

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to POTUS re: Telephone Calls to Vernon Jordon... (2 pages)	09/20/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

September 18-24, 1994 [2]

2018-0662-S
rs3151

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

H: Hyl

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/22/94

See. Shubert
fin at social office

94 SEP 21 16:51

September 21, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARCIA L. HALE *MHA*

SUBJECT: GOVERNORS AND MAYORS WHO HAVE VISITED THE
WHITE HOUSE

As you requested, I have compiled a list of the Governors and Mayors who overnighted at the White House. I have also listed the Governors and Mayors of major cities who were invited to social events at the White House and indicated those who actually attended the events.

Please note that all Governors were invited to the traditional White House Governors' formal dinner during the National Governors' Association Winter Meeting in 1993 and in 1994. In addition, 178 Mayors attended the Mayors Reception at the White House during the United States Conference of Mayors Annual Convention in January, 1994.

Governors Who Overnighted at the White House (per the Social Office):

1993: Governor Howard Dean of Vermont
Governor Michael Sullivan of Wyoming
Governor John Waihee of Hawaii

1994: Governor Evan Bayh of Indiana
Governor Gaston Caperton of West Virginia
Governor Lawton Chiles of Florida
Governor Brerton Jones of Kentucky
Governor Bruce King of New Mexico
Governor Mike Lowry of Washington
Governor Bob Miller of Nevada
Governor Zell Miller of Georgia
Governor Ann Richards of Texas
Governor Roy Romer of Colorado

cc. HILC
Ann Stock

A copy has
been sent to
Ann Stock

Please note: The following Democratic Governors are retiring at the end of this year and are not running for another public office. You might want to invite a few of them to spend the night before the end of the year.

Governor John Waihee of Hawaii
Governor Cecil Andrus of Idaho
Governor Joan Finney of Kansas
Governor William Donald Schaefer of Maryland
Governor David Walters of Oklahoma
Governor Barbara Roberts of Oregon
Governor Bob Casey of Pennsylvania
Governor Ned Ray McWherter of Tennessee (I understand that he will be invited to stay at the White House on October 18.)

Mayors Who Overnighted at the White House:

1993: Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago
Mayor Edward Rendell of Philadelphia

1994: Mayor Dennis Archer of Detroit
Mayor Sandy Freedman of Florida
Mayor Sharpe James of Newark
Mayor Frank Jordan of San Francisco
Mayor Norm Rice of Seattle
Mayor Joe Riley of Charleston
Mayor Richard Riordan of Los Angeles

Please note: Mayors Abramson and Webb were invited to stay at the White House. However, because their wives were unable able to stay with them, the Mayors declined the invitation. We should consider inviting them again.

Governors Who Were Invited to Receptions/Dinners at the White House:

Governor George Allen

Jefferson Dinner at the State Department (Regret)

Governor Cecil Andrus

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Evan Bayh

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Midwest Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Gaston Caperton

Eastern Political Reception (Regret)

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Kennedy Center Honors (Attended)

Governor Mel Carnahan

Jazz Festival (Attended)

Midwest Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Lawton Chiles

Florida State Reception (Regret)

Florida Political Reception (Regret)

Southern Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Mario Cuomo

Eastern Political Reception (Regret)

Japanese State Dinner (Regret)

Mandela State Dinner (Invited)

Governor Howard Dean

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Governor Edwin Edwards

Southern Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Jim Folsom

Southern Political Reception (Regret)

Governor James Hunt

Southern Political Reception (Attended)

Governor Brereton Jones

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Southern Political Reception (Attended)

Governor Bruce King

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Mike Lowry

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Ned Ray McWherter

Southern Political Reception (Attended)

Governor Robert Miller

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Zell Miller

Southern Political Reception (Attended)

Governor Ben Nelson

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Barbara Roberts

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Roy Romer

Jazz Festival (Attended)

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Michael Sullivan

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Private Dinner- 10-19-93 (Attended)

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Governor Bruce Sundlun

Eastern Political Reception (Regret)

Governor John Waihee

Japanese State Dinner (Regret)

Private Dinner- 02/03/93 (Attended)

Governor David Walters

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Mayors Who Were Invited to Receptions/Dinners at the White House:

Mayor Jerry Abramson of Louisville

Jazz Festival (Regret)
Southern Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Dennis Archer of Detroit

Aretha Franklin Concert (Attended)
Midwest Political Reception (Attended)

Mayor Richard Arrington of Birmingham

Southern Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Freeman Bosley of St. Louis

Midwest Political Reception (Attended)
Rhythm and Blues Dinner (Regret)
Private Dinner - 2/23/94 (Regret)

Mayor William Campbell of Atlanta

Mandela Dinner (Invited)
Private Dinner - 2/23/94 (Attended)
Rhythm and Blues Dinner (Accepted)

Mayor Emanuel Cleaver of Kansas City

Jazz Festival (Attended)
Midwest Political Reception (Attended)

Mayor Norm Coleman of St. Paul

Rhythm and Blues Dinner (Regret)
Western Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Cardell Cooper of East Orange

Rhythm and Blues Dinner (Regret)

Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago

Irish Celebration (Regret)
In Performance at the White House (Attended)
Midwest Political Reception (Regret)
Private Dinner- 10/25/93 (Attended)
Private Dinner- 06/21/93 (Regret)

Mayor Elihu Harris of Oakland

Private Dinner- 2/23/94 (Regret)

Mayor Willie W. Herenton of Memphis

Mandela State Dinner (Invited)

Mayor Sharpe James of Newark

Jazz Festival (Regret)
Private Dinner and Movie- 3/11/94 (Attended)
Eastern Political Reception (Attended)

Mayor Frank Jordan of San Francisco

California Day Reception (Regret)

Mayor Bob Lanier of Houston

Private Dinner and Movie- 9/11/93 (Attended)
Southern Political Reception (Attended)

Mayor Tommy Menino of Boston

Boston Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Mark Morial of New Orleans

Rhythm and Blues Dinner (Regret)

Mayor John Norquist of Milwaukee

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Midwest Political Reception (Regret)

Southern Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Ed Rendell of Philadelphia

Jazz Festival (Attended)

Midwest Political Reception (Attended)

Private Dinner and Movie- 11/13/93 (Attended)

Mayor Norman Rice of Seattle

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Korean Dinner (Regret)

Rhythm and Blues Dinner (Regret)

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Joseph Riley of Charleston

Irish Reception (Regret)

Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore

Eastern Political Reception (Attended)

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Mayor Wellington Webb of Denver

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Korean Dinner (Attended)

Mandela State Dinner (Invited)

Western Political Reception (Regret)

Mayor Michael White of Cleveland

Jazz Festival (Regret)

Mandela State Dinner (Invited)

Midwest Political Reception (Regret)

China Planning People's Car To Put Masses Behind Wheel

By PATRICK E. TYLER

Special to The New York Times

A1

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1994
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/22/94

TIANJIN, China, Sept. 15 — In the People's Republic it is being called the people's car, an affordable compact sedan for the masses in the world's largest untapped car market.

The car is the focus of an ambitious effort by leaders of China's Communist Party to double the nation's annual production to three million vehicles, half of them automobiles, by the end of the decade. Increasingly, the cars would go to individual consumers; in the past the emphasis had been on larger vehicles like mini-vans that could move groups of people.

American, Japanese and European auto makers are scrambling for the right to participate in a handful of joint-venture partnerships with China's state-owned auto combines to produce several versions of the family sedan.

But many Chinese and Western experts, drawing from what happened in the United States and other industrial nations, contend that a transportation system dominated by the automobile could become a huge mistake in China, which already suffers from traffic congestion, choking pollution and dwindling supplies of oil. A big increase in gasoline consumption in China, they say, could hasten the next worldwide energy crisis.

"The automobile cannot be extended to 1.2 billion Chinese, not even to 100 million or 200 million," said Vaclav Smil, a Canadian scientist who studies the challenges to China's growth in the next century.

"That is an insane route," he continued. "There is not a single Chinese city that does not suffer from gridlock already."

Still, according to an industrial policy announced in July, China seeks to develop its automotive sector into a "pillar industry" of the national economy "as soon as possible."

China's state planners under Prime Minister Li Peng have seized on the auto industry as one of four heavy industries whose growth can help sustain the country's rapid economic expansion over the next two decades. The other three are telecommunications, computers and petrochemicals.

Just as the automobile captured the American dream at the expense of mass transit, China's leaders are eager for the giant internal consumer market to move to the next stage of materialism. Sustained economic growth is an urgent political requirement for the leadership, whose legitimacy flows from the ability to deliver prosperity to the masses.

The Chinese family car for the coming century will emerge from a competition that is pitting the world's leading auto makers against one another to design and produce economy models that individual consumers could buy for under \$5,000. While no detailed specifications have been issued, the car would be made in China but incorporate Western technology of the 1990's, with emphasis on modern safety standards, pollution control and fuel efficiency.

Foreign auto makers already in China may finally see the big payoff. Chrysler produces Jeep Cherokees in a joint venture with a Chinese auto maker in Beijing. Volkswagen has been producing its Santana model in Shanghai since 1985. Citroën is active in Wuhan, Audi in Changchun and Peugeot in Guangzhou. To create a modern, vertically integrated auto industry, the Chinese Govern-

ment has been pressing foreign auto companies to make more parts locally as a condition of participation.

Because of such intense competition, Western auto makers are keeping their plans confidential. But Chrysler's chief executive, Robert J. Eaton, accompanied Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown to China last month. And Chrysler has been vying with Daimler-Benz for a contract, potentially worth up to \$1.2 billion, to make mini-vans and engines in Hainan.

General Motors established a \$100 million partnership foothold with the Jinbei Automotive Company in 1993 and began assembling kits of its S-10 pickup truck in Shenyang, though many Chinese customers found them too fancy and costly. And this summer, Ford Motor signed agreements worth \$50 million to make auto parts in Shanghai.

But what all three American auto makers seek is a full-fledged partnership with the Chinese in the mainstream of the developing domestic automobile market.

The competition is still heating up. This month both Toyota and Mitsubishi sent their corporate presidents to court China's state auto plant commissars. Nissan's delegation is due in November.

"China offers the greatest potential market in the world and that's why everyone is coming," said Toshiaki Yasuda, who heads Nissan's effort to find a Chinese partner by next year.

At the state-owned Tianjin Automotive Industry Corporation in this industrial city near Beijing, the general manager, Ji Xuecheng, says he thinks the Charade subcompact that his factory is turning out under a licensing agreement with Daihatsu of Japan could be the starting point for what he, too, calls the people's car.

"Society is making progress and the people's living standards are being raised," Mr. Ji, 60, said. "So there will be a big demand for passenger cars in the future."

The three most successful joint ventures between Chinese auto makers and their Western partners will be allowed to dominate 70 percent of the domestic market with their competing small sedans. The Government described its goal as one of "mass production and fewer factories and a market structure with orderly competition among a small number of large-scale enterprises."

Under the new industrial policy, China will begin producing the new sedans in 1996 or 1997, on assembly lines modernized and streamlined with technology from Japan and the West. By the year 2000, the Chinese auto industry will theoretically produce three million vehicles a year, half of them passenger cars, and Chinese leaders see nothing but growth beyond.

"The problem is, they don't think about traffic or people's lives, they just think about production, production," said Prof. Ding Jingping, an industrial economist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. "This is one of the aspects of the centrally planned economy."

In the 15 years since China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, began his effort to overhaul the economy, millions of Chinese have bought their first refrigerator, telephone, clothes washer and television set, driving the economy's growth.

The next consumer quest, Communist Party leaders have figured, will be for "high end" products like computers, fax machines and auto-

mobiles. They may be right, judging by the record crowds that mobbed this year's auto show in Beijing.

Chinese schoolchildren memorize the specifications of new-car brochures as American youngsters do baseball cards.

The first Ferrari was sold in China this year — to a Chinese developer who already owned black and white Mercedeses.

Even Chairman Mao's grandson, Wang Xiaozhi, confided in a newspaper interview that he dreamed of owning a car.

Today across China, only about 700,000 out of seven million cars are private. Most vehicles are purchased and operated by the workplaces where most Chinese are employed. In Beijing, Shanghai and other large cities, bicycles remain a primary mode of transportation.

The country's total vehicle production this year could reach 1.5 million, about one-tenth the level of the United States or Japan. But China's auto production has been growing at an annual rate of 17 percent since 1979. In 1993, production jumped 22.8 percent, outpacing overall economic growth of 13 percent.

With supply still unable to keep up with demand, China's leaders overcame arguments about traffic, pollution and mass transit to endorse even greater automobile production.

The Chinese fascination with cars, recalling that of Americans, occurs while big cities choke on traffic, air pollution grows worse and scientists are raising alarms that China's precious base of arable farmland will shrink further under the press of any road building campaign.

As for energy consumption, China became a net importer of oil last year after production in its major

oilfields failed to keep up with demand. Discoveries in the South China Sea and Tarim Basin in western China have been slow to produce results.

"Forty percent of United States energy consumption goes into private cars, and the United States is importing half of its crude oil," Professor Smil, the Canadian scientist, said. "If the Chinese try to model themselves on the United States, or Japan or South Korea, there is simply not enough crude oil on the planet for them to import and, of course, it will speed up the arrival of the third oil crisis."

To create a true automobile economy would require a huge investment in roads and highways in China, which today has about as many miles of road as existed in the United States at the end of the 19th century. The few dozen short stretches of modern freeways built in the last decade are almost lost in a rural landscape where dirt paths and narrow farm-to-market lanes still predominate.

"If China only worries about production, without any overall transportation planning, then China is headed for big trouble," said Guocang Huan, an economist for J. P. Morgan in Asia who visited Beijing last week.

At Tianjin's automotive plant, Mr. Ji, who has been building cars for more than two decades in the Communist command economy, does not give much thought to the traffic snarl outside his office window.

"The Chinese auto industry is just at the beginning stage of development," he said, "and there is no necessity to worry about some of the problems that will crop up in the future."

On the Road in China

China's new appetite for cars marks a sharp departure from the past: As recently as the early 1950's, paved roads were rare in China, and the country depended almost exclusively on railroads.

