ 232. National Institute of Mental Health; authorization of appropriation; construction; location

LIBRARY REFERENCES

Encyclopedias

Power over mental incompetents in general, see C.J.S. Mental Health § 3.

§ 233. Civil actions or proceedings against commissioned officers or employees

(a) Exclusiveness of remedy

The remedy against the United States provided by sections 1346(b) and 2672 of Title 28, or by alternative benefits provided by the United States where the availability of such benefits precludes a remedy under section 1346(b) of Title 28, for damage for personal injury, including death, resulting from the performance of medical, surgical, dental, or related functions, including the conduct of clinical studies or investigation, by any commissioned officer or employee of the Public Health Service while acting within the scope of his office or employment, shall be exclusive of any other civil action or proceeding by reason of the same subject-matter against the officer or employee (or his estate) whose act or omission gave rise to the claim.

(b) Attorney General to defend action or proceeding; delivery of process to designated official; furnishing of copies of pleading and process to United States attorney, Attorney General, and Secretary

The Attorney General shall defend any civil action or proceeding brought in any court against any person referred to in subsection (a) of this section (or his estate) for a

1992

URATOM

President by the Constitution and the laws including section 126(a)(2) of the Atomic (42 U.S.C. 2155(a)(2)), and having determined the period specified in the first proviso extended for 12-month periods by Executive Orders 12351, 12409, 12483, 12506, 12554, 12587, to continue peaceful nuclear cooperation. The energy Community would be seriously prejudiced by States non-proliferation objectives and common defense and security of the United States. Congress of this determination, I hereby order, effective March 10, 1993. Executive Order No. 12587, effective date of this Executive order.

GEORGE BUSH

Letter to the Congress on nuclear cooperation with Presidential Documents (vol. 28, p. 437).

1992

America's Urban Families

President by the Constitution and the laws and in order to establish, in accordance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707), America's urban families, it is hereby ordered:

is established the National Commission on America's Urban Families ("Commission"). The Commission shall be appointed by the President.

Chairman and Co-chairman from among the members of the Commission shall appoint an Executive Director.

on shall:

of urban families;

ment policies and programs support or

grating the delivery of government services to urban families;

278

- identify State, local, and Federal programs that have been successful in preserving and strengthening urban families;
- analyze ways to improve private/nonprofit efforts to preserve and strengthen urban families; and
- provide appropriate recommendations for government policies and programs and for actions by other institutions to strengthen families living in urban areas.

(b) The Commission shall make its report to the President on or before December 31, 1992.

Sec. 3. *Administration.* (a) The heads of executive agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Commission such information as it may require for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

(b) Members of the Commission shall serve without any compensation for their work on the Commission. However, they shall be entitled to travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701-5707 and 5 U.S.C. App. 2, 7(d)). The Executive Director shall be compensated at a rate of pay not to exceed the maximum allowable under section 7(d)(1)(A) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended.

(c) The Department of Health and Human Services shall provide the Commission with administrative services, facilities, staff, and other support services necessary for the performance of its functions. Funds for the operation of the Commission shall be provided by the Department of Health and Human Services.

(d) Notwithstanding any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended, which are applicable to the Commission, except that of reporting to the Congress, shall be performed by the Secretary of Health and Human Services in accordance with guidelines issued by the Administrator of General Services.

(e) The Commission shall terminate 30 days after submitting its report.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 12, 1992.

Executive Order 12793 of March 20, 1992

Continuing the Presidential Service Certificate and the Presidential Service Badge

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

Section 1. Presidential Service Certificate. The Presidential Service Certificate ("Certificate") is hereby continued, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this order. The Certificate shall be awarded in

279

the name of the President of the United States by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Air Force, or, when the Coast Guard is not operating as a service in the Navy, the Secretary of Transportation. It shall be awarded by the appropriate Secretary to members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard, respectively, who have been assigned to the White House Office; to military units and support facilities under the administration of the White House Military Office; or to other direct support positions within the Executive Office of the President ("EOP"). The Certificate shall not be issued to any member who is issued a Vice Presidential Certificate, or similar EOP Certificate, for the same period of service. Such assignment must be for a period of at least one year, subsequent to January 21, 1989.

Sec. 2. Presidential Service Badge. The Presidential Service Badge ("Badge") is hereby continued, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this order. The Badge shall be awarded to those members of the Armed Forces who have been granted the Certificate and shall be awarded in the same manner in which the Certificate has been given. The Badge shall be worn as a part of the uniform of those individuals under such regulations as their respective Secretaries may severally prescribe.

Sec. 3. Only one Certificate may be awarded to an individual.

Sec. 4. The Certificate and the Badge may be granted posthumously.

Sec. 5. This order shall supersede Executive Order No. 10879 of June 1, 1960, as amended.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 20, 1992.

GEORGE BUSH

States by the Secretary of the
retary of the Air Force, or, when
vice in the Navy, the Secretary of
the appropriate Secretary to mem-
Force and Coast Guard, respec-
te House Office; to military units
tion of the White House Military
s within the Executive Office of
all not be issued to any member
te, or similar EOP Certificate, for
it must be for a period of at least

the Presidential Service Badge
of which accompanies and is
shall be awarded to those
been granted the Certificate and
which the Certificate has been
of the uniform of those individ-
ctive Secretaries may severally

l to an individual.

granted posthumously.

ve Order No. 10879 of June 1,

GEORGE BUSH



PRESIDENTIAL SERVICE BADGE
ACTUAL SIZE - 1 1/8



The United States of America
To all who shall see these presents, greeting:
This is to certify that the President of the United States
of America has awarded
The Presidential Service Certificate
to

For Honorable Service in the White House

Given under my hand in the city of Washington
by direction of

President (Name)

this

day of

19

DIRECTOR
WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE



SECRETARY OF THE (Appropriate Department)

Certificate Number _____

PRESIDENTIAL SERVICE CERTIFICATE
ACTUAL SIZE - 10 X 13

Proclamations and Executive Orders

1963, 28 FR 1759, 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p.

) The medal may be awarded by the President to any person who has made an essential contribution to (1) the security or national interests of the United States, (2) the peace, or (3) cultural or other significant achievement.

For the award of the Medal any person may be awarded the Medal or any person may be awarded the Medal on his own initiative.

The frequency of awards of the Medal shall normally be once a year; but such awards may be made at such times as the President may deem appropriate. Under this Order, the Medal may be awarded

1963, 28 FR 1759, 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 1759; 43, 3 CFR, 1966-1970 Comp., p. 905. Secs. 3-6 of Executive Order 10860, 25 FR 4543, 3 CFR, 1966-1970 Comp., p. 905]

Order for the affixing of the Seal of the President in Presidential documents

Executive Order 10347 of Apr. 18, 1952, appear at 17 FR 10347, unless otherwise noted.

Whereas in me by section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, Public Law 248, approved October 3, 1950, the President of the United States, I hereby order that every document of the United States in which the Seal of the United States is required to be affixed, other than this order, to be signed by the President and, in addition, by the counter-signature of the Vice President, which the counter-signature of the Vice President, has been counter-signed by the Vice President.

Documents of treaties, conventions, protocols, and other communications from the President.

1967, 32 FR 7695, 3 CFR, 1966-1970 Comp., p. 7695.

Treaties.

Documents and to exchange ratifications.

Documents and other communications from the President.

Documents designated from para. 5 by EO 11517 of Mar. 19, 1970, 35 FR 4937, 3 CFR, 1964-1965 Comp., p. 239.

Documents of foreign consular officers in the United States and the signature of the chief of state which

by EO 11517 of Mar. 19, 1970, 35 FR 4937, 3 CFR, 1964-1965 Comp., p. 239.

Chapter 3—Executive Office of the President

Executive Order 10860—Coat of arms, seal, and flag of the President of the United States

SOURCE: The provisions of Executive Order 10860 of Feb. 5, 1960, appear at 25 FR 1089, 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 393, unless otherwise noted.

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The Coat of Arms of the President of the United States shall be of the following design:

SHIELD: Paleways of thirteen pieces argent and gules, a chief azure; upon the breast of an American eagle displayed holding in his dexter talon an olive branch and in his sinister a bundle of thirteen arrows all proper, and in his beak a white scroll inscribed "E PLURIBUS UNUM" sable.

CREST: Behind and above the eagle a radiating glory or, on which appears an arc of thirteen cloud puffs proper, and a constellation of thirteen mullets argent.

The whole surrounded by white stars arranged in the form of an annulet with one point of each star outward on the imaginary radiating center lines, the number of stars conforming to the number of stars in the union of the Flag of the United States as established by chapter 1 of title 4 of the United States Code.

SEC. 2. The Seal of the President of the United States shall consist of the Coat of Arms encircled by the words "Seal of the President of the United States."

SEC. 3. The Color and Flag of the President of the United States shall consist of a dark line blue rectangular background of sizes and proportions to conform to military and naval custom, on which shall appear the Coat of Arms of the President in proper colors. The proportions of the elements of the Coat of Arms shall be in direct relation to the hoist, and the fly shall vary according to the customs of the military and naval services.