Railroads

In 1952	14,200 miles operating
In 1992	33,300

Paved highway

In 1952	34,300 miles
In 1992	575,300 miles

3.0 million



Source: China State Statistical Bureau

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/22/94

Rubin
any business
priorities
for us? —

THE PROSECUTOR HAS SEEN
9/22/94

D Baer
so can you missed
B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/22/94

In Both Parties, Hazy Thinking On World Stage

IF NOTHING ELSE, Haiti shows that things sure have changed.

In the 1980s, the way to get a pre-election bump-up in the popularity polls was to invade a country. Now it's pretty clear that the best way to enhance poll ratings is to arrange *not* to invade somebody.

But Haiti also exposes a more basic truth about the politics of U.S. foreign



policy in 1994: Both the Democratic and Republican parties are essentially lost in their foreign policy thinking. After four years to come to grips with the evaporation of communism, neither has found a coherent view that could unite a political party, much less a

nation.

Democrats simply look confused. President Clinton has put his finger on the core idea that should drive American foreign policy: With the communist threat gone, America's overarching goal should be to expand the reach of democracy. "We know that the larger the pool of democracies, the better off we will be," national security adviser Tony Lake told a Council on Foreign Relations audience last week.

But no one will accuse Democrats of consistency in pursuit of this noble goal. In China, Democrats have now decided that the way to promote democracy and pluralism is by economic engagement. In Cuba and Haiti, democracy and pluralism are promoted by enforcing economic embargoes.

Some Democrats who opposed invading Panama and Grenada to throw out undemocratic regimes now endorse invading Haiti to do the same thing. And vice versa. In North Korea, a Democratic administration has decided that the way to deal with an outdated Communist dictatorship is to offer a specific set of economic and diplomatic inducements. But that kind of offer is off limits in dealing with another outdated Communist dictatorship in Cuba.

A DEMOCRATIC president makes his mark on economic policy by fighting and winning a personal campaign for approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement; but a majority of fellow Democrats in the House abandon him along the way. The president argues that economic development in Mexico will keep refugees from flowing to the U.S. But in the cases of Haiti and Cuba, Democrats enforce economic embargoes that only fuel the pressure for migration.

Only in dealing with Russia have both President Clinton and his party clearly melded their post-Cold War philosophy with a plan of sustained engagement. It hasn't always been pretty but it has been consistent and successful. Not coincidentally, the public seems neither confused nor hostile.

For their part, Republicans seem to be veering onto dangerous ground they have occupied, unhappily, earlier in their history. They are flirting with a kind of fortress America, neo-isolationist thinking, even while insisting that isn't the case.

Republican leaders were strikingly united in their view that intervention in Haiti isn't worth the price. That was clear at a meeting last weekend of the Christian Coalition, a group with a distinctly Republican flavor. Both former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander and former education secretary William Bennett earned rousing cheers by declaring that nothing in Haiti was worth the risk of an American life.

THIS EVOLUTION in Republican thinking seems best illustrated by a remark by former vice president Dan Quayle, who declared amid the Haiti debate: "Are we going to say as a nation that every country in the world has an entitlement to be democratic?" Yet that was pretty much the bedrock of Reagan and Bush foreign policies, particularly in Latin America. In fact, the 1991 national security strategy of the Bush administration declared: "Our interests are best served in a world in which democracy and its ideals are widespread and secure."

Others in the GOP are worried that the party is sending the wrong vibes on a less spectacular test case, the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Even such free-traders as Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas are calling for putting off ratification until next year, raising questions about whether Republicans are growing cool toward open trade as well.

This drift worries some Republicans. "A less interventionist posture, which has been gaining for a long time in the Republican party, has picked up strength," frets Vin Weber, a former GOP House leader who now is a director of the Empower America advocacy group. "It's hard to imagine circumstances where you would see Republican support for intervention short of direct military threats."

The consolation in all this is the knowledge that, as Mr. Lake points out, it took several years after World War II for the country to unite behind the policy of Soviet containment. In the meantime, given the drift among America's leaders, the public can be excused if it is a little confused and leery as well.

79

9/22/94

Houdini in the White House

By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

The political scientist Richard Pious has aptly compared Bill Clinton to Houdini, the great escape artist who, handcuffed, placed in a straitjacket, locked in a box, would always manage to wriggle his way to freedom. Once again, the president has got out of bad trouble in the nick of time.

But Houdiniism is not to be recommended as a permanent presidential style. Presidents must learn from their troubles. The Bay of Pigs was a big mistake, but it taught President Kennedy some useful things. He never, for example, took policy recommendations from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Central Intelligence Agency very seriously again. President Clinton is, like President Kennedy, a bright man with an impressive technical grasp of complicated issues. Is he, like President Kennedy, a learner? And, if so, what should he learn from his Haiti experience?

The first thing he should learn is the need for a campaign of public education before he plans to take the country into war. His Haiti speech was pretty good, but it came late in the day and had the effect of springing the issue on an unprepared nation. If the Haiti question demanded so strong a reaction, the secretary of state, national security adviser and Democratic congressional leaders should have been carrying the case to the country for months before the scheduled D-Day. No foreign policy can succeed for long unless the electorate understands what is going on.

Congressional Consent

A related lesson is the need for congressional consent. The Haitian question beguiled the administration into exorbitant claims of inherent presidential power to go to war. But the Constitution gives Congress the exclusive power to send the nation into war—a power that is qualified only by the need to repel a sudden invasion of the U.S. or by the need to protect the lives of American citizens abroad. Nor do presidential powers as commander in chief suspend Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution. Nor does the existence of a United Nations resolution replace that constitutional provision.

President Truman, admirable in so many ways, set a bad example in 1950 when he defined the Korean War as a "police action" not requiring congressional authorization and rejected Sen. Robert Taft's proposal of a joint resolution authorizing the dispatch of combat forces. (I confess that at the time I opposed Taft and supported Truman. I was wrong.)

The constitutional case for seeking congressional authorization is reinforced by the political case. Going to war is a solemn decision that may well have unforeseen and tragic consequences. It makes political sense for presidents to share that responsibility with the legislative branch. Congressional participation in the decision will make it harder for legislators to complain if things go sour. When the Korean War turned unpopular, President Truman must often have wished that he had accepted Sen. Taft's proposal.

Moreover, Democrats, when out of power, have opposed the idea that the decision to go to war is the private property of the president, while Republicans, when in power, have taken an imperial view of presidential prerogative. Now, back in power, Democrats are adopting the Republican position and Republicans are adopting the Democratic position. This

abuse of the Constitution by both parties can only feed the public cynicism about politics that is already doing the country so much damage.

A third lesson is the imperative need for a larger conception of U.S. foreign policy. In what now seem (to some) the good old days of the Cold War, making foreign policy was relatively simple. The threat of the Soviet Union concentrated the mind and imposed a set of priorities. Policy makers could—and did—argue about the best way to execute these priorities. But the containment of Soviet power was the agreed upon goal.

With the fading away of the Cold War, foreign affairs no longer have a manifest pattern or overriding priorities. The disintegration of the Soviet Union leaves a vacuum, and since policy makers have not yet found a new guiding concept, foreign policy lobbies based on domestic constituencies rush to fill the

Board of Contributors

Houdiniism is not to be recommended as a permanent presidential style. Presidents must learn from their troubles. Is President Clinton a learner? And, if so, what should he learn from his Haiti experience?

vacuum. The influence of the lobbies is visible in the recent evolution of U.S. policy toward Haiti, toward Ireland and toward Cuba.

Now, there is nothing new about lobbies trying to make foreign policy. In the very first decade of the republic Citizen Genet got into trouble organizing a pro-French lobby. A century ago Henry Adams was lamenting the lobbying activities of the German and Russian legations and the Clan-na-Gael. After the Communist takeover of China, the China lobby—Alfred Kohlberg, Walter Judd and the Committee of One Million—exercised veto power over U.S. China policy. The continuing influence of the Israeli lobby on U.S. foreign policy is notorious.

Nor is the intervention of lobbies always baneful. Foreign policy is all too likely to become frozen into clichés. Lobbies sometimes force the national security establishment to take fresh looks and think again. This was true when President Truman decided to recognize Israel in 1948, and it is true in the recent Irish case. The establishment worked up pompous disapproval a few months back when President Clinton granted a visa to Gerry Adams of Sinn Féin against the opposition of the British, the State Department, the American ambassador to London and the conventional wisdom. Subsequent developments vindicate President Clinton's decision.

But more often lobbies derail policy. Their effect is often to subordinate the national interest of the U.S. to the national interest of some other country or to the political or economic interests of the lobbyist. Haiti and Cuba provide recent examples of the way lobbies can distort foreign policy.

Thus the Congressional Black Caucus, though in the end its members divided on the question of military intervention,

forced the administration to give Haiti a higher priority than it might have otherwise received—almost to the point where for a moment there seemed no alternative to unpopular and unconstitutional military action. The Black Caucus has been a valuable pressure group on domestic policy. But it does not take a broad view of U.S. global interests, and its concern about Haiti played to its domestic constituency.

The Cuban case is far worse than the Haitian case. The hard line against Cuba was a product of the days when Fidel Castro gave the Soviet Union a base in the Western Hemisphere and was doing his best to promote revolution across Latin America. But the end of the Cold War finished Cuba as a threat to the U.S. Nonetheless Congress in 1992 intensified the economic embargo by passing the Cuban Democracy Act in the hope of hastening Cuba's economic collapse and the overthrow of Mr. Castro.

Congress acted under the pressure of the Cuban American National Foundation, founded by wealthy right-wing Cuban exiles in Miami and run by the arrogant Jorge Mas Canosa. Mr. Mas Canosa's ambition is to return to Havana as Cuba's president. During the 1992 Florida primary, Gov. Clinton was persuaded to endorse the Cuban Democracy Act; and he has continued to consult Mr. Mas Canosa as an authority on the future of Cuba.

Today we are prepared to normalize relations with Vietnam, which killed 50,000 American soldiers, and with North Korea, which killed 35,000 American soldiers, but not with Cuba, where no American soldiers have been killed since 1898 (and then by Spaniards, not by Cubans). There has been rising dissent from the hard line. Many newspapers—this one included—have come to feel that the best way to dispose of Mr. Castro peacefully is to drown his revolution in a flood of American tourists, investors and consumer goods. But we continue the hard line because, it would seem, of the power of the Cuba lobby and because the administration is under the delusion that, with its help, the Democrats might carry Florida in 1996.

An Emerging Pattern

The Cuba lobby is reminiscent of the China lobby of the 1950s. For years fear of the China lobby blocked changes in the U.S. China policy. Then President Nixon moved to do the unimaginable and create an opening to Red China. He did so, it turned out, to widespread popular acclaim. The China lobby rapidly faded away. The same thing would probably happen to the Cuba lobby if President Clinton were to move toward normalization.

There is in fact an emerging pattern in international politics—a pattern that might produce a guiding concept for the making of foreign policy. For the end of the Cold War has led to a new flexibility in world affairs. Problems, once out of a Cold War context, can be more easily addressed on their merits. Age-old and envenomed feuds now become more amenable to settlement.

Why not make the resolution of local quarrels an objective of policy? Actually the Clinton administration has done rather well in this area. It has assisted in the quieting of the Israel-PLO conflict, of the South African conflict and of the Irish conflict. It has handled the Russian conundrum about as well as can be done. We are even, as noted, rolling up our own quarrels with Vietnam and North Korea. Only Cuba remains the exception. Once Cuban policy is the last hurrah of the Cold War—and a tribute to the power of lobbies when foreign policy lacks a guiding concept.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/22/94

Bury / Sunday
What do you
mean of this? B

Haiti's Military Peruses Fine Print of Accord in Bid to Hold Onto Power

By LARRY ROHTER
Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Sept. 21 — Forced to retreat without firing a single shot, the Haitian military and its supporters are now shifting tactics in hopes of using political means to prevent the exiled President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, from returning to office or being able to govern effectively if he does.

Even with 10,000 American troops now on Haitian soil, Haitian political leaders and foreign diplomats said Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cédras and his military and civilian allies appear to be convinced that the diplomatic agreement they signed last weekend with an American delegation contains enough ambiguities to allow them to remain in power and thwart Father Aristide's return to office.

General Cédras and his associates have adopted a strategy of "permitting the occupation in order to continue the combat," a Latin American diplomat said today. They are now operating on the theory, the diplomat added, that "if Father Aristide can be made to boycott the agreement" and "the pact breaks down, the military will appear to be the reasonable people and the best guarantee of stability in this country."

Such an approach may seem unrealistic in view of the overwhelming military superiority the United States now enjoys on the ground here. But after signing the Governors Island agreement in July 1993, the Cédras camp managed to mislead the United States and its allies for three months and then defy them for nearly a year before reaching the accord with the Carter Delegation.

"We've been doing exactly this sort of thing for 200 years," said a Haitian businessman with links to the military. "The name of the game has always been, to fool the foreigners, to divide your enemies, and this agreement creates plenty of room for that."

Émile Jonassaint, the President that General Cédras installed in May, today ordered the National Assembly into a special session to consider the amnesty provision of the accord negotiated by former Presi-

The de facto President calls a session of Parliament.

dent Jimmy Carter. Supporters of Father Aristide here promptly denounced the convocation as illegal, in part because Mr. Jonassaint is not the legal president in their view.

That position immediately put them in conflict with American officials, who have said that an amnesty needs to be proclaimed as quickly as possible.

Bolstered by Mr. Carter's willingness to negotiate with the Jonassaint Government, which Washington had dismissed as "illegal and illegitimate" until the eve of the talks, supporters of the military have begun suggesting that Mr. Jonassaint might in some fashion share power with Father Aristide. They point out that the Carter agreement does not specifically require Mr. Jonassaint to resign or provide for the restoration of Father Aristide.

"There's nothing in the agreement that details the future of the Jonassaint Government," Stanley Schrager, a spokesman for the United States Embassy here, acknowledged today. "But clearly, if you are talking about the return of President Aristide you are talking about the disappearance of the Jonassaint Government," even though "it is not clear what form that departure would take."

Mireille Durocher Bertin, a lawyer who was formerly Mr. Jonassaint's chief of staff, has even argued that the Carter agreement should be submitted for ratification to the Haitian Parliament, which has difficulty reaching a quorum because so many Aristide supporters are in exile. She cites a provision of the accord that says the agreement "is conditioned on the approval of the civilian Governments of the United States and Haiti."

"That's not true at all," Mr. Schrager responded. "We interpret it to mean the Government of President Aristide, which obviously is going along with this agreement, though we know it has reservations. As far as we're concerned, it doesn't need any kind of parliamentary approval."

But Haitian political leaders say most of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering now focuses on selection of a successor to General Cédras, if he indeed steps down as required by the agreement. Under the terms of the accord, replacements for General Cédras and two other top military officials, Brig. Gen. Philippe Biamby and Lieut. Col. Michel François, are to be "named according to the Haitian Constitution and military law."

Haiti's 1987 Constitution, designed for a weak executive, empowers the President to nominate the army and police chiefs, but only "with the approval of the Senate," which at the moment is dominated by politicians opposed to Father Aristide. Military law specifies a chain of command

and seniority, but it also allows the President to bypass that, as Father Aristide did in February 1991 when he named General Cédras as military commander.

Because the Carter agreement does not require all three military leaders to leave the country, each is now searching, Haitian political leaders said, for a way to maintain his influence in the military after Oct. 15, when all three are supposed to step down. Excluded from the talks with the United States, Colonel François has been particularly busy, diplomats here said.

Though it may appear that Colonel François "has withdrawn into his shell" and is sulking because of that slight, a diplomat said that he reminded both the United States and General Cédras that he remains a force to be reckoned with when he allowed police officers and the civilian militia known as *attachés* to go on a rampage against Father Aristide's supporters on Tuesday.

"The United States may not want to deal with François, but it eventually will have to," the diplomat said.

Supporters of the military are now even challenging the notion that the three military leaders are required to step down. They point out that while United Nations Resolution 940 requires their resignation, the Carter agreement, which in their view supersedes the United Nations resolution, talks only of "certain military officers" having to step down.

American officials reject that interpretation. "It's pretty clear what was meant by the phrase 'certain officers,'" Mr. Schrager said. "I think President Carter referred to this. There's no doubt who we're talking about."

The highest-ranking officer who would be left after General Cédras and the army and police chiefs resigned is Maj. Gen. Jean-Claude Duperval, who Father Aristide named to the post when he formally dismissed General Cédras after the 1991 coup. Father Aristide was then living in exile.

American officials here said that a military delegation met Tuesday with General Duperval but they would not comment on the content of the conversation with him.

But some military analysts warn that General Duperval, or someone like him, would not prove to be much of an improvement over General Cédras. His primary loyalties, they said, are to the survival of the military as an institution, and not to the implantation of democracy.

"If Cédras is replaced by another member of the high command, then he is likely to perpetuate some of those very conceptions that are detrimental to change toward democracy," said Kern Delince, a retired Haitian Army colonel who has written about relations between the Haitian military and political leaders.

General Duperval, he said, "tends to be a hard-liner, and from the very beginning was very suspicious of Aristide."

But after General Duperval and a few others, the level of leadership ability in the military drops rapidly. As one Western diplomat said last week, General Cédras and his group "are the best of the lot. They are smarter than what is coming."

9/22/94

MARY McGRORY

Legalized Kidnapping?

When I arrived at St. Ann's the other day, I found the place in turmoil. People were running around collecting clothes and records, trying to soothe children who were about to be snatched from a place they called home.

St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home in Hyattsville is an institution for homeless children. It was founded in Abraham Lincoln's day and continues to exist as a refuge for unlucky children. Various groups and experts—most of whom never trouble to go and see it—condemn it out of hand as a relic of Victorian unenlightenment. Since the advent of crack, brave souls like Joyce Ladner, the interim president of Howard University, have written that an orphanage is not the worst place for a homeless child. We volunteers see it as a place where children can get their breath before going on to the next chapter of their lives. It is licensed as a child-care institution, but because it takes in children in emergencies, it is called, in the case under consideration, "an emergency shelter." It survives because it is needed.

On the day in question it seemed more like a restaurant that was being raided by immigration agents hunting for illegal aliens. The Child and Family Services Division of the D.C. Department of Human Services had suddenly realized that a deadline had come. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan had ruled that every child placed in its care had to be relocated in foster care within 90 days.

The urgency was extreme for the adults: They would be in violation of a court order. It was a different story for the children. The conflict of interests was graphically on display. Two sisters, I will call them Clarissa and Caroline, had been told hours before that they were about to go and live someplace else with someone they had never seen before.

Clarissa and Caroline, who are 7 and 5 years old, had come to St. Ann's in March. They were wary and not given to much conversation. I heard that they had never been to school. Gradually over the summer, with swimming and picnics and other pleasures, they settled down, warmed up and began to act like giggly little girls. Clarissa has black hair and an imperious manner and was given to bopping people on the head as she passed by. Caroline, with hazel eyes and hair to match, smiled all the time. They came apart at the idea of leaving. They didn't say why, whether they like the child-care workers, the other children, the sisters,

the soothing routine that made daily life so predictable. For some children, having three meals a day at set hours is a wonderful novelty. Clarissa threw herself on the floor and sobbed that she would not go. Caroline wept quietly.

They met their prospective foster mother in the art room, where they did their finger painting and their coloring. After the interview, Clarissa, whose heart was hammering so hard I was surprised she could talk, told Sister Maureen that she thought it would be all right; but Caroline just shook her head when I asked her. They were to leave the next day at 4:30 p.m. None of the ritual of departure had been observed: the doctor's visit, the gradually escalated home visits, overnight, weekend. What was under way looked more like legalized kidnapping.

The next day I went to District Court to hear Judge Hogan's further rulings on the fate of Child and Family Services, whose work on foster care and adoption he called "outrageously deficient" in his famous 1991 court order. The spectators' benches were filled with DHS representatives. Maybe they were trying to convince the judge that they loved their work and could do it. In his 1991 ruling on an American Civil Liberties Union suit against DHS, Hogan wrote, "The District's dereliction of its responsibilities . . . is a travesty."

He said he didn't think things had gotten much better. He didn't think District bureaucracies paid much attention to court orders—he might have to send somebody to jail. He put Child and Family Services into receivership. In the meantime, Marion Barry, the mayor who was the founding father of the mess, who promised more social workers, never delivered and failed to take advantage of federal funds that would have provided for them, is headed for reelection.

I asked some of the officials how come so many foster mothers had miraculously turned up at the last minute. They didn't know. I asked how many foster mothers they had in reserve. They couldn't say. Later, one of them called me to report a reprieve for Clarissa and Caroline. They weren't leaving right away. The foster mother told St. Ann's she couldn't take them until she got day care. Finally, the little sisters left yesterday. Quite cheerfully, I am told, as most do when they have been properly introduced to the idea of "going home for good," ending a trauma that never needed to be.

THE WASHINGTON POST THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1994

Basic
can we do
anything about
this?
B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1994

94 SEP 22 P12:41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HAROLD ICKES (134)

SUBJECT:

Certain brochures printed and distributed by the Democratic National Committee

As you requested, the DNC provided me with the distribution of a number of recent brochures, copies of which are attached, including:

1. "The Clinton Economic Plan: Putting Our Economy Back On Track". 5,000 were distributed to members of Congress, Democratic Governors and Lieutenant Governors, the DNC executive committee, Democratic state chairs and other key contacts throughout the country.
2. "A Solid Record of Accomplishment": 35,000 were distributed to Democratic members of Congress, Democratic Governors and Lieutenant Governors, Democratic Mayors, Democratic county officials, Democratic state treasurers, Democratic state chairs, DNC members and donors, labor unions and members of the national press corp.
3. "President Clinton: Making A Difference for America": This brochure was distributed to the Congressional Black Caucus dinner last week. In addition, 30,000 are being finalized for a broader distribution.
4. "The Morning Briefing": This is faxed to approximately 2,800 people on a daily basis, and the DNC estimates that because it is reprinted and distributed by recipients, it reaches approximately 10,000 people through "fax trees". Attached are four recent editions dated 12, 14, 15, 21 September 1994.
5. "Political Notes": We have a daily morning political meeting in the White House attended by communications and political people on the White House staff as well as by several people from the DNC to discuss daily

Refuse to do any work - we have been told if in under 100,000

political events and any response that might be necessary. Based on those meetings, the DNC then faxes out each morning Political Notes to the same 2,800 that received the Morning Briefing.

There are a number of other publications which the DNC distributes on a regular basis. I will receive copies of those today and will transmit them to you this afternoon.

Martha Phipps, of the DNC, estimates that there are approximately half a million names on the DNC's computer, which includes all contributors during the 1992 primary as well as those who contributed during the 1992 general election. It also includes those who were involved in the Presidential Inaugural Committee (although there is a lot of duplication between that set of names and other names on the DNC's data base). By the end of the day I expect to have the total number of names on the DNC's data base, and, within that, the number for direct mail purposes, the number of 1992 primary contributors and the number of 1992 general election contributors, all of which I will provide to you.

cc: Leon Panetta
Melanne Verveer

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: *Sandy Mancini*

Fax Number:

Phone Number:

622-0073

FROM: *Fran Wessel (456-2702)*

SUBJECT: *9/22*

DATE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): *3*

MESSAGE:

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

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 19, 1994

The Honorable William J. Perry
Secretary of Defense
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Secretary Perry:

I would like to ask you to serve as the Chair of the Interagency Committee for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds effective December 1, 1994, to coordinate the 1995 and 1996 Government-wide Campaigns.

By accepting this appointment you will be following Federico Peña, Secretary of Transportation, who is completing his second year as Chair of the Committee and many other distinguished Cabinet Members who have chaired the Interagency Committee.

Savings Bonds have played, and continue to play, an important role in the financial life of our citizens and the Nation. As our country's only truly nationwide savings program, it has proven to be a safe and convenient method for millions of Americans to save.

I know that the commitment you bring to all your activities will guarantee a successful campaign. The Savings Bonds Program represents the true spirit of volunteerism and has my strong support. I stand ready to assist you in this endeavor and hope you will accept this important assignment.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD BENTSEN

SUBJECT: Appointment of the 1995/1996 Chairperson
of the Interagency Savings Bonds Committee

I recommend that you appoint Secretary of Defense William J. Perry as the 1995/1996 Chairperson of the Interagency Savings Bonds Committee. The Chairperson is appointed for a two-year term by the President under authority of Executive Order #11981, dated March 29, 1977. A copy of the Executive Order and a list of previous Chairpersons are attached.

The Department of Defense offers the highest potential in sales with over 2.5 million employees. Currently, only one in four Department of Defense employees are buying bonds while the government-wide average, excluding the Department of Defense, is 43%.

A decision on the Chairperson should be made at this time to help make next year's campaign a success.

Attached for your signature is a suggested letter to Secretary Perry requesting that he serve as 1995/1996 Chairperson of the Interagency Savings Bonds Committee.

Attachments

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/22



Linda Lader

*Then
see me within*

September 20, 1994

B

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

Fax #: (202) 456-6703

Dear Mr. President,

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages **1**

To <i>Linda Lader</i>	From <i>Frank Hessel</i>
Dept./Agency	Phone # <i>456 2702</i>
Fax # <i>638-4141</i>	Fax #
NSN 7540-01-317-7368	5099-101 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

I talked with those who work in our missionary enterprises in Haiti. They are thrilled:

1. They are confident Cedras will step down and they believe he probably will leave the country.
2. They can give personal testimonies, if you need them, of the abuses that necessitated your action - and they thank you for being tough.
3. They wish that the U.S. troops would stay and do the following:
 - a. Redevelop the land! Deforestation and soil erosion have rendered the country unable to grow sufficient food for the Haitian population.
 - b. Rebuild the electrical system! Factories cannot function because the present system is inadequate.
 - c. Build a sewer system and dig wells for drinking water! Public health is at stake!

If you need somebody to take your case to the religious community on our involvement in such matters, you can count on me.

Sincerely,

Tony Campolo
Tony Campolo
TC:kck

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1994

94 SEP 20 P1:53

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY ^{1/2}

SUBJECT: RETIREMENT LETTERS

Attached are retirement letters for your signature for members who are retiring this year. The following is a list of the letters attached:

1) Al Swift (D-WA)

2) Steve Neal (D-NC)

Seattle on Sunday, 25th

) 27th in NC

Still have
you by these?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1994

Leon:

FYI -- We received the attached NSC memo at 2:30 pm on Tuesday, September 20, and were preparing to send it up to the President for his signature Wednesday morning when we noticed a story in the Wednesday New York Times, saying that the President had signed the Determination on Tuesday. We have no idea who put this inaccurate story out, but it obviously makes the White House look like it doesn't have its act together when, following the real signing, it puts out its release showing that the President signed a document the day after the Times reports that it had already been signed.

John Podesta
Todd Stern

C.C. Tony Lake
Will Holt

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Tony Lake recommending that you sign a Determination that Russia is in full compliance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Tony notes that Russia has made great progress toward truly free emigration, with only five names left on a list of "refuseniks" that used to be over a thousand. The government has also made much public progress in the area of ethnic and religious tolerance.

Tony further notes that extensive consultations were carried out in regard to this Determination with Congress and American Jewish leaders, and that there was no significant opposition.

We recommend that you sign the attached Determination.

John Podesta
Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1994

94 SEP 20 P2:30

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
SUSAN BROPHY SUBJECT: Determination that Russia is in Full Compliance
with the Jackson-Vanik AmendmentPurpose

To convey to Congress a Presidential Determination that Russia is in full compliance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.

Background

When you met President Yeltsin in Naples, you pledged to make a declaration in advance of the September summit that would find Russia to be in "full compliance" with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. In the nearly three months since that discussion, the State Department has made an extensive review of Moscow's record of compliance with the requirements of Jackson-Vanik. We believe that the evidence supports the finding that Russia is implementing constitutional guarantees of the right of free emigration for its citizens and recommend that you so certify by approving the attached Presidential Determination and transmittal message to Congress (Tabs A and B).

The report accompanying the transmittal letter (Tab C) details Russia's progress on free emigration. The new Russian Constitution guarantees all Russian citizens the right to emigrate and tens of thousands of Russian citizens now emigrate annually. The Russian government has instituted effective mechanisms to adjudicate cases when permission to emigrate has been refused. As a result, the number of so-called "refuseniks" on the list maintained by the U.S. Government has shrunk from over a thousand in the late 1980's to only five names today.