SEC. 4. The Coat of Arms, Seal, and Color and Flag shall be as described herein and as set forth in the illustrations and specifications which accompany this order and which are hereby made a part thereof. These designs shall be used to represent the President of the United States exclusively.

SEC. 5. This order shall become effective on July 4, 1960, and Executive Order No. 10823 of May 26, 1959, shall be superseded as of that date.

EDITORIAL NOTE: A list of specifications for the flag, a photograph of the flag, an attachment detailing the proportions of the design of the flag, and an illustration of the President's seal, all of which were attached to and made a part of Executive Order 10860, are printed in 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., pp. 394-396.

Executive Order 10879—Establishing the Presidential Service Certificate and the Presidential Service Badge

SOURCE: The provisions of Executive Order 10879 of June 1, 1960, 25 FR 4893, 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 411, were revised and restated in their entirety by Executive Order 11174 of Sept. 1, 1964. These provisions, as revised, appear at 29 FR 12547, 3 CFR, 1964-1965 Comp., p. 239, unless otherwise noted.

Codification of Presidential Proclamations and Executive Orders

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

1. *Certificate established.* The White House Service Certificate is hereby reestablished as the Presidential Service Certificate, to be awarded in the name of the President of the United States to members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, and Coast Guard who have been assigned to the White House Office or to military units and support facilities under the administration of the Military Assistant to the President for a period of at least one year subsequent to January 20, 1969.

[Para. 1 amended by EO 11520 of Mar. 25, 1970, 35 FR 5171, 3 CFR, 1966-1970 Comp., p. 911]

2. *Award of the Certificate.* The Presidential Service Certificate, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this Order, shall be awarded by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Air Force, or, when the Coast Guard is not operating as a service in the Navy, the Secretary of Transportation, to military personnel of their respective services.

[Para. 2 amended by EO 11407 of Apr. 23, 1968, 33 FR 6283, 3 CFR, 1966-1970 Comp., p. 723]

3. *Badge established.* The White House Service Badge is replaced by the Presidential Service Badge, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this Order. The Presidential Service Badge may be awarded to any member of the Armed Forces assigned to duty in the White House Office or to military units and support facilities under the administration of the Military Assistant to the President by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Air Force, or, when the Coast Guard is not operating as a service in the Navy, the Secretary of Transportation, upon recommendation of the Military Assistant to the President, to military personnel of their respective services. The Badge may be worn as a part of the uniform of those individuals upon award of the Presidential Service Certificate under such regulations as the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Air Force, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense, and, when the Coast Guard is not operating as a service in the Navy, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, with the approval of the Secretary of Transportation, may severally prescribe.

[Para. 3 amended by EO 11520 of Mar. 25, 1970, 35 FR 5171, 3 CFR, 1966-1970 Comp., p. 911]

4. Only one Presidential Service Certificate will be awarded to an individual during an administration. Only one Presidential Service Badge will be awarded.

5. The Presidential Service Certificate and the Presidential Service Badge established by this Order may be granted posthumously.

EDITORIAL NOTE: An illustration of the Presidential Service Badge, which was attached to and made a part of Executive Order 10879, is printed in 3 CFR, 1959-1963 Comp., p. 412. An illustration of the Presidential Service Certificate, which was attached to and made a part of Executive Order 11174, is printed in 3 CFR, 1964-1965 Comp., p. 240.

Executive Order 11174

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENTIAL SERVICE CERTIFICATE AND THE
PRESIDENTIAL SERVICE BADGE

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

Prior order. The numbered Sections of Executive Order 10879 of June 1, 1960, are hereby amended to read as follows:

"1. *Certificate established.* The White House Service Certificate is hereby reestablished as the Presidential Service Certificate, to be awarded in the name of the President of the United States to members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the Air Force, who have been assigned to the White House for a period of at least one year subsequent to January 20, 1961.

"2. *Award of the Certificate.* The Presidential Service Certificate, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this Order, shall be awarded by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Secretary of the Air Force, to military personnel of their respective services.

"3. *Badge established.* The White House Service Badge is replaced by the Presidential Service Badge, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this Order. The Presidential Service Badge may be awarded to any member of the Armed Forces assigned to duty in the White House by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Secretary of the Air Force, upon recommendation of the Presidential Military, Naval, or Air Force Aide, as the case may be, to military personnel of their respective services. The Badge may be worn as a part of the uniform of those individuals upon award of the Presidential Service Certificate under such regulations as the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Air Force, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense may severally prescribe.

"4. Only one Presidential Service Certificate will be awarded to an individual during an administration. Only one Presidential Service Badge will be awarded.

"5. The Presidential Service Certificate and the Presidential Service Badge established by this Order may be granted posthumously."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 1, 1964.

3 TO

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ection 123
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Order No.
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subsection

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sident by
form Act
es Salary
required

JOHNSON



The United States of America

*To all who shall see these presents, greeting:
This is to certify that the President of the United States
of America has awarded*

The Presidential Service Certificate

to

E.O. 11174

Title 3--Chapter II

E.O. 11174

For Honorable Service in the White House

Given under my hand in the city of Washington

by direction of

President Lyndon B. Johnson

this

day of

19

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MILITARY AIDE
TO THE PRESIDENT



SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

Certificate Number _____

3. In the judgment of the National Mediation Board, to interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive a section of the country of essential transportation service:

by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, as amended (45 U.S.C. 160), I hereby create a board of three members, to be appointed by me, to investigate this dispute. No member of the board shall be pecuniarily or otherwise interested in any organization of railroad employees or any carrier. The board shall report its findings to the President with respect to the dispute within thirty days from the date of this order.

10 of the Railroad Labor Act, as amended, from this date and for thirty days after the board has made its report to the President, no change, except by agreement, shall be made by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company or any other carrier represented by the Western Carriers' Conference Committee, or by their employees, in the conditions out of which the dispute arose.

EISENHOWER

10878

NCY BOARD
DISPUTE BE-
GO, ROCK
RAILROAD
ER CARRIERS
E WESTERN
CE COMMIT-
THEIR EM-

kists between
and Pacific
ther carriers
rn Carriers'
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of their em-
Switchmen's
AFL-CIO, a

as not here-
he provisions

of the Railway Labor Act, as amended; and

WHEREAS this dispute, in the judgment of the National Mediation Board, threatens substantially to interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive a section of the country of essential transportation service:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, as amended (45 U.S.C. 160), I hereby create a board of three members, to be appointed by me, to investigate this dispute. No member of the board shall be pecuniarily or otherwise interested in any organization of railroad employees or any carrier.

The board shall report its findings to the President with respect to the dispute within thirty days from the date of this order.

As provided by section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, as amended, from this date and for thirty days after the board has made its report to the President, no change, except by agreement, shall be made by the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company or any other carrier represented by the Western Carriers' Conference Committee, or by their employees, in the conditions out of which the dispute arose.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
May 23, 1960.

LIST A

Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company
Davenport, Rock Island and North Western Railway Company
Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad Company
Fort Worth and Denver Railway Company
Great Northern Railway Company
Kansas City Terminal Railway Company
Lake Superior Terminal and Transfer Railway
Los Angeles Junction Railway Company
Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway Company
The Railway Transfer Company of the City of Minneapolis
Northern Pacific Terminal Company of Oregon
The Saint Paul Union Depot Company
Sioux City Terminal Railway Company
Southern Pacific Company (Pacific Lines) (Excluding former El Paso & Southwestern System) (Excluding Nogales, Arizona Yard.)

Southern Pacific Company (Pacific Lines) (Former El Paso & Southwestern System.)
Southern Pacific Company (Pacific Lines) (Nogales, Arizona, Yard.)
Spokane International Railroad Company
Texas Pacific-Missouri Pacific Terminal Railroad of New Orleans
The Western Pacific Railroad

Executive Order 10879

ESTABLISHING THE WHITE HOUSE SERVICE CERTIFICATE AND THE WHITE HOUSE SERVICE BADGE

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby established a White House Service Certificate, to be awarded in the name of the President of the United States, as public evidence of deserved honor and distinction, to members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force, other than the Presidential Aides, who have been detailed to duty in the White House for at least one year subsequent to January 20, 1953.

2. The White House Service Certificate shall be of appropriate design, approved by the Secretary of the Army, and shall be awarded by the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Secretary of the Air Force, upon recommendation of the Presidential Military, Naval, or Air Force Aide, as the case may be, to military personnel of their respective services.

3. A White House Service Badge, the design of which accompanies and is hereby made a part of this order, is hereby established and may be issued to any member of the armed forces detailed to duty in the White House, other than the Presidential Aides. The badge may be worn as a part of the uniform of those individuals, during the period of their detail to White House duty, under such regulations as the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense, may severally prescribe.

4. No more than one White House Service Certificate shall be awarded to any person.

5. The service certificate established by this order may be granted posthumously.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 1, 1960.



On a disk of white enamel the device in silver from the Presidential seal without the encircling stars the whole surrounded by 27 gold rays radiating from center $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter overall.

THE WHITE HOUSE SERVICE BADGE
ACTUAL SIZE

Executive Order 10880

PERMITTING CERTAIN EMPLOYEES TO BE GIVEN CAREER OR CAREER- CONDITIONAL APPOINTMENTS

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 2 of the Civil Service Act (22 Stat. 403) and section 1753 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (5 U.S.C. 631), and as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. (a) Except as provided by subsection (b) of this section and by section 4 hereof, any employee of the United States Government or of the District of Columbia Government who on the date of this order is serving in a position in the competitive service under an indefinite appointment or a temporary appointment without a definite time limitation may have his appointment converted to a career or career-conditional appointment: *Provided*, that such employee—

(i) shall have completed two years of continuous service immediately preceding the date of this order in a competitive position or positions;

(ii) shall be recommended for the benefits of this order by his agency within one year after the date of this order;

(iii) shall have completed, prior to the date of recommendation by his agency, a total of continuous or intermittent satisfactory service aggregating not less than three years in a competitive position or positions;

(iv) during the period beginning January 23, 1955, and ending on the date of this order, shall have passed a qualifying examination for a position in the competitive service in which he served during such period, or shall meet such non-competitive examination standards as the Civil Service Commission shall prescribe with respect to the position held at the time of the agency recommendation for conversion of his appointment; and

(v) shall meet the requirements prescribed by the Civil Service Commission under section 5 of this order.

(b) The requirements of paragraphs (i) and (iii) of subsection (a) of this section shall not apply to substitute employees of the Postal Field Service. In lieu of such requirements, any such employee, during each year of the three-year period ending on the date that conversion of his appointment is recommended, shall have been paid for at least 700 hours of satisfactory work in a competitive position or positions for which the salary is fixed by the Postal Field Service Compensation Act of 1955, as amended (39 U.S.C. 951-1038). The conversion of the appointment of a substitute employee shall be effected only as career substitute vacancies are available, under applicable law, in the Postal Field Service.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of section 1 hereof (a) "status-quo" employees shall be considered as serving under indefinite appointments, and (b) "service" shall include military service if the employee shall have left a competitive position to enter the armed forces of the United States and shall have been re-employed in a competitive position within 120 days after discharge under honorable conditions.

SEC. 3. Any person who left a competitive position to enter the armed forces of the United States who would meet the requirements of section 1 except for absence in the armed forces on the date of this order and who is re-

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: July 6, 1994

94 JUL 6 P1: 06
94 SEP 14 A9: 07

Date of Request: 6/15/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chairman
Requestor Name: Mr. Nick Cretan
Title: Executive Director
Organization: The Maritime Association of the Port of New
Jersey/New York
Suite 1115
17 Battery Place
New York, New York 10004
Contact Tel. #: 212/635-9498
Event Date: The latter part of 1995
Event Description: The organization will sponsor an Air and
Armory Show and, it claims, the largest
Veteran's Day parade ever.
Notes: The requestor has enclosed a newsletter.

Recommendations:

PL _____

JP _____

*JP: Dan
Fran - cannot
locate yr.
this is recommendation
from July.
I spoke to you
about.*

*Jessica
9/13*

*~~I will~~
I will
ask
Harold
Lakes
to do it
and*

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: September 13, 1994

94 SEP 14 09:07

Date of Request: 9/12/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chair
Requestor Name: Ms. Kim Adair Wilson
Title: President-elect
Organization: Metropolitan Black Bar Association
Bronx Supreme Court
Civil Branch - Law Department
Room 217
Bronx, New York 10451
Contact Tel. #: 718/590-3956
Event Date: TBA - 10/3, 10/14, or 10/19/1994
Event Description: 10th Year Anniversary
Notes: At the reception, the MBBA will honor its
past Presidents, past Chairpersons, and
retired African-American judges.

Recommendations:

JP

22

PL

for it
feel
strong
it
yes
go ahead
Phil says

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: September 13, 1994

94 SEP 14 A 9:07

Date of Request: 8/10/1994
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Co-Chairs
Requestor Name: Dr. Gloria G. Rodriguez
Title: President and CEO
Organization: AVANCE
301 South Frio
Suite 310
San Antonio, Texas 78207
Contact Tel. #: 210/270-4630
Event Date: 11/18/1994
Event Description: 21st Anniversary Gala
Notes: The group's focus is parent education, family support, and fatherhood programs. AVANCE has also invited Secretary Cisneros to co-chair. We declined last year.

Recommendations:

PL _____

JP _____

MW _____

9/13
John

Leon copied.

Anyone else?

Jennifer O'Connor
Tell Sec. Brown
his letter was
well received JDP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/13/94

TO: JENNIFER O'CONNOR

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

Tell Secretary Brown that
his letter was well received.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.13.94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 SEP 12 P1:54

September 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ✓ JOHN PODESTA

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR *JMO*

SUBJECT: ATTACHED LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY
JESSE BROWN

Attached is a letter to the President from Secretary Jesse Brown. The letter discusses the importance of annual Veterans Service Organizations, mentions that only Secretary Brown attended them this year, and says he thinks there should be a higher level presence in the future.

I have responded to the Secretary that we have forwarded his letter to the President's office.

Leon

This is crazy
and this is just
one example of matters
about which I am never
informed - I am tired
about this - It is unnecessary
and downright dumb -

CC Leon
Ricki
Alexis

We have to fix this - I never missed a
vet conv when I was a gov & we should always
have a high level representation

17

THE SECRETARY OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON

AUG 29 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Earlier this year, I wrote to recommend that the administration respond positively to opportunities for high-level presence this summer at the annual conventions of the major veterans organizations. My involvement was to be expected as a matter of routine by these groups, but regrettably no one else attended to present or discuss issues of national importance.

That huge vacuum was filled only this week by the presence of William J. Bennett, who appeared as the keynote speaker before the Veterans of Foreign Wars, later followed by former Ambassador Deane Hinton. Both were able to capitalize on anti-administration themes, aided by the fact that the White House was unrepresented.

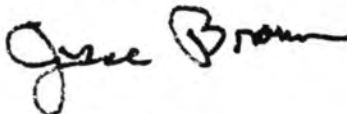
While there have been several occasions in which administration officials met with veterans' leaders and while that interaction was positively received, the particular forum of their annual conventions has been bypassed. These gatherings are the single most important events in veterans affairs and in my nearly 30 years of experience in this field, I cannot recall a single time when a current administration did not ensure broad representation at these functions. The memberships of the three major groups alone, including their auxiliaries, total more than eight million.

Sentiment has been expressed that our administration does not value the influence of these national conventions and their impact on the veteran constituency. There is growing evidence that the Republican National Committee intends to exploit this perception by developing political strategies involving the veteran community.

The veterans groups historically have been responsive to inclusion and sharing. I strongly urge that other members of the administration identify opportunities to involve veterans' leaders in matters that have high importance to them, particularly health care, national defense, and issues focused on older Americans. Your personal presence at their events would go a long way toward redeeming matters and could counter overtures that surely will be made by your opponents.

Your administration got off to a great start with veterans, and the service organizations have been supportive of you. I know you would like to see this momentum maintained.

Respectfully,



Jesse Brown

Send to ?

① Baggett —

② Hale —

③ Herman —

④ Cutler — 

original to
Cutler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 09/13/94

TO: LLOYD CUTLER

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

FYI.

1805 N. Harvard Street
Arlington, Virginia 22201
August 25, 1994

Betty,

Enclosed is an essay which I hope will interest you. The essay proposes a new understanding (a "social contract") between elected officials and the voters. The purpose of the new "social contract" is to increase public support for the government and to create pressures for the government to be more responsive to the general public, while at the same time laying the groundwork for reducing the Federal budget deficit. To provide the legal basis for the new understanding, the essay proposes three Constitutional amendments. Although the essay does address perceived problems with the government, my intention is to provide suggestions that can make it easier for elected officials to do their jobs.

If you know some people who might be interested in reading these proposals, you can provide copies of the essay to them. One person who could have an interest, especially in the proposed Constitutional amendments, is Lloyd Cutler. However, if you think it would be inappropriate for you to give copies to anyone, I would surely trust your judgment.

By the way, Fran and the boys are doing fine. Brian and Jonathan are developing into artists, fishermen, and baseball players. We're sorry we haven't seen you and Bob around the neighborhood recently. Hope to see you when you're able to stop working 80 hours/week.

Many regards,

Mark Arnold

**Blueprint for the Government to be
More Responsive to the American People**

by Mark L. Arnold

"But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and, therefore, I hope that it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as I do, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I shall speak forth my sentiments freely and without reserve. . . .[I]n proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country."

Patrick Henry
March 28, 1775

Mark L. Arnold graduated from Dartmouth College in 1970 and from Harvard Business School in 1974. He has worked as a civil servant for the Federal government for twenty years. This essay is an expression of his personal views.