The Russian government has also made firm public statements against anti-Semitism, highlighted by President Yeltsin's unprecedented joint statement with you in January condemning all forms of ethnic and religious intolerance. These statements have helped allay concerns on Capitol Hill and among American Jewish

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff 

organizations about the strength of official Russian commitment to a free emigration policy. We have consulted extensively with Congress and American Jewish leaders in preparation for this full compliance declaration and have found no significant opposition.

Your determination will not "graduate" Russia from the Jackson-Vanik amendment; only legislative action of Congress can accomplish that. But it will serve as an important signal acknowledging Russia's progress toward an open, democratic society and constitutes an auspicious opening for your summit with President Yeltsin. In presenting this determination to Yeltsin and the Russian government, we will stress that it is a necessary interim step toward our ultimate goal: graduation. We are prepared to work together with Moscow to build support for that goal, based upon Russia's consistency in maintaining and expanding the free emigration policies that have justified the finding of full compliance.

RECOMMENDATION

That you exercise your authority under Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 to determine that Russia is in full compliance with section 402 (the Jackson-Vanik Amendment) and Section 409 (concerning the freedom to emigrate to a close relative in the United States) of the Act by signing the attached Presidential Determination (Tab A) and transmittal message to Congress (Tab B).

Attachments

Tab A Presidential Determination
Tab B Transmittal Message
Tab C Report to Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1994

Presidential Determination
No. 94-51

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Presidential Determination Under Subsections
402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, as
Amended -- Emigration Policies of the Russian
Federation

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by sections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2432(a) and 2439(a) (the "Act")), I determine the Russian Federation is not in violation of paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection 402(a) of the Act, or paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection 409(a) of the Act.

You are authorized and directed to publish this determination in the Federal Register.

William J. Clinton

Original to NSC/S: 9-21-94 (5:20p) (Matt Nieminski)

*Noted
9/21/94*

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I hereby transmit a report concerning the emigration laws and policies of the Russian Federation as required by subsections 402(b) and 409(b) of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the "Act"). I have determined that the Russian Federation is in full compliance with the criteria in subsections 402(a) and 409(a) of the Act. As required by Title IV, I will provide the Congress with periodic reports regarding the Russian Federation's compliance with these emigration standards.

William S. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE,

September 21, 1994.

*To the House 9-21-94
To the Senate 9-21-94*

*Noted.
S. White*

Burmese Dissident Meets With Top Military Leaders



Myanmar's military leaders met yesterday with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, the opposition leader, for the first time since she was put under house arrest in

1989. She is shown in a Burmese television picture with Gen. Than Shwe, the military ruler, and Lieut. Gen. Khin Nyunt, head of military intelligence.

Opposition Leader Seems at Ease on

By PHILIP SHENON
Special to The New York Times

SINGAPORE, Sept. 20 — The generals who run Myanmar met today with the nation's main dissident leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, for the first time since she was placed under house arrest more than five years ago.

State television in Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, showed Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi in a reception room in a state guest house with the junta's titular leader, Gen. Than Shwe, and the military intelligence chief, Lieut. Gen. Khin Nyunt, who is widely seen as the most powerful figure in the Burmese Government.

In the snippet of videotape shown on state television, Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, 49, appeared relaxed and in good health. She and the two generals smiled as they sat around a table decorated with flowers. A news reader said the long-awaited talks were cordial, but provided no details.

Even if little of substance was discussed, the meeting was a victory for Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, since it suggested that the military understands that it must give at least the appearance of dealing with the opposition leader if Myanmar is to emerge from years of isolation.

It was only a year ago that the generals, whose government is considered among the most repressive in Asia, refused to refer to Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi by name, instead describing her simply as "that woman" or "the troublemaker."

Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi won the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize for her non-violent campaign to restore democracy to Myanmar, and she is seen by millions of Burmese as their only hope for ending military rule.

Her political party, the National League for Democracy, won a landslide victory in national elections in 1990, despite her detention. The junta refused to recognize the election and warned that she would not be freed until she agreed to leave the country.

The meeting today appeared to be the first time that Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi had left her family's lakeside compound in Yangon, the capital, since she was detained in July 1989.

"I think the meeting today is a great victory for her cause," said Representative Bill Richardson, the New Mexico Democrat who met with her last February.

"I'm delighted with this turn of events, and I'm cautiously optimistic that the talks produced more than just a simple photo opportunity and that they might lead to Aung San Suu Kyi's release from house arrest," Mr. Richardson said in a phone interview from Washington.

Representative Richardson, who has offered himself as a mediator, said that he had received a "favorable message" that he should return to Myanmar in November to continue his discussions with the military and with Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi.

In her meeting last February with the Congressman, Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi said that she was prepared to negotiate with the junta on any subject, but insisted that she would never agree to the generals' demand that she leave her homeland. "The concept of driving somebody out of their own country is totally unacceptable to me," she said.

Clinton Frees Russia From Curbs on Trade

By DOUGLAS JEHL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — In a good-will gesture for a summit meeting with Russia next week, President Clinton signed a declaration today that frees the former Soviet state from one of the central political weapons of the cold war, a law tying trade conditions to emigration, senior Administration officials said.

President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, who will meet with Mr. Clinton in Washington next week, had contended that his country remained unfairly burdened by the 20-year-old American law, known as the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which was intended to embarrass Moscow for policies that made it difficult for Jews to emigrate.

"Since 1990, former President George Bush and Mr. Clinton have waived the law in granting Russia the standard level of low tariffs that the United States grants to almost every trading partner. But Mr. Yeltsin has complained, most recently at the Group of Seven meeting this summer, that the strides he and his country have taken in recent years should free them from the need to seek the annual waivers.

"We're saying, 'Let's give us equal rights, get rid finally, once and for all, of this red jacket,'" Mr. Yeltsin declared at a joint news conference with Mr. Clinton in Naples last July. What has most annoyed Mr. Yeltsin, Administration officials say, is that the cold war-vestige that forces Russia to gain a special trade waiver appears to leave his country in the company of those like China rather than Britain or France.

Since 1990, more than half a million Jews, 200,000 of them from Russia, have emigrated from the former Soviet Union, most of them to Israel. And in the last week, after years in which the Soviet Union allowed Jews to emigrate only in small numbers, leaders of major American Jewish groups have said that they believe Russia is now in full compliance with

A move by Clinton to create good will as he prepares to meet with Yeltsin.

them from China, with which they don't want to be compared."

White House officials said Mr. Clinton planned to announce the decision before meeting with Mr. Yeltsin at the United Nations on Monday. The two leaders are to meet again in Washington on Tuesday and Wednesday.

The summit meeting will be the fifth between the two leaders since Mr. Clinton took office 20 months ago. But it will be their first in Washington, and it comes at a time of mounting tensions between the two countries about what steps to take next in quelling violence in Bosnia.

Today, senior American officials described the new trade guarantee as the redemption of a promise that Mr. Clinton made in July after the Russian President complained that his disavowal of Communism meant that he deserved better treatment. "I've taken that red, besmirched jacket off by myself," Mr. Yeltsin the American law.

By making that declaration himself in a letter to Congress today, Mr. Clinton will make automatic the granting of the annual waiver neces-

sary to allow Russia to maintain its favored trade status. Only Congress can repeal the law itself, so Russia will still be subject to its terms, including a requirement that the State Department report to Congress twice a year about its emigration practices.

"This separates them from their Communist past," a senior Administration official said in disclosing the decision today. "And it separates declared at the time.

To help build support for move, the White House sought the endorsement of major American Jewish groups, including the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, whose leading members agreed in a conference call on Monday that Russia was in compliance with the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

Kenneth Jacobson, a senior official of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, also noted in an interview that there had been a striking change in statistics since the mid-1980's, when his organization was monitoring the cases of tens of thousands of Jewish dissidents to whom the Soviet Union had refused permission to leave.

But Mr. Jacobson and other leaders of American Jewish organizations said they were glad that Mr. Clinton did not appear to be asking Congress to repeal the Jackson-Vanik law. They said they believed it was important that the legislation remain on the books to serve as a ready tool against Moscow in case Russia's leaders sought again to cap emigration.

25 Sailors Slain by Sri Lanka Rebels

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka, Sept. 20 (AP) — Tamil rebels rammed Sri Lanka's largest warship today with two boats packed with explosives, killing 25 sailors, officials said today.

It was the worst attack since the new socialist Government offered to hold talks to end the 11-year ethnic

war that has killed 34,000 people. Sri Lanka's previous Government had refused to negotiate with the rebels.

Five guerrillas were killed in the attack shortly after midnight off Sri Lanka's northern coast, said Brig. Gen. Gemunu Kulatunga, a military spokesman.

The Times Book Review,
every Sunday

Black Landing at a Northern Port to Cheers of 'Merci, Merci!'

ERIC SCHMITT

Special to The New York Times

CAP-HAÏTIEN, Haiti, Sept. 20 — Of Haitians, many waving and cheering, today greeted more than 5,000 marines who swept into the northern coast city by helicopter, hovercraft and amphibious tanks.

"Merci! Merci! Merci beaucoup!" shouted one man who ran toward marines at the airfield waving an American flag on a pole. Throngs flocked to the airfield and port but Creole-speaking interpreters as well as M16-toting riflemen warned them to keep their distance.

The commanders euphemistically called today's incursion an "administrative landing." Haitian troops and city police here, who have been accused of beating and harassing supporters of the exiled President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, cooperated with the forces. No shots were fired.

"We are all in agreement on this now, Americans and Haitians," said

a young Haitian soldier in freshly-pressed green fatigues, whose sergeant pulled him away before he could give his name to a reporter.

The marines today took control of the port and seaport and main roads leading to both. They are expected to stay here 4 to 15 days until they are relieved by army soldiers.

While they landed as peacekeepers with orders to fire only in self-defense, the marines from Second Battalion, Second Marines, took no chances today. They wore grim faces as they poured off the beaches, fanned out to set up security cordons and unfurled rolls of concertina wire to block off the two-lane palm-lined boulevard that connects the port and seaport.

By midday Wednesday some 1,900 marines are expected to be ashore equipped with about 30 Humvees, with .30-caliber machine guns, 15 amphibious assault vehicles, 14 light-armored vehicles and 24 helicopters.

No shots are fired as the newest 'administrators' arrive in town.

Cap-Haïtien is an old colonial-style city surrounded by mountain, swamp and marshland. Before the 1991 coup that forced Father Aristide into exile, Cap-Haïtien was an aspiring tourist town hoping to lure luxury liners with its spacious port.

Around the airfield most people live in cinderblock shacks with corrugated-metal roofs and dusty front stoops. In town, particularly the old part of the city, is brightened by pastel-painted doors.

Most citizens, some peering shyly from behind shuttered doors, others

eagerly pressing up toward the marines, voiced relief that the Americans were there.

"The Haitian militia is no good. They beat up people," said Luiso Pedro, 26, lifting his shirt to show a large welt above his right elbow. "They did this only because I like Aristide."

"Today is a great day for all of us here," said Louis Gaspar, 41, a fisherman who climbed off his beached wooden boat to speak to a reporter. "I would give my life for Aristide. I'd die for him."

Others, however, said they supported democracy but not Father Aristide. "I don't like Aristide," said Adrian Velet, who sat in his doorway watching the marines rumble by in small armored vehicles and on foot patrol. "He had people burned and had had people's houses burned. We want to kill him," said Mr. Velet, spitting the words and drawing his finger across his throat.

Italian Ex-Interior Minister Is Arrested in Raids on Mobsters

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

ROME, Sept. 20 — Striking before dawn today, Italian police arrested scores of people, including a former Interior Minister, Antonio Gava, accusing him of conspiring in a "perverse circuit of criminal enterprise" with Neapolitan mobsters, politicians and businessmen.

The raid on Mr. Gava's apartment here coincided with a warning by the present Interior Minister, Roberto Maroni, that Italy's organized crime gangs were planning terrorist attacks to avenge a major Mafia trial

that began in Sicily this week.

Although the authorities have succeeded in prosecuting top mob figures in the past two years, he said that organized crime should not be underestimated. "It has only lowered its voice," he said. "It is not silent."

Mr. Gava was accused of trading favors for votes mustered by the Camorra, the Neapolitan crime organization. His lawyer, Carlo Taormina, called the accusations "incomprehensible" and "incredible."

The arrest, however, reflected the widespread suspicion among Italians that organized crime cannot

flourish without political cover. Mr. Gava, who was Interior Minister from 1988 to 1991, held a post regarded as particularly important because it controls the police and civilian intelligence services.

Additionally, Mr. Gava was one of the Christian Democratic Party's leading power-brokers in Naples, a city whose public figures have been accused of particularly invidious corruption, even by the standards of Italy's huge kickback scandals.

One of the biggest scams was the diversion of billions of dollars sent to the region for reconstruction after a devastating earthquake in 1980.

In today's raids, the Naples public prosecutor said 98 arrest warrants were issued and assets worth millions of dollars had been seized.

Investigators accused Mr. Gava, 64, of entering into a "mutual solidarity pact" with Camorra gangsters, trading votes coerced by the mob for favors including the awarding of government contracts.

The case against Mr. Gava, who is said by his lawyer to be in poor health, is built on the testimony of a Camorra turncoat, Pasquale Galasso, and of the former Camorra boss, Carmine Alfieri, reflecting the increasing readiness of Italian mobsters to break their vow of silence under witness protection programs modeled on United States practices.

Much of the evidence in a major trial that opened with preliminary hearings in Sicily this week is based on the testimony of Mafia turncoats. In the trial, Sicilian prosecutors are arguing that the 1992 slaying of Giovanni Falcone, a judge who was presiding over organized crime cases, was ordered by the entire leadership of the Sicilian Mafia.

Government officials depicted the Naples investigation as a sign that the political change in Italy brought by the election of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi in March had freed investigators from constraints.

"There are no more idols, sacred cows or taboos in Italy that the judiciary is unable to demolish," Mr. Maroni said. The minister is a member of the Northern League, part of the loose, right-wing alliance that won the election over the traditional parties who had governed Italy since World War II by promising a "second republic" to replace the one disgraced by two years of corruption scandals.

Mr. Gava's lawyer, however, argued that the relationship between politics and justice had not changed as much as Mr. Maroni suggested.