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**Blueprint for the Government to be
More Responsive to the American People**
by Mark L. Arnold

Some days I feel that an important part of our country is stuck in mud. Not a little mud. A deep gulley filled with mud. What is stuck is the Federal government's decision-making apparatus that watches big spending get bigger and the budget deficit get deeper.

There is something else I feel very strongly: problems were made to be solved. When solving problems, it is important to understand that there is a difference between little problems and big problems. Little problems require little solutions, and big problems require big solutions. Trying to use little solutions for big problems won't get us out of the mud.

This essay is not really about the problems. This essay will only refer to problems because you must first identify problems before you can suggest solutions.

A few of the big problems.

For people like me who like to give advice, the current situation in our country provides plenty of opportunity. Just think about some of the domestic problems:

- o Many people feel that special interest groups have too much influence, and that average American people have too little influence, about government policies. Consequently, millions of people feel frustrated and left out of the political system.
- o When powerful special interest groups cannot reach a consensus about a responsible plan of action for the American people, the politicians also seem to have difficulty reaching a consensus, and the result is political stalemate in the nation's capital.
- o Even though our elected government officials know there is a serious budget deficit problem, the Federal spending and deficit continue to grow dramatically.
- o The deficit leads to tremendous future interest costs, and people worry that it could drag the country into an uncharted economic future.
- o The government can no longer afford to pay for any costly promises made by politicians.
- o While many people agree that it is important to reduce spending and the deficit, attempts to do so can easily lead to increased voter frustration.
- o When politicians stop making big promises, voters get discouraged and unhappy about elections that devolve into a candidates making small promises and saying "trust me".

- o When political candidates run for office without an effective program of solutions to major problems, such as the budget deficit, the ones who are elected take office without a sufficient electoral mandate to use to solve the problems.
- o When there is no electoral mandate about how to solve some of the nation's most serious problems, it's impossible to get liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, the Congress and the President to agree about solutions.

A lot of people will look at these problems and decide to do something else that's really more fun, like going fishing or out to dinner or to a baseball or football game. I've happily done this many times.

Other people will discuss the problems in great detail and ask the politicians, "What are you going to do?" Whether they say it or not, the politicians can easily think, "What will you let me do?" This back-and-forth questioning between interested observers and politicians can continue for a long time -- as a lot of people in our country must be learning -- and probably can continue forever. That is, unless something is proposed that gets voters and politicians out of the mud and back on track toward dealing effectively with our nation's future.

A key underlying problem, I believe, involves an unhealthy relationship between the people and the leaders of our country. Moreover, I believe a symptom of this underlying problem is the Federal government's budget deficit. This view is a critical point in this essay. The deficit is not the primary problem but, instead, is a symptom of an underlying problem that has developed in our political system.

Attempts to deal with the symptom have not worked.

Sometimes dealing with symptoms, without considering the underlying problems, only has limited effectiveness. Congress tried to take action to deal with the symptom over fifteen years ago when, in 1978, it passed a law which simply said, "Beginning with fiscal year 1981, the total budget outlays of the Federal Government shall not exceed its receipts." In other words, in every year the Federal government's revenues must be high enough to pay for all the Federal government's spending. Later, at the beginning of fiscal year 1981, Congress revised the provision to say, "Congress reaffirms its commitment that budget outlays of the United States Government for a fiscal year may not be more than the receipts of the Government for that year." This provision was put in the statute books, in a section lawyers identify as 31 U.S.C. 1103 of the United States Code of laws, and it still remains in the statute books.

After this commitment was made, actual Federal spending has exceeded revenues by over \$2.5 trillion over the thirteen years from 1981 through 1993. Federal borrowing has increased by the same amount to pay for the deficit.

Congress has passed additional legislation to try to enforce deficit reductions, and many budget analysts can argue that the additional laws resulted in significant spending reductions and deficit reductions from what would have occurred without the additional legislation. These laws include the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987, and the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990.

Nevertheless, in spite of these additional attempts, the Federal government's spending and deficit continue to grow. For the thirteen years after the first commitment was made starting in 1981, the average annual deficit was \$194 billion. For the eight years after the 1985 law was passed, the average annual deficit was \$214 billion. For the six years after the 1987 law was passed, the average annual deficit was \$224 billion. For the three years after the 1990 law was passed, the average annual deficit was \$272 billion. However, for last year, the deficit decreased to \$255 billion.

At some point we should realize that the spending and deficit problem might be bigger than the ability of the Congress and the President to solve if they continue to try to use the same approaches that they have tried in the past.

The Fiscal Year 1993 Budget

It's important to consider the broad framework of the Federal budget before deciding how to take additional steps to deal with the deficit. A simplified summary of the budget is shown below:

<u>Expenses</u>	<u>(\$ in billions)</u>
National defense	\$291
Payments for individuals:	
Social Security	302
Medical care payments	240
Military & Civil Service retirement	61
Other payments for individuals	<u>179</u>
Subtotal, payments for individuals	782
Interest on debt (net)	199
Everything else (net)	<u>136</u>
Total expenses	1,408
 <u>Revenues</u>	
Individual income taxes	510
Corporate income taxes	118
Social insurance taxes and contributions	428
Excise taxes and other revenues	<u>98</u>
Total revenues	1,154
 <u>Deficit</u>	255

Illustrative Options for Eliminating the Deficit

If there was a balanced budget requirement for fiscal year 1993, there are very broad, hypothetical options that could, in someone's wildest imagination, have been considered. For reasons that will become apparent, I refer to these as the seven deadly political sins.

Option 1: Raise individual income tax payments by 50%.

Option 2: Triple corporate income tax payments.

Option 3: Eliminate nearly all funding of defense.

Option 4: Curtail most social security payments while continuing taxes and contributions.

Option 5: Eliminate medical care payments, while continuing taxes and contributions, and find something else to cut.

Option 6: Eliminate "everything else", which includes air traffic control, highway and transit funding, Coast Guard, space exploration, science and technology programs, environmental protection, energy programs, management of national parks and natural resources, agricultural programs, commerce, housing programs, support for education, job training, FBI, prisons, and many other activities, and find something else to cut.

Option 7: Eliminate all Federal and Postal employees and military personnel, and find something else to cut.

These options, of course, are crazy. They all would be detrimental to the economy and have negative impacts that would increase the deficit. However, if someone seriously tried to implement only one-seventh of each one of the above seven options, he would also be considered to be politically crazy.

There is always the argument that things will get easier to do in the future. For example, when the budget proposals were made for fiscal year 1989, the budget projections showed the deficit steadily declining to only \$23 billion in 1993. However, now we have completed 1993 and can look back, we can see the actual deficit was eleven times the earlier, rosy projection.

Because most of the expenses are for making payments to individuals, it should be clear that the Federal budget deficit cannot be reduced significantly unless something significant is done to reduce these payments and/or to increase taxes and contributions paid to the government. Choices must be made about reducing benefits and/or increasing revenues. When these choices are made, I believe, the American people need to be informed about the choices and they should be able to participate in the political decision-making process. If the people are not given this opportunity, then there will be a continuing risk that politicians trying to win elections will not tell voters about the difficult choices, that "special interest" advocates will lobby for continuing benefits without increasing payments to the government, and voters will continue to be critical of a Washington establishment that apparently cannot solve the deficit problem by itself. This has been the story of the last thirteen years. And the budget deficit continues even after noble efforts are made to bring it back under control.

Improvements are needed in our political institutions.

Instead of continuing the approaches that have been tried and haven't worked in the past, we should start looking for new approaches that might work in the future. As part of this consideration, I would like to outline some characteristics about our political institutions that may be contributing to some of the problems, and then to propose some specific and practical improvements in our political institutions that, I believe, would help the Federal government's decision-making apparatus work more effectively while being more responsive to the American people.

Some of the characteristics that are relevant to this discussion are outlined below:

- o Politicians oftentimes make promises to solve a multitude of problems without discussing with voters the ultimate taxpayer costs.
- o People expect the politicians to fulfill the promises.
- o The politicians cannot pay for all the promises without raising taxes significantly or producing staggering budget deficits.
- o The taxes and deficits in turn can lead to additional economic problems.
- o Many voters become disenchanted with the politicians and the Federal government because the government can never pay for solutions to all the problems that exist.
- o At the same time, voters are becoming more independent, and they no longer blindly follow political party leader or government officials.
- o Voters have become more issue-oriented instead of party-oriented.
- o Special interest groups are becoming more influential while political party loyalty is diminishing.
- o Political party discipline is disappearing, so our political leaders are less able to enforce budget trade-offs and compromises.

The basic foundation for our political system and government is the American people, so our political system and government must be based on the character of the American people. More independent, issue-oriented voters will not revert to the complacent and trusting nature or the steady political party loyalties of former years. The American people and voters must be accepted as they are. As the people of our nation change and develop over the years, it is necessary for our political

institutions and government to be able to change and move into the future.

Our political system can be improved.

If the old political party process of enforcing budget trade-offs and compromises is no longer effective, then a new political process must be developed. Such a process must deal effectively with the basic problems challenging our political institutions.

To begin, the new political process must deal with the initial problem leading to further problems in the chain reaction: it must reduce somewhat the pressures on politicians to promise unattainable Federal government solutions. To accomplish this feat, the new process must wean voters away from the inflationary "bidding war" of political promises. It must do so while at the same time involving the voters in, and winning their support of and loyalty to, the political process.

Such a feat is not visionary and, I believe, it can be accomplished. In fact, a model for the "new" political process already exists and has been tried and well tested in many states throughout our country.

Voters can give guidance to our leaders through voter referenda.

In many states, selected spending and other proposals are submitted to the voters for their approval in referenda. The voters are asked whether they want to approve or disapprove proposals that have been put on the election ballot. This approach is especially appropriate when the primary considerations are the priorities and will of the general public.

If the Constitution establishing our Federal government is properly amended, referenda can be used selectively to refer appropriate national issues to the voters. Referenda can be used to register either voter approval or disapproval, or to register voter priorities among several alternative courses of action. The decision about which issues would be selected for referral to the voters, and the conditions of such referral, would be made through the normal legislative procedures involving the Congress and the President.

Voter referenda can lead to a new way of doing business in our nation.

The President and Members of Congress could make a commitment to offer the voters fair and reasonable choices and to explain factually to the voters the advantages, disadvantages and other implications of each choice. As a result, the relationship between the voters and our political leaders may change somewhat.

- o As they become more comfortable with the new relationship, the voters will expect our political leaders to provide referenda offering them fair and reasonable choices. The voters, over time, will begin to judge political leaders in part on the reasonableness of these choices and the

sufficiency of any explanations given by the leaders about each alternative.

- o As the voters gradually change how they judge our political leaders, and how they decide among competing political candidates, there will be reduced pressure on candidates and political leaders to make unattainable promises. At the same time, there will be increased pressure on the leaders to communicate factual and unbiased information about any issues referred to the voters.
- o Equipped with this information, voters will be better able to understand the government's capabilities and limitations. This understanding will help the voters to develop more realistic expectations about the government and their leaders.
- o By participating in referenda, voters will realize they are still part of the political process regardless of the outcome of the referenda. As long as they are participants helping to decide issues important to them, the people may become more supportive of and loyal to the political system.
- o Because of voter involvement, long-term pressures will be created to make the government simpler, more understandable, more responsive to the taxpayers instead of special interest groups, and more equitable as seen by the general public.
- o Even the threat of referring an issue to the voters in a referendum can create pressures for the Congress to be more responsive to the general public.
- o When the voters approve proposals about government spending, they would be giving our political leaders their guidance about the proper use of the taxpayers' money. This will lead to a renewed understanding between the government and the people that the people will pay for the programs they approve.

Support for voter referenda can easily develop.

Support for this new political process at the Federal level could easily develop among key participants in our political system. Many Congressmen and Senators would be unwilling to challenge publicly the desirability or feasibility of selectively referring issues to the voters. States, many which already have voter referenda, could easily accept this procedure at the Federal level. Many people may be ready to trust their own collective judgement about key government priorities rather than the collective judgement, and the catering to special interest groups, produced by the current institutions of the Congress.

There is a need for the Congress to pass legislation routinely.

Clearly, not all legislation can be enacted into law through voter referenda. In each election year, the voters can focus their attention on a few issues that can be easily explained and understood, and that will have a widespread impact on the general public.

The Congress should be able to review and consider passing additional laws. Numerous other laws must be enacted each year to provide for continued, normal, day-to-day operations of the government.

Moreover, the Congress should be able to consider passing complicated laws that cannot be easily explained to the general public, and it should be able to consider passing laws which have a limited impact and do not significantly affect the general public.

Yet, many voters would like to be reassured that all laws are consistent with the interests of the general public. Consequently, there is a need to develop another legislative process so the Congress can pass laws routinely, while assuring that the laws serve the American people and not just the special interest groups.

Special interest pressures are part of the current Congressional law-writing process.

In the current process for writing and passing laws, there is pressure on the Congress to serve special interest groups. The pressure occurs in the following manner.

- o Special interest groups constantly make demands of Federal agencies, Congressional staff, and Members of Congress. They demand more government spending. At the same time, they demand lower taxes and more tax breaks.
- o Government program managers want to serve the groups which benefit from their programs, and they will try to expand the government programs if that is what the beneficiaries want.
- o Members of Congress and the Congressional staff try to be responsive to the concerns brought to their attention. Unfortunately, most of the concerns brought to their attention are brought by the government program managers and special interest groups.

Individual Senators, Congressmen, and Congressional staff have an extraordinary opportunity to be responsive to the government program managers and special interest groups. Every year, thousands of pages of legislation pass the Congress and are enacted into law. Many of the provisions are inserted at the request of only a few individuals. The provisions then pass the full House and full Senate with only a cursory review, because neither the Senate nor the House of Representatives, meeting as a legislative body with all its members present, has time to read,

review and carefully discuss the details of such voluminous legislation.

In this environment, there are abundant opportunities for individual Senators, Congressmen and staff members to insert seemingly minor provisions of law which, in fact, create new tax loopholes, start more pork barrel projects, and have an impact on the American people. Some of these provisions of law are written by special interest group lobbyists and inserted into legislation on their behalf. Consequently, it should be no surprise that some provisions of law are written to serve narrow objectives of special interest groups. When this happens, unfortunately, the resulting laws may not always serve the broader interests of the general public.

This situation can occur, in part, because it is difficult for the general public to participate in the law-writing process. Much of the legislation has become so voluminous and so intricate that many observers cannot possibly understand it. In addition, the general public does not hire lobbyists to "square off" against the tens of thousands of special interest group advocates and lobbyists, which the groups sometimes like to call their "Washington representatives". The average taxpayer doesn't know the name and phone number of the right Congressional staff member -- out of all the thousands of Congressional staff members -- to telephone on the right day to get his or her views known and included in the law-writing process. Moreover, the general public doesn't often speak with one voice, and many people don't understand how new legislation will affect them until it is enacted into law, and then it is too late.

Senators and Congressmen, of course, are elected to represent the interest of the general public. But, absent sufficient pressure to require Senators and Congressmen to consider the unvoiced interests of the general public, it is too easy for them to "cave in" to the continual demands of the special interest groups.

Congress can improve the law-writing process.

Senators and Congressmen can improve their role of representing the general public, improve their own control of the law-writing process, and restrain somewhat the pressures of special interest group lobbyists, by demanding that proposed laws be shorter, simpler, and better written so they are easier to understand and examine. They can create a process where all legislation is read, reviewed and discussed by elected representatives who, as a group, are sent to the nation's capital to serve all the people.

The new process can require all legislation to be reviewed by the full House and full Senate, when most of the members are present, or by special committees of the House and Senate that are created to review legislation on behalf of the American people. Legislation urged by special interest groups or program advocates would no longer pass the Congress unexamined.

The new review committees can be called Representative

Committees. Members of the House and Senate can be assigned to the new committees so each Representative Committee will give balanced representation to people from all regions of the country. In addition to having balanced representation from different regions of the country, the Representative Committees in the House could reflect balanced representation from urban, suburban and rural areas.

The existing authorizing committees in the Congress, which now draft legislative proposals, can be retained. Authorizing committee members have detailed expertise in the laws and government programs under their committee's jurisdiction. However, because they have a strong interest in these laws and programs, authorizing committee members can use their influence to give special benefits in legislation to groups they want to help. Unfortunately, when the supporters of a particular special interest group are assigned to the committee that oversees the government programs helping that group, the committee may no longer provide balanced representation for all the people of the nation.

Under the new process, authorizing committees could still write legislative proposals, to take advantage of their experience and expertise -- but all the proposals must be reviewed thoroughly by a Representative Committee, or by the full House of the full Senate, to assure that the proposals are consistent with the interests of the general public.

If people feel there is assurance that laws and government programs will serve the general public, then this will help restore people's faith in government, and people will be more likely to respect the legislation which passes the Congress.

Disputes arise about amending the Constitution.

Our country's Constitution is the document setting forth the fundamental framework for our government. As such, the Constitution is supposed to embody the basic understanding between the people and the government about the role of the government and the rights of the people.

When our elected representatives decide whether to change the Constitution by amending it, their primary concern should be how best to reflect the needs and views of the people -- how best to serve the American people.

Yet, disputes arise among the President, the Congress and state governments about whether and how to amend the Constitution. These disputes arise among government officials who are all elected to represent the people.

There is no easy way for government officials to determine what the vast majority of the American people want in our Constitution. At the same time, there is the continual temptation that the President, the Congress, and/or the states will seek to serve their own interests, instead of serving the interests of the American people.