"Somebody wanted to strike at an emblem of the political and institutional life of the first republic," Mr. Taormina said, referring to Mr. Gava's arrest.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1994

25

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20006
202-783-4665
202-783-1168 (FAX)



Will Itoh
We're doing a
message
Do you want to
said someone
JDR

94 SEP 7 P2:11

September 6, 1994

Dear John,

The enclosed letter is an invitation for President Clinton to be the keynote speaker at the October 3 No Greater Love Remembrance Ceremony honoring those who died during Operation Restore Hope in Somalia.

The only organization in the United States providing programs of friendship and care for families of the Americans who died in service to our country or by acts of terrorism.

As you are aware, memories are short and after the initial newsworthy item of an American's death, it fades away from public view and the families are left to heal alone. The President's participation in this tribute would reinforce his image as a caring and compassionate leader and assure the grieving families that he indeed does and will remember those Americans who served under his command.

This will be the first time that the families who have lost a loved one in Somalia will have been brought together to share their burden and find solace in each other. Many of them will be coming from as far as the southwest and the mid-west.

I would appreciate it if you would pass this letter to the appropriate person.

Thanks for your help.

Warmest regards,

Carmella
Carmella

NGL OFFICERS · GENERAL OMAR N. BRADLEY, HONORARY CHAIRMAN 1974-1981 · CARMELLA LASPADA, FOUNDER AND CEO · CHARLES T. HAGEL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD · TED WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT · LOUIS SAVARY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT · MARK MONROE, TREASURER · NGL BOARD OF ADVISORS · HANK AARON · JOHNNY BENCH · U.S. SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN, JR. · JOHN BRADEN · U.S. SENATOR BILL BRADLEY · JAMES BRADY · THE HONORABLE JESSE BROWN · JUDGE JOSEPH C. BRUNO · ART BUCHWALD · CAROL BURNETT · MICHAEL COLLINS · PERRY COMO · BILL COSBY · TOM CRUISE · JOE DIMAGGIO · U.S. SENATOR ROBERT DOLE · MRS. DAVID EISENHOWER · CHRIS EVERT · MRS. GERALD FORD · JOE FRAZIER · WAYNE GRETZKY · BOB HOPE · U.S. SENATOR DANIEL INOUE · MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON · AMBASSADOR JAMES R. JONES · U.S. SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY · U.S. SENATOR BOB KERREY · LANE KIRKLAND · AMBASSADOR BRUCE LAINGEN · TOMMY LASORDA · ANTHONY LASPADA · JACK LEMMON · SUGAR RAY LEONARD · U.S. SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR · U.S. SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN · U.S. SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL · JOE MONTANA · A.L. MONROE · U.S. SENATOR DANIEL MOYNIHAN · REPRESENTATIVE JOHN MURTHA · JOE NAMATH · JACK NICKLAUS · ARNOLD PALMER · JOE PATERNO · JAMES J. PETERS · BILL RECHIN · CAL RIPKEN, JR. · BROOKS ROBINSON · WILLARD SCOTT · BILL SHOEMAKER · ROGER STAUBACH · JAMES STEWART · U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND · JOHNNY UNITAS · U.S. SENATOR JOHN WARNER · JAKE WEST · MORT WALKER · ALFRED WHITEHEAD

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20006
202-783-4665
202-783-1168 (FAX)



94 SEP 7 P2:11

September 6, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The only organization in the United States providing programs of friendship and care for families of the Americans who died in service to our country or by acts of terrorism.

On Monday, October 3, 1994, in Section 60, at Arlington National Cemetery, No Greater Love will dedicate a tree and memorial stone honoring those who died in Operation Restore Hope, Somalia. This tribute will bring together for the first time the families of the 44 Americans who died in this peacekeeping mission.

No Greater Love would be honored if you would be the keynote speaker. Your personal presence at this ceremony will do much to assure the families that you will never forget those Americans who served under your command.

Ambassador Robert B. Oakley and General Wayne Downing, USA, have agreed to give remarks. We have invited the Secretaries of the Army and the Air Force, and LtGen Robert B. Johnston, Commander USMC Forces, to participate in the Roll Call of Remembrance. The ambassadors from the other 18 countries who suffered casualties in Somalia have been invited to place their country's flag on the Remembrance Panel. Children of those Americans killed will unveil the memorial stone. A copy of the program format is enclosed.

We would appreciate your reply by September 16. Thank you for your support.

Sincerely,

Carmella LaSpada
Founder/CEO

Enclosures

NGL OFFICERS • GENERAL OMAR N. BRADLEY, HONORARY CHAIRMAN 1974-1981 • CARMELLA LASPADA, FOUNDER AND CEO • CHARLES T. HAGEL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD • TED WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT • LOUIS SAVARY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT • MARK MONROE, TREASURER • NGL BOARD OF ADVISORS • HANK AARON • JOHNNY BENCH • U.S. SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN, JR. • JOHN BRADENAS • U.S. SENATOR BILL BRADLEY • JAMES BRADY • THE HONORABLE JESSE BROWN • JUDGE JOSEPH C. BRUNO • ART BUCHWALD • CAROL BURNETT • MICHAEL COLLINS • PERRY COMO • BILL COSBY • TOM CRUISE • JOE DIMAGGIO • U.S. SENATOR ROBERT DOLE • MRS. DAVID EISENHOWER • CHRIS EVERT • MRS. GERALD FORD • JOE FRAZIER • WAYNE GRETZKY • BOB HOPE • U.S. SENATOR DANIEL INOUE • MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON • AMBASSADOR JAMES R. JONES • U.S. SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY • U.S. SENATOR BOB KERREY • LANE KIRKLAND • AMBASSADOR BRUCE LAINGEN • TOMMY LASORDA • ANTHONY LASPADA • JACK LEMMON • SUGAR RAY LEONARD • U.S. SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR • U.S. SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN • U.S. SENATOR GEORGE MITCHELL • JOE MONTANA • A.L. MONROE • U.S. SENATOR DANIEL MOYNIHAN • REPRESENTATIVE JOHN MURTHA • JOE NAMATH • JACK NICKLAUS • ARNOLD PALMER • JOE PATERNO • JAMES J. PETERS • BILL RECHIN • CAL RIPKEN, JR. • BROOKS ROBINSON • WILLARD SCOTT • BILL SHOEMAKER • ROGER STAUBACH • JAMES STEWART • U.S. SENATOR STROM THURMOND • JOHNNY UNITAS • U.S. SENATOR JOHN WARNER • JAKE WEST • MORT WALKER • ALFRED WHITEHEAD

DRAFT PROGRAM

Master of Ceremonies

[to be decided]

"Morning Has Broken"

[choral group]

Presentation of Colors

Armed Forces Joint Color Guard

Pledge of Allegiance

[to be led by family members]

Retirement of Colors

Introduction of Families of

Operation Restore Hope Casualties

Carmella LaSpada, *Founder/CEO, No Greater Love*

"Heros"

Bebe Gribble, *No Greater Love Vocalist*

Remarks

Ambassador Robert B. Oakley, *former U. S. Ambassador to Somalia* [confirmed]

GEN Wayne Downing, USA, *Commander-in-Chief Special Operations Command* [confirmed]

Keynote Speaker

President Bill Clinton [invited]

Roll Call of Remembrance

The Honorable Togo D. West, Jr.

Secretary of the Army [invited]

The Honorable Shelia Widnall

Secretary of the Air Force [invited]

LtGen Robert B. Johnston

Commander USMC Forces [invited]

Placing of Flags on the Remembrance Panel

Representatives from the United States and the other 18 countries who had casualties during the Peacekeeping Mission in Somalia

"No Greater Love"

[choral group]

Prayer of Dedication

Father Michael Klarer, LT, CHC, USNR

No Greater Love Chaplain

Unveiling of Memorial Stone and

Dedication of Tree

[children of family members]

No Greater Love Pledge of Peace

Recited in English by *a child of a U. S. casualty*

Recited in Somali by *a Somali child*

"Let There Be Peace on Earth"

[choral group]

Placing of Remembrance Wreath

President Bill Clinton [invited]

Ambassador Robert D. Oakley

General Wayne Downing, USA

Carmella Laspada

Taps

"God Bless America"



A Time of Remembrance
for those who died in Operation Restore Hope, Somalia

No Greater Love
cordially invites you to attend
a Tree Dedication and Unveiling of a Memorial Stone
on Monday, October 3, 1994
at noon
Section 60, Arlington National Cemetery

RSVP card enclosed

Luncheon following ceremony
Sheraton National Hotel
Columbia Pike and Washington Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to POTUS re: Telephone Calls to Vernon Jordon... (2 pages)	09/20/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

September 18-24, 1994 [2]

2018-0662-S

rs3151

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/22



C. Linda Hoken

*Thru
su nu within*

September 20, 1994

B

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

Fax #: (202) 456-6703

Dear Mr. President,

I talked with those who work in our missionary enterprises in Haiti. They are thrilled:

1. They are confident Cedras will step down and they believe he probably will leave the country.
2. They can give personal testimonies, if you need them, of the abuses that necessitated your action - and they thank you for being tough.
3. They wish that the U.S. troops would stay and do the following:
 - a. Redevelop the land! Deforestation and soil erosion have rendered the country unable to grow sufficient food for the Haitian population.
 - b. Rebuild the electrical system! Factories cannot function because the present system is inadequate.
 - c. Build a sewer system and dig wells for drinking water! Public health is at stake!

If you need somebody to take your case to the religious community on our involvement in such matters, you can count on me.

Sincerely,

Tony Campolo
Tony Campolo
TC:kck

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc DAVE ANDERSON
Ricki
Mark So. Virginia
Lamin. Am. Museum
seeu

September 21, 1994

Robert P. Pfautz
President
Century Tube Corporation
Post Office Box 7612
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71611

Shirley & Sam
Set. Am. Mus.
cc Ricki

Jim D.

Dear Robert:

Thanks for your letter of September 12. It was good to hear from you and to learn that I will be invited to attend Century Tube's 15th anniversary celebration next month. While I never know what my schedule will hold, I have shared your letter with Ricki Seidman, my scheduler, to let her know about it. I will, of course, be happy to prepare a letter to be read if I am not able to attend.

Thanks, too, for sharing the news of the contribution Mr. Nakamura has decided to make to the Arkansas Cancer Research Center in my mother's name. It's a very generous gift, and I know Mother would have appreciated being remembered in this way.

Again, thanks for your letter.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I am very proud of
my association with
your company and so pleased
with your contributions to
Arkansas.

20
9/11/94

CENTURY TUBE
CORPORATION

September 12th, 1994

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

Dear President Clinton,

I am pleased to send this letter to you on behalf of Mr. Matsuichi Nakamura, Chairman and C.E.O. of Century Tube Corporation in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Please find enclosed our invitation for Century's 15th Anniversary reception to be held on October 25th, 1994.

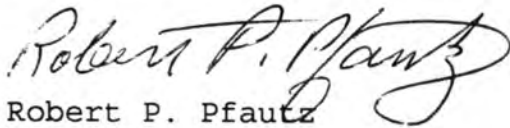
It has already been five years since we were honored with your presence at our 10th Anniversary celebration. During the past five years, we know that your responsibilities have changed greatly from the Governor of Arkansas to the President of the United States. However; since you attended both our grand opening ceremony 15 years ago and our 10th anniversary, it would be a great honor for us to have you as our special guest at this celebration. We estimate that we will have in attendance over 200 business and community leaders from Arkansas and over 100 business executives from throughout the United States, Japan, and Europe.

We realize that this is a very busy and critical election year and if your schedule does not permit you to attend, we would be delighted if you could send us a letter or a video tape on behalf of Century Tube's 15th Anniversary celebration as an old friend of Mr. Nakamura's. It is my understanding that you will be receiving a letter directly from Mr. Nakamura very shortly.

Century Tube is the first Japanese Corporation which began its operation from a greenfield in the state of Arkansas. We will mark the celebration with our most profitable year and we sincerely appreciate the overwhelming support we have received during the past 15 years from you and the people of Arkansas. In commemoration of our 10th Anniversary, Mr. Nakamura donated \$200,000 for the Century Scholarship Program. In commemoration of our 15th Anniversary, Mr. Nakamura has decided to donate \$150,000 to three most worthy causes this year. He will donate \$50,000 each to the Arkansas Cancer Research Center (The Virginia Clinton Kelly Breast Cancer Research and Education Fund), the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff Scholarship Fund, and to the Pines Technical College Building Fund.

Mr. President, we again thank you very much for your continuing support regarding this matter and we also send you our very best wishes.

Yours very truly,
Century Tube Corporation

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert P. Pfautz". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a large, sweeping "P" and a long, trailing "z".

Robert P. Pfautz
President

enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*cc letter to ✓
to Don Baer
interesting argument re:
avoiding cynicism*

September 21, 1994

Anne Monaghan Saueracker
20 Scenery Hill Drive
Chatham, New Jersey 07928

Dear Anne:

I really appreciate your thoughtful letter of September 16 and want to thank you. I found your perspective on the cynicism of some in our midst interesting.

I believe, too, that there are thousands of Americans just like your friends Adelaide and Sister Doris. Their influence cannot be measured. I agree with you that we all share a responsibility to try to foster an atmosphere of compassion and understanding in which the Adelaides and Sister Dorises can thrive and go about their work, making our nation a better place for all of us.

Thanks for your insight, your encouragement, and your continued support.

Sincerely,

BW

20 Scenery Hill Drive
Chatham, NJ 07928
September 16, 1994

President Bill Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I want to express my support for you and the difficult decisions that you have had to make, including your policy on Haiti that you explained last night. Your great strength has always been your ability to look beyond the numbers, whether they are polls or statistics, to the people and their realities.

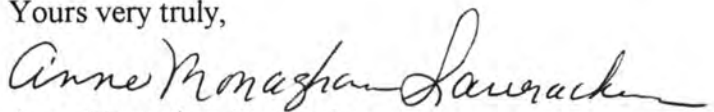
The tone of discussions and the level of cynicism that is expressed on talk radio and call-in shows have greatly disturbed me. I thought that I should do something. I found two problems: the complete lack of logic and facts in the discussions made listening impossible, and I could not find the time to become a "CSPAN junkie".

In the past week I spent time with two women that made a great impression on me. The first is an 86 year old widow. During dinner she talked about her activities including work on several charities and visiting sick friends. Adelaide is not cynical! The second woman is my husband's cousin, a Dominican nun who left a job as principal of a high school in Hartford, Connecticut for a job as a Maryknoll missionary in the jungles of Bolivia. After five years she is back for a two month visit before returning for several more years. She works with people with a life expectancy of 48 years (our age!) and very little prospect of significant improvement. Sr. Doris is not cynical!

If the people who are so cynical and full of negative feelings would just reach out to even one person, a neighbor, a child, someone in their church, they might find a significant change in their life. The people who are reaching out to others, and the people who are working hard to support their families do not have time to make the telephone calls. They are using the time to make this country a better place for themselves and others. Our challenge is to encourage all to take part in whatever way to support our families, communities and country.

My husband and I support you, and during these difficult days you are in our prayers.

Yours very truly,


Anne Monaghan Saueracker

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

dc

de HRC
sunk her
patterson
wiles

September 21, 1994

Nancy Y. Bekavac
President
Scripps College
1030 Columbia Avenue
Claremont, California 91711

Dear Nancy:

Thank you for your wonderful letter of September 19 about Haiti. It really meant a lot to Hillary and me.

You're right that recent days have been exhausting, but I think we've gotten a good agreement and are on the right track.

Thanks, as always, for your friendship. See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill



SCRIPPS
THE WOMEN'S COLLEGE
CLAREMONT

1030 COLUMBIA AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA
91711-3948

NANCY Y. BERAVAC

President

TEL: (909) 621-8148

FAX: (909) 621-8323

VIA FAX

September 19, 1994

President William Jefferson Clinton
Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Bill and Hillary:

All of us who love you, and particularly those who lived through Vietnam, have suffered with you this past week. No matter how many advisers, no matter how much information, no matter what precedents, the final decision comes down to one person. That person is the one we've elected President and Commander in Chief.

To say I was in agony -- sympathetic, but no less real -- is an understatement. No one who has seen war, and no daughter of a funeral director, can ever forget the toll of war. To contemplate people I care for deeply, people whose ideals I support, waging war is terrible.

Last night, like a true Los Angeles resident, I was stuck on the freeway listening to your announcement of the agreement. No doubt my fellow drivers thought I was crying in frustration. I wasn't; I was crying in joy and pride and relief.

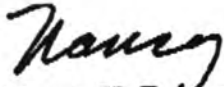
Only a masterful politician could have gauged the peril, could have appointed that group of negotiators, could have trusted their instincts the way you did. In all that you have done as President, nothing has been so dangerous, nothing so brilliantly achieved. You have taught a lesson to all of us to trust the effectiveness of our arms, but even more, the genius of our system and the presence of men (this time) of experience, patience, vision and hope.

President William Jefferson Clinton
Ms. Hillary Rodham Clinton
September 19, 1994
Page 2

My God, you must be exhausted. I only watched and prayed, and I'm exhausted.
Please, please, please, hug each other and get some sleep!

With love and pride and continued prayers,

Always,



Nancy Y. Bekavac

It's too early for fancy conclusion

ARK. DEM. GAZETTE

9/14/94

Many moons ago in 1963, Kurt Vonnegut Jr. invented a very useful word in a novel called "Cat's Cradle." He called it a "granfalloon," defined as "a seeming team that was meaningless in terms of the way God gets things done."

In short, a granfalloon consisted of any group, category or identity with which one was arbitrarily tagged, and to which one was expected to give unthinking support. As examples, Vonnegut gave "the Communist Party, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the General Electric Company ... and any nation, anytime, anywhere."

One could quibble with Vonnegut's examples — his point was moral, not political — without denying the validity of the idea. We're all more or less constantly getting shoved into one box or another without our permission. Most often by people who are trying to sell us something — whether a new, improved method of keeping our teeth sparkling white or a political philosophy.

Anyhow, I thought of Vonnegut — never one of my favorites, actually — after reading a remarkably smug, obtuse column by Michael Barone in *U.S. News & World Report*. Entitled "Bad News for Boomer Liberals," its argument was basically that Bill Clinton's current sag in the opinion polls represents some kind of vast cultural change, a sweeping rejection of the alleged values of the "cutting edge liberal half" of the Woodstock generation.

Now I can't decide which is the bigger granfalloon, "boomer liberals" or "Woodstock generation." But here is Barone's triumphant conclusion: "This summer's hit movie 'Forrest Gump' portrays the '60s counterculture as selfish, violent and unhealthy. Country music, produced not in the pro-Clinton centers of Manhattan and Hollywood but in the heartland's Nashville, is surging in popularity: a popular culture explicitly disparaged by Hillary Clinton when she said she was no Tammy Wynette."

Gene Lyons



Boomer liberals, like the Clintons, seem to be losing their hold on America."

Now I've got a feeling our would-be man of the people hasn't listened to a whole lot of country music — with its traditional heartland themes of drinkin', cheatin', fightin', pickup trucks and tight bluejeans. I suspect that Barone couldn't pick Travis Tritt out of a police lineup. Wasn't watching when the Clintons called the Hogs on The Nashville Network. Doesn't even realize that Hillary wasn't disparaging Tammy Wynette at all (even if ol' Tammy herself pretended to misunderstand), but talking about a specific song called "Stand by Your Man." A song whose theme of playing door-mat to a lout was contradicted not only by Tammy's own tear-jerker "D-I-V-O-R-C-E," but by one of the biggest country hits of 1994, Mary Chapin Carpenter's "He Thinks He'll Keep Her."

As for "Forrest Gump," what movie did this guy go to? The one I saw was an amiable, sentimental, one-joke satire somewhat in the Vonnegut mode. A film that, yes, portrayed some anti-Vietnam war hippies as hypocrites. But a film which also portrayed the war itself as pointless, whose protagonist told us what an advantage stupidity was to an Army career, and who became a hero without killing anybody. Just as he'd been too simple-minded to hate when George Wallace tried to prevent racial integration at the University of Alabama. Indeed, when Gump naively addressed an anti-war rally, he stood in front of a huge banner that read, "SUPPORT OUR TROOPS, BRING THEM HOME NOW."

The point here isn't that "Forrest Gump" endorses the "boomer liberal" view (either, whatever that is. But trying to the Clintons into honorary hippies Rhodes Scholar and an Ivy League dictator, respectively, who got no clo Woodstock than the Yale Law Librarian does strike me as remarkable dopey for a newsmag columnist, for whom too of bogus trend-spotting is an occupational necessity.

No, I think what made "Forrest Gump" — besides Tom Hanks' great larly — was precisely its rejection planations. Political or otherwise. Gump was Everyman, stuck in the m with the rest of us, instinctively "liberal" some topics, "conservative" on others often confused. Stuff happens, to phrase Gump. And polls change. It's not to draw overly elaborate conclusions.

Zombie update

A recent column criticizing Rush Limbaugh's habit of making up "facts" to support his ideological enthusiasms has generated a fair amount of hostile mail. The Divine Rush himself, most "ditto" seem to be real good at name-calling, gifted at elementary logic. So far, I've denounced as a liar, a coward and a titute. One particularly irate fellow challenged me to prove that Chelsea Clinton wasn't assigned a term paper about white felt guilty being white. Well, I can't then I can't prove that Rush isn't Elvis lost twin, or that Marilyn Quayle is space alien, either.

What I'm still waiting for, however, somebody to show me a single instance in which Limbaugh was accurate and wrong.

Gene Lyons is a Little Rock author whose work is "Widow's Webb." His column appears Wednesday.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/21

GS - This guy is really good with my could get him circled. This he bashed me from time to time B

Washington Outlook

EDITED BY OWEN ULLMANN

CLINTON IS STREAMLINING GOVERNMENT— BUT VOTERS MAY NOT CARE

Efficient government" strikes voters as an oxymoron, and for good reason. From Richard Nixon's Ash Commission to Ronald Reagan's Grace Report, Presidents have declared war on bureaucracy for decades, yet the federal behemoth grows only more bloated. So skepticism will be in order on Sept. 14 when President Clinton releases a one-year anniversary "Reinventing Government" report and boasts that sweeping reform is at hand.

But only cynics would dismiss the ReGo effort headed by Vice-President Al Gore as worthless. The Administration actually has made a promising start.

Agencies insist they're delivering services more efficiently, from distributing food stamps electronically to shortening approval time for government mortgage insurance from five months to five days. The Administration's bottom line: It's on track toward a five-year goal to save \$108 billion and is halfway toward downsizing U.S. payrolls by 272,000, in part by copying private-sector buyouts.

Government reform was a key element of Clinton's campaign as a New Democrat. To keep his pledge, he "needs to convince Americans that he can fix government," says Al From, president of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council. That's why the Veep has a full-time "reinvention" staff and why many agencies have their own ReGo czars—all trying to improve customer (read: taxpayer) satisfaction. Gore even awards tiny hammers to those who bust up bureaucracy.

By the end of September, agencies are supposed to meet new performance standards. The Internal Revenue Service, for example, must provide refunds within 14 days to taxpayers who file electronically, and the U.S. Geological Survey will try to fill requests for maps within two days, rather than the current six weeks.

There's more. Under a new governmentwide procurement law, the Pentagon is eliminating onerous paperwork requirements for vendors, saving billions in the purchase of commercial products. The Interior Dept. has transferred 300 Bureau of Reclamation employees from Denver headquarters to area offices to work more closely with customers in the field. Mortgage companies can expect to save \$4 million a year because the Housing & Urban Development Dept. has automated the processing of FHA insurance applications. The Agriculture Dept. is consolidating field offices from 3,700 to 2,500

so farmers won't have to traipse to different locations for various services.

SACRED COWS. But change isn't coming easily. Reform faces trouble from congressional barons who protect pet agencies. The House barred personnel cuts at the Veterans Health Administration, for example. And conservatives will try to block civil-service reforms that give unions job-security concessions in return for flexible work rules.

Anticipating such opposition, the ReGo-nauts decided at the outset to steer clear of major reorganizations,

such as consolidating 100-plus job-training programs. Useless sacred cows such as the Rural Electrification Administration and the Interstate Commerce Commission will be spared, too.

But the decision to reinvent existing services rather than deinvent unwanted ones may mean Clinton won't get the big political payoff he seeks. Voters won't thank him for improving programs they don't want. "It's like making the buggy-whip factory more competitive," scoffs Scott A. Hodge, an analyst at the conservative Heritage Foundation. "They'll just find ways to waste our money more efficiently." With a voter mind-set like that, Bill Clinton and Al Gore shouldn't be surprised if their good deeds go unrewarded in the voting booth.

By Susan B. Garland, with Amy Barrett



SHOW TIME: GORE DOES LETTERMAN

CAPITAL WRAPUP

POLITICS

Former Housing & Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp is hinting to top Republicans that he may sit out the '96 GOP Presidential race. Kemp, who lags far behind Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole in early polls, has said he is having too much fun making money on the lecture circuit to give it up for the campaign. Republican insiders say the ex-quarterback may change signals, but they're betting he stays on the sidelines. One sign of a no-go: Kemp has been slow to assemble a campaign team, while Dole, ex-Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, former Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander,

and Texas Senator Phil Gramm are recruiting top talent. Another omen: Kemp plans to pass up the Christian Coalition's September conclave.

LEGAL REFORM

The Clintonites are about to launch civil-justice reforms—but they'll be meek. With two lawyers in the First Family, the White House wants to avoid the kind of controversy the Bush Administration stirred with attacks on the litigation explosion. Instead, the Justice Dept. plans to try to clear crowded federal court dockets by using arbitration to resolve disputes. Another idea: creating special courts for family and business conflicts.

THE ADMINISTRATION

President Clinton may be supporting anticrime legislation, welfare reform, and immigration curbs to woo moderate voters, but his appointments appeal to old-fashioned Democrats. The Prez has tapped U.S. Judge Abner J. Mikva, a liberal ex-congressman from Illinois, as his new chief counsel. Robert Greenstein, head of the leftish Center on Budget & Policy Priorities, is in line for deputy director of the Office of Management & Budget. And a front-runner for a seat on the Federal Trade Commission is Georgetown University law professor Robert Pitofsky, a liberal antitrust expert.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

NO VP
Mia is key P
u: when can go next -

Yes, There Is a National Interest

Counterpoint: Replacing thugs with an elected president is a good place to start

BY MICHAEL ELLIOTT

IT'S EASY TO OPPOSE AN INVASION OF HAITI, AND IF YOU polled the gurus of international affairs, you'd find that most of them do. And if those gurus were always right, gas would cost Americans \$10 a gallon. There's a respectable case for a U.S.-led invasion of Haiti, and some of the arguments against it are specious.

A thoughtless invasion won't work. If the administration drops into Haiti, restores President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and organizes a few homecoming parades in time for the November elections, then a long failure of policy will be compounded. Much of the Caribbean is in or near a political and economic crisis, for reasons that run from a bullheaded Fidel Castro to the price of bananas. Washington needs to address that crisis long-term, by offering security and economic assistance in exchange for democracy. There are worse places to start than Port-au-Prince, replacing some thugs with Haiti's elected president.

"Intervention" is not an either/or concept, especially when applied to the U.S.-Caribbean relationship. When the sun rises each morning, the United States intervenes in the Caribbean, just by being where and what it is—the richest, most prosperous nation on earth, both squashing and nourishing the Antilles like a great sow with a litter of runts. Until an embargo was imposed after Aristide was deposed, three quarters of Haiti's international trade was with the United States (that's not intervention—that's domination). Economic ties alone can't justify one nation lumbering into another to put right great wrongs. But America's economic and cultural grip does show that for every nation in the Caribbean, "sovereignty" is a concept with practical limits.

That's now understood in the region itself. The days of seeing America as a bullying colossus are ending; people in the Caribbean know how cruel government in small places can be. They cheered the invasion of Grenada in 1983 and they will provide forces to keep the peace in Haiti; invasion is authorized by a U.N. Security Council resolution. This is not gunboat diplomacy.