For example, there has been a continuing conflict between the President and the Congress about whether to adopt the

"Balanced Budget Amendment" to the Constitution, which is intended to create pressures for the Federal government to try to keep its spending below its revenues. There has been another disagreement about the "Line Item Veto Amendment", which would let the President block, through a veto, funding for individual programs without having to veto an entire appropriations bill which may fund hundreds of programs in numerous government agencies.

In situations like these, it may be possible to use the approach of referring issues to the voters in order to resolve disputes among the President, the Congress, and the states about whether to amend our nation's Constitution.

There are drawbacks in the current process for amending the Constitution.

There now are two ways of amending our Constitution. Under the first procedure, Congress can propose an amendment if two-thirds of the members of each House of Congress vote for it. The amendment then becomes part of the Constitution if it is ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

Under the second procedure, two-thirds of the state legislatures can petition the Congress, asking for a Constitutional convention for the purpose of considering and proposing amendments. The Congress would call the convention on behalf of the states. Any amendments proposed by the convention would become part of the Constitution if ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures.

Twenty-seven amendments have become part of our Constitution including the first ten amendments which comprise the Bill of Rights. All twenty-seven were adopted under the first process where an amendment is proposed by the Congress and ratified by the states. None of the twenty-seven was proposed by a Constitutional convention called at the request of the states.

There is great uncertainty about how a Constitutional convention would work. There is uncertainty about whether the states or the Congress would select the delegates to attend the convention. There is uncertainty about whether the delegates would represent the interests of the states, the interests of the Congress, the interests of various special interest groups, or the interests of the general public.

One possibility is that the state governments would control the Constitutional convention. If this occurs, the states could both propose and ratify amendments without the approval of any elected Federal government official and without the approval or the general public.

Another possibility is that the Congress would try to pick convention delegates representing the Congress and/or various special interest groups. If this occurs, the convention might only propose amendments serving the Congress and/or the special interest groups.

A similar problem can arise with the process used in the past for proposing amendments. When the Congress carries out the

sole power to propose amendments, it can effectively prevent the adoption of amendments. The Congress can block amendments limiting Congressional power and it can block amendments adversely affecting special interest groups which the Congress chooses to represent.

Although our original Constitution created a system of checks and balances among the various branches of government, the process for amending the Constitution did not provide a similar system of checks and balances.

A new procedure can be developed for amending the Constitution.

A system of checks and balances can be created for the process of amending the Constitution. The new system can assure that no single branch of government can block changes that are desired by the vast majority of the American people. The new system would have the following features:

- o Amendments could be initially proposed by the President, the Congress, or the states. No single branch of government would be given sole responsibility for proposing amendments.
- o Amendments would be adopted if approved by three types of elected representatives: (1) the President, (2) two-thirds of the House and two-thirds of the Senate, and (3) two-thirds of the states, providing those states as a group have two-thirds of the nation's population.
- o If, over a period of five years, a proposed amendment is approved by two of the types of elected representatives, but not by the third, the proposal would be referred to the voters in the next general election. The amendment would be adopted if approved by two-thirds of the voters.

It still would be difficult to amend the Constitution under the new procedure. This is proper because the Constitution sets forth the fundamental framework for our government, and changes to that fundamental framework should only be made after careful consideration, considerable public discussion, and widespread public support.

Developing a new "social contract" between the people and the leaders of our nation.

This essay has proposed making three amendments to the Constitution. The first proposal would allow the President and the Congress to refer issues selectively to the voters in national voter referenda. In national referenda, the voters can be participants in the government decision-making process, reduce the influence of special interest group pressures, help resolve political stalemates, and create pressures for the government to be more responsive to the general public.

A second proposal would establish a new process for the Congress to pass legislation routinely. The new process would

assure that all legislation is reviewed thoroughly by the full Senate and the full House of Representatives, when most of the members are present, or by newly created Representative Committees that would be established to review legislation on behalf of the general public.

A third proposal would establish a new procedure for amending the Constitution. The new procedure would establish a system of checks and balances for amending the Constitution, and would in some situations provide for referring proposed Constitutional amendments to the voters.

These three proposals can be referred to as the "People's Amendments" to the Constitution.

The proposals involve modifying the "social contract" between our leaders and the American people. The modified "social contract" should improve the effectiveness of the guidance voters give when they vote, and by making the guidance clear to everyone in the country, it should help our leaders lead.

The modified "social contract" is not entirely new: it represents a re-commitment to the principles of democracy and self-government, and to the belief that the purpose of America's government is to serve the American people. These ideals are shared by millions of Americans.

To embody these ideals, and to improve the relationship between the leaders and the people of our nation, it is possible for the leaders of American to make a "Pledge to the People" and, in response, for the people of America to make a "Pledge from the People". Recognizing that these are ideals, we may need to work toward them over a long period of time. But if we as a nation are going to begin to solve our problems, we must start sometime. So let us begin.

Pledge to the People

We pledge to the people of America, and to posterity, that America's government shall serve the American people

-- That the people should be able to understand the government

-- That the people should be able to express their views

-- That the people should be able to participate in decisions about their lives and homes and families

-- That no branch or agent of government shall deny the will of the great majority of the people.

The people's will shall rule.

This pledge affirms our trust in the justice and character of the American people.

The people's passion is for freedom for all individuals.

No faction or group shall ever have dominion over the people.

The people can rein and restrain the unbridled power of special interest groups.

The people can secure a fair and understanding government to serve the people's needs.

The people shall steadfastly guard individual liberty and exalt individual pursuits.

The people's will shall rule.

Pledge from the People

We, the people of America, pledge to try to understand the government and its limitations and opportunities,

Not to expect the impossible,

Not to believe the unbelievable,

To strive for an awareness of the needs of our nation and its diverse people,

To recognize that the government must balance fairly the concerns of many groups and people,

To recognize that all Americans have a right to participate in the American political system,

To recognize that our leaders must be leaders for all American people,

To renew and strengthen our love for freedom and democracy,
And to protect and preserve the gifts of America for posterity.

Language of Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

Proposed Amendment Allowing National Voter Referenda.

Bills, or portions of bills, concerning domestic activities may be made expressly conditional upon the people's ratification. Such bills including the conditions of ratification must be first approved under the procedures otherwise established by this Constitution for enacting laws.

Proposed Amendment Providing a New Process for Enacting Laws.

Section 1. Before any bill can pass either House of Congress, the bill must be read in its entirety and discussed in that House while at least two-thirds of its members are present, or the bill must be recommended for favorable passage by a Representative Committee of that House.

Section 2. Representative Committees can be created by each House of Congress provided the membership of each such committee reasonably reflects the geographic diversity of all the States or Congressional districts represented in that House, so each Representative Committee can reasonably represent the people of the Nation.

Section 3. Before a Representative Committee can recommend favorable passage of any bill, the bill must be read in its entirety and discussed while at least two-thirds of the Representative Committee members are present.

Section 4. Amendments to bills can be considered and adopted by either House of Congress, or by a Representative Committee, provided that each such amendment is read in its entirety and discussed while at least two-thirds of the members of that House, or Representative Committee, are present.

Proposed Amendment Providing a New Process for Amending the Constitution

Section 1. Amendments to this Constitution shall be considered adopted and valid whenever the three following conditions are met within an uninterrupted five-year period of time:

- (1) Approval by the President, providing such approval has not been subsequently withdrawn. A withdrawal of Presidential approval can only occur before the remaining conditions of approval are satisfied.
- (2) Approval by at least two-thirds of each House of Congress.
- (3) Approval by at least two-thirds of the States, providing the approving States as a group have at least two-thirds of the Nation's population as reported in

the most recent decennial census.

Section 2. Whenever there is a proposed amendment where only two of the conditions in Section 1 are met at the end of an uninterrupted five-year period of time, the proposed amendment shall be referred to the people at the next general election. The amendment shall be considered adopted and valid if it is approved by at least two-thirds of the voters in the general election.

Section 3. The process described in Sections 1 and 2 of this amendment shall be the only process used to amend this Constitution.

Section 4. The States shall no longer be able to petition the Congress to call, and the Congress shall no longer be able to call, a Constitutional convention.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/13

Mr. President:

Dr. Westburg received the
Medal of Freedom in 1964 DN.
Koop has not received the
Medal of Freedom.

Paul

cc Dr. H

Paul Richard

The President
wants Koop
considered for
the next round

Σ NH

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/8/94

Wit

Have Father Herburger

Dr Koop

received Medal of Freedom?

B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Callin
Cathy
to VP
Leon

attach him
very close friend
New Orleans speech
and Hunter Breakfast 13

September 9, 1994

Lewis Manilow
1900 North Howe Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Dear Lew:

Thanks for your letter of September 6. It was good to hear from you and to get your perspective on the challenges my Administration faces.

I agree with you that the American people sent me here to change the direction of our nation, and I remain confident that we'll be able to do just that if we remain focused. I'm enclosing an article by Thomas Patterson that I found interesting. I thought you might enjoy it, too.

I appreciate your insight, your support, and your friendship. Thanks.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

Thanky - Jim
trying - send more ideas -

FAX

COVER PAGE

SEP 7 9:59

Lewis Manilow

To: John Podesta	From: Lewis Manilow	
Company: The White House	Date: 9/7/94	Time: 8:50 AM
Fax Number: 202-456-2215	For Information Call: 312-654-1900	
No. of pages including this cover page: 4	Fax Number: 708-479-8587	

9/7
Trey:
for quick response
per J.P.
FW

LEWIS MANILOW

1900 North Howe Street Chicago, Illinois 60614 Telephone 312-654-1900 FAX 312-335-0493

September 6, 1994

Mr. John Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear John:

Some time ago you offered to transmit to the President some letters of mine. I have not wanted to impose on you or him very often, but the enclosed one I believe to be very important and therefore would appreciate if you would see that it reached him.

Thanks very much for your courtesy.

Truly,



Lewis Manilow

LM:jg
Encl.

LEWIS MANILOW

1900 North Howe Street Chicago, Illinois 60614 Telephone 312-654-1900 FAX 312-335-0493

September 6, 1994

President William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

The American people know that we are in a period of gigantic change. They elected you because you, with your youthful energy and optimism, your brilliant and modern wife, your success in challenging the Democratic party and your choice of a vigorous Vice President, represent and symbolize the change they seek.

Indeed, you have brought change but not as much as the people demand and that is what the polls reflect. This letter is about what I believe the people want and how you can deliver it.

With deficit reduction and NAFTA you have delivered significant economic change. Each of those programs is long term and embraces the globalized economy. Both are extremely popular, unlike the stimulus plan which failed because it was short term. The people's message is clear - yes "it's the economy, stupid" but it's the future economy we mean, not the present one.

The people want another and equally important change which is to break the strangle hold that special interests have over our political system. When they speak of gridlock, they do not mean between the President and Congress, but between the people and the special interests. Thus, even passing popular legislation like the crime bill is not sufficient because the people know that it is loaded with concessions to special interests. What they want you to do is to serve the general interest without having to propitiate the special interests. Decades ago Jack Arvey, then Chicago's "boss" used to say that FDR (who represented the general interest) was his best precinct captain.

Finally, the people are as frightened by the loss of national values as they are over the future of the economy and the present state of our politics. You have eloquently spoken about opportunity, responsibility, community, work and study and playing by the rules. But it is mere exhortation unless you confront the opposition, (those who excuse irresponsibility, promote victimization or disparage our values) whether in the Boardroom, classroom or housing project. It is true that the only force strong enough to change people's values is not the government but peer pressure,

President William Clinton
September 6, 1994
Page 2

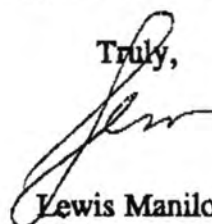
but it is also true that the president can effectively use the "bully pulpit" to encourage the "peers" and discourage their opposition.

In sum, I believe the people are far more radical and wiser than Washington. They know what our time demands and are determined to get it. In this they are no different than those "radical centrists" who have overthrown governments in Latin America, Eastern Europe and Russia and are forcing Italy and Japan to change after 50 years.

No one is better able to lead this radical center than you as you have shown in the campaign and in many ways since. But the people will not settle for a few changes; they want a new deal for the post modern age and they expect you to deliver it. You can change a congress which is unpopular with the people and disgusted with itself. You can reinvigorate our values as has a new breed of mayors across the nation.

In order to deliver these changes or even to make a major start on them, you must largely ignore the press and the Republicans and concentrate on delivering the additional changes that the people so clearly want. If you do, you will fulfill their great dreams and earn their eternal gratitude and support.

Truly,



Lewis Manilow

LM:jg

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1994

Mr. Ollie Adams Burton
2323 Highway 14 East
Newport, Arkansas 72112

Dear Ollie:

Thank you for your heartfelt letter. I was so sorry to hear of Shinika's tragic death, and I am grateful that you took the time to share her story with me.

Such acts of violence not only violate our security, they take away our brightest hope for the future -- our young people. Shinika's poignant words are a dramatic reminder of the fears our children must face every day -- that "too much wrong" will deny them the opportunity to "be someone" in the future. Tragically, Shinika became a victim of the very subject she wrote about so passionately. We can best honor her memory by working hard to save other young lives.

The level of gun violence among our nation's youth is especially disturbing, and I believe the recently passed crime bill gives us a good foundation to address this growing problem. In addition to banning 19 of the most dangerous assault weapons, this new law will ban the sale of handguns to juveniles. It will also provide funding for more police, more prisons, and more prevention programs to help our people to rebuild and strengthen their communities.

Through shared responsibility, we can change our children's despair to hope and turn the tide on this wave of violence. As I continue to speak out on this vital issue, I will keep your letter in mind.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I am so sorry -
Thank you for sharing
her letter with me

2323 Highway 14 East
Newport, Arkansas 72412
July 5, 1994

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of a funeral program and a copy of an award-winning essay, "What Affects Our Community." It was written by the late Shinika Ford. She was thirteen years old and a straight-A seventh grade student at Newport Junior High School in Newport, Arkansas. The essay expressed her concerns on drugs, violence, and gang activity in her community.

Shinika was to accept a one hundred dollar United States saving bond from KAIT Channel 8 TV in Jonesboro, Arkansas. But, before she could accept her award, she was dead. Dead of one of the things she had written about. **

Shinika and a friend, Stacy Johnson, went to Augusta, Arkansas (approximately 28 miles south of Newport), on Saturday night, March 6, to attend a birthday party for a friend of Stacy's. During the party a misunderstanding developed between Shinika and her accused killer (a fifteen year old Augusta boy). Shinika and Stacy became frightened and ran from the house where the party was being held. The accused killer ran after them. He shot Shinika in the back, and her friend Stacy was shot in the leg. He used a 9mm Llama semi-automatic pistol to kill a child and wound another.

Mr. President, far too many of our best and brightest young people are being killed. Perhaps if there were tighter gun control, Shinika would be alive pursuing her dream of becoming a lawyer. Mr. President, please use your executive powers to help remove from our society guns and drugs. We cannot afford to lose any more "Shinikas." They are our future, our hope, and our promise for a better tomorrow.

Thank you for reading my letter, and may God continue to bless you and your administration.

Very truly yours,

Ollie Adams Burton

Ollie Adams Burton

In Memory of



Shinika Ford

1980 — 1994

Services

Saturday, March 12, 1994
2:00 p.m.

NEWPORT HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
Rommel Park
Newport, Arkansas

for

St. Paul A.M.E. Church
Newport, Arkansas
The Rev. Daniel Lee, Pastor

The Rev. Rickey Everett, Officiating

Please Wake Up For Shinika

Shinika, from a baby who had no worries in the world, to being an honor student at Newport Junior High. Shinika could've enjoyed her high school days, going to the prom, or even graduation. She could've enjoyed college life, living on campus, or even attending the big college parties. She could've been one of the best doctors or attorneys in the United States. She could've had the experience of having a family and raising children.

But no, all because of a handgun that fascinates the teenage and adult mind. When are we going to wake up and realize what is going on, when are we going to wake up and realize we are killing ourselves, when are we going to wake up and realize we are killing our future doctors, lawyers, teachers, athletes, etc., when are we going to wake up and realize we are killing someone's daughter or son, when are we going to wake up and realize we have taken someone's mother or father, when are we going to wake up and realize we have taken someone's best friend.

When are we going to wake up and realize that a young 13 year old girl by the name of Shinika Ford, a/k/a Buckeye, was killed by one of these handguns that fascinated someone's mind.

Please wake up for Shinika.

—Nikki Bright

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Shinika: An Inspiration To Us All

Shinika

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It is said that today's children are tomorrow's future. Shinika Ford was the future. We are the future. It is up to us children and also many adults to make the future, to mold a better life for those to come.

We make the future good, and we make it bad. Shinika was a good part of the present and of the future to come. She had striven to make a better life for herself. Shinika was a good person. She stated in an interview that her dream was to become a lawyer. This proved that she had a dream to help others. She lived each day of her life to the fullest, regardless of negative words or actions of others. She was sometimes called a nerd because of her good grades. When she was called a nerd, it was often by good natured friends who meant it as a joke. But if she was called this by someone else she took it in stride, never missing a step.

When Shinika was around she was like a bright shining sun, shining her light on everyone. She was a happy child. It still puzzles me why someone would want to take her life. I know many of you have asked yourself this. I know that I should say that we should learn from this tragedy, but I can't because this is one that could have been avoided.

Shinika is an inspiration to us all. She was loved by all and will be missed by all. But always remember that she will always live in our hearts.

—Nikki Bright

—Valencia Jackson



Obituary

Shinika Qinte Ford was born March 15, 1980, in Newport, Arkansas, to Tammy L. Ford.