Whatever it does for Haiti, does an invasion make sense for America? "There is absolutely no national interest in an invasion," thunders former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, while Dan Quayle says Clinton plans to invade just to get a boost in the polls. Are things really that simple? Randall Robinson, of TransAfrica, whose hunger strike forced a change in Haiti policy, thinks not. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, says Robinson, "the

whole question of what is our 'national interest' has to be puzzled out in a national debate." So: why shouldn't it be in America's interest to promote harmony and democracy in its own region? As Haiti and Cuba have shown, instability in the Caribbean doesn't stay there—it washes up, dead or alive, on the Florida shore.

The counsel of despair says that America shouldn't intervene because it always makes a hash of nation-building—in Haiti 60 years ago as in Somalia last year. But that's wrong. The United States is too politically correct to say so, but as a colonial power it has built one extremely successful nation in the Caribbean—Puerto Rico. America's intervention in Haiti between 1915 and 1934 failed because the presence of racist army officers fanned the flames of nationalism—a mistake that today's integrated armed forces aren't likely to repeat. And no one suggests that Haiti is as warlike, well armed and bent on self-destruction as Somalia.

Then there's the really pernicious argument: that intervention in Haiti is somehow illegitimate because only the Black Caucus wants it. Note that "only." In what Walt Whitman called a "nation of nations," it will often be in the "national interest" to take an action about which one group feels passionately while others acquiesce. There's nothing peculiar about that; it's true of U.S. policy toward Ireland, perhaps even Israel. The Black Caucus has argued its case and the president has agreed with it; that's as legitimate a policymaking process as any other around.

True, this is the Clinton administration; if something can go wrong, it probably will. An invasion alone won't be enough: the administration should also be lobbying for a Caribbean trade bill presently stalled in Congress. Yet when all's said and done, the Caribbean would be a better place if the Haitian junta was forced to leave. Gas is still cheap, and foreign-affairs gurus can be wrong.

NEWSWEEK POLL

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Clinton is handling the situation in Haiti and the problem of Haitian refugees?

31% Approve
47% Disapprove

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 738 ADULTS BY TELEPHONE SEPT. 8-9, 1994. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS +/- 4 PERCENTAGE POINTS. SOME RESPONSES NOT SHOWN. THE NEWSWEEK POLL © 1994 BY NEWSWEEK, INC.



THE DAYS OF SEEING AMERICA AS A BULLYING COLOSSUS ARE ENDING: Members of a sniper unit with the 82nd Airborne

LEIF SKOOGFORS—ZUMA IMAGES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

Thales
What's status of
the firm he mentions
in last paragraph
B

RENO AT LARGE: It's Not What Clinton Says; It's That He's Saying it

By Robert Reno= (c) 1994, Newsday=

It was, of course, President Harding who first proposed the national observance of Arbor Day.

This is forgotten along with the fact that he is the father of modern disarmament he signed the Washington Naval Treaty limiting the capital ship tonnage of the major powers and of federal fiscal accountability he was the first president to have a budget. What is remembered is his assignation with his mistress in a White House broom closet, undetected by his ever-prowling wife, Florence, and the Teapot Dome scandal involving the pilfering of public assets so vast as to make Whitewater, even in the dreams of Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., pale to triteness.

Anyway, suppose it was Bill Clinton who, perhaps at his wife's urging, had dreamed up Arbor Day. The reaction of Bob Dole, R-Kan., and Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., is so predictable as to evoke the image of a pair of wind-up dolls. Their sound bites would write themselves: "A threat to the hard working lumberjacks of this country" (read: the timber companies won't like it) "Another piece of pork" (read: we didn't think of it first), "Another attempt to intrude federal authority into our lives" (read: next they'll say you can't chop down a stand of virgin redwoods to build a shopping center) or "Who elected Mrs. Clinton to pick our holidays?" (read: she's another one of those meddling females.) D'Amato, the fox who has taken up guard outside the nation's ethical chicken coop, would undoubtedly smell evidence of malignant collusion between the nurserymen's lobby and the White House.

That the congressional Republicans have become monotonously reactive is clear. But why they have become so ideologically mindless, so transparently vacant of anything but cant in their obsession to demonize the president isn't. Who can conceive, for instance, of a Cuba policy, any Cuba policy, that wouldn't have automatically activated the Republican fax machines to churn out denunciations that would require only the filling in of blanks with "too weak," "too tough," "too late," or "too soon?"

You have to suspect it all has more to do with a sense of frustration than anything approaching principled outrage. And it must derive from Clinton's shameless larceny of three button-pushing issues which have defined the Republican Party for more than a generation: law and order, an antipathy to welfare and fiscal probity.

Think of it. Since the New Deal, Republicans have ridden free on the trolley of out-of-control (read: Democratic) fiscal policy. But just last week the Congressional Budget Office forecast a \$202 billion deficit in the current year and a \$162 billion shortfall next

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/21

*Reagan
might want
to ask him in*

year, indicating that the administration is more than \$20 billion ahead of its original goals for reducing the inherited Reagan-Bush deficits. The crime bill that drove the Republicans to parliamentary hysterics leaned heavily toward traditionally Republican punitive approaches death penalties, three-strikes-you're-out, more prison cells, more cops and gave but marginal emphasis to traditionally Democratic systemic solutions ~~midnight basketball~~. And if throwing mothers off welfare after two years, another Clinton proposal, isn't solid gold Republican orthodoxy, then what is? Maybe you'd be bitter too if you were a traditional Republican, naked of issues, who found your party being increasingly defined by its traditional embarrassments, by figures like Oliver North and Rush Limbaugh.

Distributed by the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service

144

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NANCY H

RE: MEMO FROM MARIA RODHAM

Maria forwarded a copy of a memo to Leon from some of your Cuban supporters in Florida on ~~your~~ ~~Cuban refugees problem~~ ~~FILED~~ Leon is handling it but I wanted you to know she sent it.

Let him
see it

- attached

Leon

I basically agree with
I asked repeatedly if our supporters
were involved — Velasquez died
and he handled this right (for the Chilean
NSC)
We need to get them up here
right away

MEMORANDUM

TO: Honorable Leon Panetta, Chief of Staff, The White House

FROM: Jorge Perez, Jorge Bolanos, Willy Braceras,
Simon Ferro, Herminio San Roman

RE: Cuba Policy

DATE: September 16, 1994

We understand that Haiti is the most important issue facing the Administration today and possibly the foreseeable future, so please forgive our urgent desire to communicate with you on Cuba policy.

We are part of the Democratic Cuban American "core group" in Dade County which has been supportive of President Clinton, both politically and financially, since the early days of his campaign for the Presidency. President Clinton always assured us that we would be a primary source of advise and counsel on Cuba policy and would be made a part of the decision-making process.

✶ Unfortunately, none of us was able to attend the meeting with the President on August 5 because we were either not invited or we were called we such short notice that it was physically impossible to secure transportation. Since then our serious involvement in the process has rarely been sought.

Still, we feel a great sense of loyalty and commitment to the President and refuse to sit idle while mistakes continue to be made and opportunities lost. Please accept this memorandum in the spirit in which it is delivered, and in the hope that it can make a positive contribution to this process.

Notwithstanding the high approval rating the Administration enjoyed several months ago in the Cuban American community we believe the support is fading fast. There are several reasons for this:

1. The focus has shifted from the initial direct political confrontation with Castro to the plight of the rafters in Guantanamo and elsewhere.

✶ * The media, especially T.V. and radio, is highlighting the human suffering and frustration at the camps. In fact, they are regularly referred to as "concentration camps". There is no positive activity or response by the Administration to counterbalance or lend perspective to the stories.

Post-it Fax Note	7871	Date	9/16	Pages	4 pp.
To	Maria Quiza	From			
CO/Dept.		On			
Phone #		Phone #			
Fax #	443-3292	Fax #			

* Local political factions and rivals are attacking the policy for political advantage. Many local leaders and personalities, including radio talk show hosts, elected officials and civic leaders who have been excluded from the process and feel they have nothing to lose by opposing it.

Recommendations

✓ ① * Accelerate improvement of the living conditions in Guantanamo. De-emphasize the military nature and characteristics of the base.

1560 ✓ ② * Name a Cuban American ombudsman with a bilingual staff and generate immediate positive actions/improvements. Start bringing some people out of the camp. Bring some sick people out, release some or all kids. Without violating the integrity of the accord find an excuse to produce some positive result every week. Most importantly, try to find ways not to continue placing people in the camp! Find reasonable, documentable exceptions to the accord. The more people inside the camps the bigger our problem becomes!

③ * Start to inventory and document the people at the base. Have them start filling forms and questionnaires with personal information. Make them feel they are part of a "process".

④ * Allow periodic visits by balanced delegations of responsible Cuban American community leaders.

⑤ * Expand the list of community leaders and organizations with access to the White House and begin to invite a balanced and broader range of people to D.C. Pay special attention to local elected leaders.

2. There is persistent and growing distrust of the President relating to his future intentions with Castro.

* Castro gave in too easily on the immigration agreement. There is fear of secret side agreements and conspiracies to reverse the current policy after the November elections or after the December Summit of the Americas in Miami.

* Notwithstanding the high level of support the Cuban American community in Miami had given the Administration's Cuba policy prior to this crisis, the President was prevented from capitalizing on this and never created the personal rapport with the community that Presidents Reagan and Bush enjoyed.

Why how ✓ ⑥ * During the last two years the Administration has failed to "empower" a sufficiently large number of Cuban Americans who are respected and trusted in the community to serve as bridges to the President.

Recommendations

* The President should immediately grant a 30 minute interview to

the two local spanish T.V. stations. He would have a face-to-face "fireside chat" with the Cuban American community. He would explain his policy, play up the harsh measures imposed on Castro and express his concern and sympathy over the Cubans in Guantanamo. He would promise the Cuban American community that he will not forget those Cubans and will do everything in his power to deliver them to a free and democratic Cuba. He will look the community in the eye and say there were no side deals and that he will not sell us out!

agry * Empower more of the President's friends and trusted allies! The community expects this because it creates local accountability.

3. The Administration is working within an information vacuum with regards to the Cuban American community's opinions and feelings on Cuba policy.

(X) * A material shift in support or passive acquiescence for the President's policy within the Cuban American community would severally weaken the policy and could negatively impact Governor Chiles' re-election. I heard this on Cuban radio yesterday:

"The best way to show our rejection of the President's policy is to vote against all Democrats in November, especially Governor Chiles, who provoked it".

(X) Since the first White House meeting with the President Governor Chiles appears to have disengaged from the process.

* No credible polling organization has surveyed Cuban Americans on the policy.

Recommendations

agry * Do a good benchmark poll and even some focus groups. What are the President's strengths? Weaknesses? What options would the community accept? How should we "talk" to the community? We may be surprised to learn we have more flexibility than we think.

(X) * Governor Chiles must "re-engage" in the process in a positive way. He cannot sit back and allow events to overtake him.

agry
but then
Q. D. H. 4. Continued Administration pandering to the Cuban American National Foundation is costing the President vital support among its Democratic Cuban friends and other potential supporters, especially among CANF detractors in Congress.

* The CANF failed to endorse the US-Cuba accord, publicly stating that it neither supported nor rejected the accord.

* The CANF makes daily public statements criticizing the indefinite status of the Cubans in Guantanamo and positioning itself as their champion vis-a-vis the Administration.

* Several days ago Pepe Hernandez, CANF President, bluntly told Richard Muccio that the Administration could no longer take continued CANF support for granted.

AS
* A material reason that Armando Perez Roura, of Radio Mambi, is so harshly critical of the President is because of his continuing feud with Jorge Mas and the CANF and his perception that the CANF is driving the Administration's Cuba policy. Perez Roura's civic organization, Unidad Cubana, has been shut out of the informational and political loop, as have other viable grassroots groups. Unidad Cubana has sponsored the two largest Cuban American public demonstrations in Dade County in the last years.

Recommendations

agru!
agru!!
* Don't ignore the CANF, but stop pandering to it. Include it in the process but don't allow them to set the agenda or scratch people off lists. The Administration and its friends set the agenda. That is the way it was done under Reagan and Bush and its what the community expects. Empowering your detractors and ignoring your friends creates more confusion and bewilderment in the community and provokes greater distrust of the President.

* If the CANF threatens to turn against the President call its bluff. They have worked too hard to break into the loop to jump ship now. The CANF respects power, authority and those who know how to use it. They will play hardball with the President until you stop them.

Conclusion

Wagner
We feel extremely frustrated and disappointed over the way the Cuba policy is being developed and implemented. We have very little "ownership" over it and it has become increasingly difficult to justify our continued support of a process which relegates the President's core supporters to the sidelines and his detractors to the forefront. With all due respect, we are not interested in invitations to window-dressing events such as next Tuesday's Hispanic Heritage Day if we are to be excluded from true substantive interaction with the Administration. We therefore decline to attend. We deserve and respectfully request a private meeting with President Clinton as soon as possible to re-enforce our relationship, voice our concerns, offer our humble advice and, hopefully, be reintegrated into the decision-making process.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

cc: Hon. Bill Clinton, President
Hon. Al Gore, Vice President
Hon. Lawton Chiles, Governor
Hon. Buddy MacKay, Lt. Governor
A. Lake, NSC
G. Stephanopolous, WH
J. Baggett, WH
Hon. David Wilhelm, DNC
T. Coelho, DNC
Hon. Terrie Brady, FDP

LAW OFFICES

SIEGFRIED, RIVERA, LERNER, DE LA TORRE & PETERSEN, P.A.

SUITE 1102

201 ALHAMBRA CIRCLE

CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33134

DADE (305) 442-3334

BROWARD (305) 784-1134

FAX (305) 443-3292

FORT LAUDERDALE OFFICE

ONE KINGSLAND PLACE

SUITE 3012

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA 33394

BROWARD (305) 832-0738

FAX (305) 784-1759

OF COUNSEL

MICHELLE C. FRIGOLA, P.A.

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA 33394

STEVEN M. SIEGFRIED
OSCAR R. RIVERA
LISA A. LERNER
HELIO DE LA TORRE
BYRON G. PETERSEN
PETER H. EDWARDS

MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS
DANIEL DAVIS, P.E.
JAMES F. HARRINGTON
ELISABETH D. KOZLOW
H. HUGH MCCUNNELL
SAMUEL A. PERSAUD

FILE NO.