She was a seventh grade honor student at Newport Junior High School, and she had been named one of the winners in an essay contest sponsored by television station KAIT, Channel 8, in Jonesboro, Arkansas, and was scheduled to be featured on an upcoming "Kid's Corner" program.

She was a member of St. Paul A.M.E. Church in Newport.

She departed this life on March 6, 1994.

She leaves to cherish her memory: her mother, Tammy L. Ford, of Batesville, Arkansas; three sisters, April Ford, Gladys Ford and Lenese Price, all of Newport; two brothers, Silas Roy Swift, of Batesville, and David Price, of Newport; her grandparents, Rudean and Mary Qualls, of Newport, and Claud Dukes, of Tuckerman, Arkansas; and her great grandparents, Willie Ford, of Newport, and Frank Q. and Ocelea Qualls, of Newark, Arkansas.

Shinika is also survived by four aunts, Kena Dean (Ralph), of Fort Knox, Kentucky, Rhonda Sherrill (Rommie), of Detroit, Michigan, Naydean Simmons (Alonzo), of Jonesboro, and Temtrice Qualls, of Newport; three uncles, Deangelo Qualls and Rudean Qualls, Jr., both of Newport, and Kendrick Brown, of Tuckerman; six great aunts, Jeanette Matthews (Charles), Beverly Renee Ford Sartee (Andrew), Searcy Rucker (John Balentine, Jr.), and Bernice Burnett, all of Newport, Willie Lee Ghondo (Sam), of Tuckerman, and Freda Briscoe, of Madison, Wisconsin; seven great uncles, Arthur James Ford, Jr. (Betty), Freddie Cain, and Ronnie Qualls, all of Newport, Henry Ford (Sandra), of Little Rock, Arkansas, Larry Ford (Pam), of Minneapolis, Minnesota, Tom Qualls, of Batesville, and Gene Qualls (Lena), of Peoria, Illinois; and a host of nieces, nephews, other relatives and friends.



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born March 15, 1980, in L. Ford.

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on March 6, 1994.

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Order of Service

- Piano Prelude
- Processional
- Hymn Choir
- Invocation Bro. Walter Reed
Minister, Calhoun Street Church of Christ
- Scripture The Rev. T.W. Barnes
Pastor, First Baptist Church
- Selection Choir
- Resolutions: St. Paul
A.M.E. Church Mrs. Sandra Elston
- Acknowledgements Mrs. Ollie Adams Burton
- Selection Choir
- Tributes Valencia Jackson
Mrs. Kena Dean
Dreshanan Kendall
- Obituary (Read Silently) Soft Music
- Remarks Miss Vickie Williams
Counselor, Newport Junior High School
- Solo Tinesia Booker
"Someone to Care"
- Eulogy The Rev. Rickey Everett
Pastor, Morning Star Baptist Church
- Recessional



Shinika Ford "Buckeye"

Why did she have to go to Augusta that day? Why did she have to go that weekend and stay? Why did she have to die? Now in the ground is where she's going to lie. Some people told her not to go, But how was she going to know. Some people didn't get a chance to say goodbye. Now all they can do is cry. Some people lost their best friend. For them it probably seems like the end. But they have to know That it might have been her time to go.

She's always had a place in my heart, Right from the very start. This year she and a lot of people were close, And when she died in their hearts is where it hurt the most. When the bullet hit her, she fell to her knees. And she never got a chance to fulfill her dreams.

A lawyer is what she wanted to be. She wanted to help others, you see. No one can do exactly the thing she did, At the time that she was a kid. She had her whole life planned, But she never had a chance.

Some people said that they just have to move on, And understand the fact that she's gone. Now her memories live on forever. In heaven is where her life is better.

—Mary Ra



I miss you a lot, and I think of you every day. You had a lot coming to you--that's what everyone used to say. I wanted to be like you: nice, intelligent and smart! I'll keep you in a special place, somewhere in my heart. I think of you all the time; your memories will always be in my mind. I can't believe that your life is through. Shinika, I love you.

—Aisha Balentin



ka Ford ckege''

Augusta that day? Why did
end and stay? Why did she
ground is where she's going
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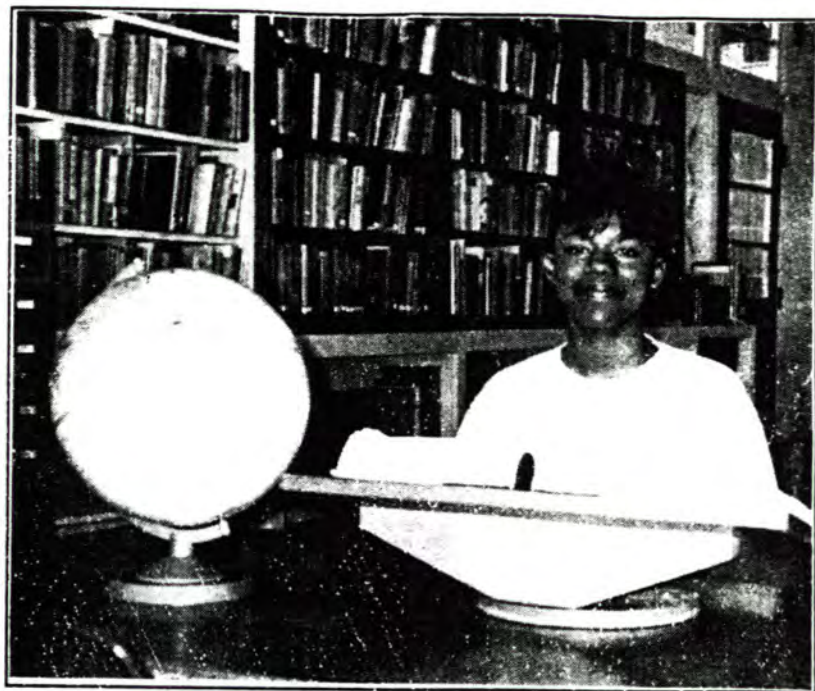
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can do exactly the things
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never had a chance.

just have to move on, And
she's gone. Now her memory
even is where her life is

—Mary Ray

I think of you every day.
—that's what everyone used
like you: nice, intelligent
you in a special place,
think of you all the time;
be in my mind. I can't
through. Shinika, I love

—Aisha Balentine



— Newport Daily Independent photo
by Elizabeth Carruth

A Special Friend

Shinika was young, gifted, talented and smart. She had a plan to succeed. She was determined to beat the odds; she was going to be somebody. Her dream was to become the best lawyer in the United States.

She was a very good friend to me and all her friends. I will never forget the good times we shared together.

It is hard for me to accept the fact that she is gone--but I must be strong, for she has gone to a better place.

"Buckeye" was a good friend. She will always have a special place in my heart.

—Jennifer Pittman Burton

Pallbearers

Rudean Qualls
Freddie Cain
Arthur Ford
Kendrick Brown
Tracy Ford

David Price
Larry Elston
Tony Phillips
Marcus Ford
Terrell Ford

Chris Crite

Interment

GUM GROVE CEMETERY
Newport, Arkansas

Arrangements
by
CRAFT FUNERAL HOME
Newport, Arkansas

Acknowledgements

The family of the late Shinika Ford wishes to thank you for your expressions of sympathy. Thank you for your prayers and for your presence. May God bless you.

What Affects Our Community:

I think the main thing that affects our community is Gangs. The reason I chose this topic is because I see this thing everyday, and I also live around this thing everyday of my life. As I was walking home to my grandmother's house from school, I saw gang rerec on the streets. Sometimes, I even see pictures of six point stars. I also see people wearing raps on their heads, listening to dirty music, and throwing up gangster signs.

These gangs are made up of people who don't have anyone to look up to, or anyone to tell them what's right and what's wrong. They don't have anyone to tell them that they need an education to get out of the ghetto. They also don't have anyone to help them understand that they will need an education later on in their life. If you don't have an education you won't have anything, and if you don't have anything that someone wants like money they won't do anything for you. Then you'll be living outside. That's why gang members sell drugs.

The gangs around here have places to go, but they don't get money from relatives, so

they try to sell drugs. They think it is the only way that they can make money but it isn't. Most of the gang members in a gang are about sixteen years old, and that is old enough to get a job. The reason why they don't want a real job is because they're too lazy to work. As these gang members sell these drugs to these harmless people, they would rather see them die from crack and cocaine before they would see them live another day. Cocaine is a bitter addictive drug obtained from coca leaves and used as a narcotic and local anesthetic. Cocaine can always kill you the first time you try it. If you live near gang members that sell drugs, you should stay away from these people so your life won't be at stake.

Today, more people's lives are at stake than any other time. The gangs are growing faster and more people are getting killed. I hope that the gangs down here in Newport, Arkansas will not grow, and I also hope that less people would get shot from handguns carried around here on the streets. I think that everyone should

have a chance to be someone and try to
have a great life.

I think we would have a better world if we could get the dirty people off the streets and bring in the clean. There are some people in this world who can be somebody, but they can't because too much wrong is standing in their way.