REPLY TO:

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
FAX #: 1-202-456-6703
PHONE #: 1-202-456-6610

FROM: MARIA VICTORIA ARIAS RODRIGUEZ
FAX #: (305) 443-3292
PHONE #: (305) 442-3334
FILE #:

RE: SEE MEMO ATTACHED

DATE: September 16, 1994
TIME: 4:34 pm
NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4

MESSAGE: Please review the attached. Thank you.

The information contained in this transmission is attorney privileged and confidential. It is intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copy of this communication is strictly prohibited.

Leon / ce
Tina / ce
on Peter - must
include (P) Melt

MEMORANDUM

~~PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21
DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING INITIALS: M1 DATE: 10/21/18
208-0612-5

TO: PRESIDENT / HRC

To: Bruce Lindsey
From: Terry Shumaker
John Broderick
Date: August 19, 1994
Re: New Hampshire

by
Bm
cc: JACK QUINN (for
Vice President)

You may recall our prior memos about New Hampshire and the '96 primary. The enclosed is forwarded in the same spirit. He told us in May '93 that he appreciated our last memo and thoughts. As in the past, we would be grateful if you could give him this one at an appropriate time.

Thank you and best regards.

Bruce -

Hope all is well with you
and yours and that those in
WashSta who made the long
march will not be cast aside
or forgotten. Do stay in touch.

Best regards -
Terry

0822.11R

MEMORANDUM

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: President Clinton

From: Terry Shumaker
John Broderick

Date: August 19, 1994

Re: New Hampshire

This is the fourth in our series of annual memos to share thoughts and what we are hearing in the Granite State.

While the N.H. Republican Chair Steve Duprey has succeeded in holding off your G.O.P. challengers until after the November election, we are just 90 days from the start of the '96 N.H. Presidential Primary campaign. As we have noted previously, every one-term president in our lifetime (Johnson, Ford, Carter, Bush) has been fatally wounded by a challenger from his own party in New Hampshire the second time out. Given the volatile political climate which now exists and the 3-way race in '92, we believe it imprudent to assume no Democratic challenge here in '96.

There is no question that there will be at least five serious Republicans here bashing you and your agenda daily/weekly starting late this fall. It goes without saying that the state's largest newspaper will encourage and join the chorus as will our congressional delegation (including Cong. Swett on some issues).

In the famous Dover speech and elsewhere you appealed ~~effectively to our state's pride in criticizing G.B. for taking our state for granted.~~ There is always a risk that Republicans will attempt to turn your own words against you.

Given what lies ahead, we feel that attention should be given to the following now:

1. Campaign organization/strategy;
2. BC/HRC New Hampshire - related schedule from 9/94-2/96;
3. N.H. surrogate schedule 9/94 - 2/96;
4. N.H. media strategy;
5. Highlighting N.H. related benefits from your administration (federal courthouse; keeping Portsmouth Naval Shipyard open, etc.).

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: OB DATE: 5/1/8

Memo to President Clinton
From: Terry Shumaker/John Broderick
August 19, 1994
Page 2

Without prioritizing or intending to be all-inclusive, we offer the following thoughts as to the above:

I. N.H. Campaign

- Will we use same structure/model as '92 (e.g. multiple co-chairs/state director) or something different?
- What role will Cong. Swett and his staff play in campaign organization?
- What role will DNC/State Party play?
- What role will Linda Moore and Nick Baldick play? (We recommend strongly both be heavily involved because of their knowledge of our state and the players)
- When will planning and strategy sessions begin?

II. BC/HRC N.H. Related Schedule (9/94-2/96)

- While you both obviously need to come here during the coming 18 months, you do not have to always come here to "be here." For example, the following kinds of things keep you in touch with the Granite State:
 - a. Washington visits by N.H. opinion leaders/political supporters (e.g. White House policy briefings like the ones on NAFTA, etc.).
 - Also, the Christmas parties and N.H. Day were huge successes and great motivators. Similar events recommended to be continued this winter/spring
 - b. Presidential oval office interviews with N.H. media (under controlled circumstances).

Possibilities:

- WMUR-TV
- John DiStaso, Union Leader
- Concord Monitor
- Foster's Daily Democrat (Dover) (2nd largest N.H. paper)

Memo to President Clinton
From: Terry Shumaker/John Broderick
August 19, 1994
Page 3

- c. Presidential call in to N.H. radio news/talk show.
 - e.g. supporter Mary Nelson has popular radio call-in show in Nashua
- d. Announce intent to vacation in N.H. Lakes Region in summer '95 now (express regret that health care debate prevented it in '94).
- e. Attend New Hampshire Democratic Party fundraiser to ensure loyalty and unity in post-Spiro era (also inoculation against potential Dem. challenger(s)). While we believe it essential for you to stay in the political center, any challenge seems most likely to come from the left.
- f. Cards, letters, quick phone calls to people like Mary Hill, Ron Machos, Bill Cashin and other key supporters (calls to regular folks like Mary H. will generate free positive media).
- g. Accept Jim Freedman's invitation to speak at '95 Dartmouth Commencement (Eisenhower in '53 was the last president there). Will look very presidential and not too political. Could be done in tandem with speech at public high school in Claremont region (which we won 3-1 in '92).
- h. Thanksgiving or Christmas video message to New Hampshire relating accomplishments to promises made in '92 campaign.
- i. Invite New Hampshire AmeriCorps participants to White House to brief you on program's progress.
- j. Hold N.H. town meeting followed by public "meet and greet" modeled on day after inauguration W.H. open house.

III. Surrogate Strategy/Schedule

- Dr. Lee Brown's day long visit here was widely publicized and a big success. Good example of likeable and capable administration official with concrete program. Shows

Memo to President Clinton
From: Terry Shumaker/John Broderick
August 19, 1994
Page 4

Democrats are running country and doing a good job for average Americans. Need more such visits spread throughout 11/94-2/96 time frame, consider:

- V.P. Gore
 - Mrs. Gore
 - Sec. Babbitt
 - Sec. Bentson
 - Sec. Espy
- We recommend a known, strong, moderate (DLC-type) not tied to Congress be appointed DNC Chair after November and that new chair visit N.H. soon thereafter.

IV. Media Strategy

- Despite the incredible hammering in the national media, we perceive that there has been little permanent erosion in your popularity with the New Hampshire press and people whose support you had in '92. However, these relationships will be even more tested after November, and must be renewed, strengthened and tended to between now and February '96. We would be happy to provide suggestions as part of an overall strategy to be developed and can identify specific members of the media who are Granite State opinion leaders and who are favorably disposed to your ongoing efforts.
- When the V.P. comes on October 21, he should do an extended interview (to be aired state-wide for 3 nights) on WMUR-TV. As with HRC's Dec. '93 interview and BC's Feb. '94 oval office interview with Ch. 9, it is recommended that J.B. and T.S. set up and attend the interview for topic control and as part of our overall strategy for keeping the Station on a "short leash" as to access to the Administration.
- Also recommend V.P. meet with selected print media including John DiStaso (Union Leader), Concord Monitor and others as they will soon be deluged with G.O.P. contenders.

While your incumbency will make the '96 effort different, to conclude that anything less than a planned, focused and dedicated campaign here will suffice could be a fatal mistake especially in view of the compressed and re-ordered '96 primary schedule.

You have our continued admiration, support, loyalty and friendship. Best regards.

Democrats Ponder Challenging Clinton

By JOHN KING
AP Political Writer

WASHINGTON — At a recent fundraiser, the talk in one circle turned quickly to whether President Clinton would face a Democratic primary challenge in 1996.

"Are you talking about the Harkin rumors or Kerrey rumors?" a Democratic senator in the group asked.

Clinton's political troubles and worries within the Democratic ranks have spawned persistent speculation that he might be challenged. Last week two-time Democratic candidate Jesse Jackson said he is considering a primary challenge or even an independent candidacy.

"One of the ways to get the attention of this administration and the country is to challenge the direction and priorities of the leadership," Jackson said Friday.

Beyond Jackson, the rumors — and there is little evidence they are anything more — center most often on Democratic Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, who lost to Clinton in the 1992 primaries and has had a stormy relationship with him since.

"Certainly the Kerrey talk is everywhere," said

former Sen. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, another 1992 Clinton primary rival. For the record, Tsongas is happy to say, unequivocally, that "I would not run in '96."

So is Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa, yet another of the 1992 Democratic candidates. His name recently surfaced in rumors that a Democratic senator was planning to challenge Clinton. Hogwash, says Harkin.

Kerrey, however, isn't so emphatic.

"There is unquestionably a break — we are not close," Kerrey says of his relationship with Clinton. "But the speculation that I am going to challenge him in the primaries is completely untrue."

So then he absolutely, positively, won't run?

"I can't imagine the circumstances," Kerrey said. "I really can't. But I have learned never to say never."

As the Kerrey and Harkin rumors have made the rounds, Democratic Party officials have kept quiet. But Jackson's harsh public criticism of Clinton last week, and his talk of running either in the primaries or in the general election as an independent, brought a reminder of the toll of challenges past.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/21

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 8, 1994

Mack
 - Need to meet on this
~~past or soon, but~~
 - Set up - let consider
 Guleto -

TO: Mack McLarty
 FROM: Skip Rutherford
 RE: Arkansas 1994 Year-end Plan

B,

Per our discussions about Arkansas, it is my recommendation that first a short-term strategy be implemented from now through year end. 1996 organizational work should begin early 1995, and along with staffing considerations, the Arkansas Travelers should be reactivated at that time with particular emphasis on the early primary states.

Between now and and January 1, however, the emphasis should be on once again tapping the state and local pride that one of our own has been elected to the highest office in the land. While I have not seen any recent statewide polls, it is my assumption based on local and Congressional polls, that the President's numbers have declined here just as they have throughout the country.

Thus, I believe the President and Mrs. Clinton should make a trip to the state in October. It would be my recommendation that they arrive for an event on a weekday evening in the Clinton Ballroom of the Excelsior Hotel or the Old State House. This could be a dinner honoring either/both Clintons; a Roast and Toast of the Clintons or you to benefit the Old States House or some other cause; or it could be a cocktail buffet reception honoring the Clintons and benefitting the DNC and/or the Arkansas Democratic Party. There are numerous possibilities for an event.

Under this plan the Clintons could stay with Mrs. Rodham or at the Presidential Suite at the Excelsior. He would jog the next morning with friends. Later that morning the Clintons would attend the dedication of the new Clinton Elementary School in North Little Rock. A noon flight from

1 of 3

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

Sec. 3.2(C) Initials: MB Date: 9/11/8

Little Rock to Washington is possible. Schedule permitting, I would touch down at Blytheville and have an event on the former Blytheville AFB which was closed. Longtime Clinton supporter and former Mississippi County Judge Joe Gurley is coordinating re-development efforts. The Blytheville stop would be the President's first trip to the Arkansas Delta (and to the First Congressional District where he runs best) since the election. The theme of the Blytheville visit would be job training and defense conversion.

Other things I would do in the next few weeks would be:

- 1. Both the President and Mrs. Clinton need to have "Arkansas" call lists and if possible make 2 or 3 Arkansas phone calls a day.
- 2. Arkansas staff should be more visible when home. You, Carol Rasco, and Craig Smith, for example, have been very good about that, but you need to make sure that all staff trips home -- both by the White House staff and by selected others in the administration -- are maximized.
- 3. The video taped messages are big hits at tributes, dinners, etc. Between now and year end, these should be utilized as much as possible.
- 4. You need to make sure that a formal Presidential picture suitable for framing is sent to every school, and every senior citizen center in Arkansas. (yes)
- 5. The Clintons have been very generous in inviting Arkansans to come to the White House. You need to review with the Social Office who has not yet been invited and who needs to be.
- 6. The Clinton Library: I realize there are compelling reasons why the decision can't be made today. However, I do believe the President could say that the Library will be in Arkansas . . . That in itself would end any speculation that it is going "out of state"
- 7. There is a big perception which started with the Defense Center rejection, was enhanced with the Vince Foster death, the Webb Hubbell and David Watkins resignations, your move from Chief of Staff to Counselor and Richard Arnold not getting the Supreme Court that Arkansas didn't matter any more. In addition to that, as you know, the national press and legal issues have also dominated the lives of many Arkansans and Arkansas companies. This all contributes to the feeling that Arkansas is getting beat up.

The certainty of both a Presidential Library and a Northwest Arkansas airport would help offset this impression. In addition, someone from your operation

 should meet with the Bumpers and Pryor staffs to get an accounting of "pending" Arkansas projects. For example, Blanche Lambert is pursuing a Delta Studies program at Arkansas State University which should be encouraged and strongly supported.

 8. If the Clintons are not planning to come to Arkansas for either Thanksgiving or Christmas, I would encourage a 30-minute television interview in the living quarters of the White House for holiday showing in Arkansas using the Arkansas station and anchor of the Clintons choice.

9. On the positive side, I do believe the organizational efforts including the processing of congratulations, thank you, birthday and sympathy letters are working well. This is in large part due to the Arkansas DNC office working closely with the DNC and the White House. These "little things" mean a lot and can't be taken for granted.

Finally, in any plan you must consider what else could be happening in the state between now and year end. The continuing Fiske/Starr investigation and the November elections come to mind.

I would be glad to discuss this with you at your convenience.

SR:sw

To VP

Let's discuss this -
Spence's point.
Q: What's next step -
B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

Mr. President

Ray's thoughts
are insightful and
will give you pause -
a true Heartland /
Perspective issue Ray
is suggesting interesting
and groundbreaking effort.

GSD&M

September 7, 1994

Mr. Thomas F. McLarty III
Counselor to The President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Ground Floor, West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mack:

Only Nixon could go to China, and only President Clinton and Vice President Gore can dismantle the dysfunctional parts of government and restore trust and faith with the American people.

~~Have~~ Some thoughts if
you would like to discuss further.

U. of

The *Houston Chronicle* said two weeks ago, "We must concede that too many of the president's critics are unwilling to give him or his administration credit when credit is due." (The Brookings Institute just reported that Gore's National Performance Review is proving to be one of the most lively management reforms in American history.) If nothing else, this drive has proven that bureaucracy can be checked.

The *New York Times* in an op-ed piece on September 6 said, "Skeptics dismissed the campaign as hollow rhetoric, just another strand in a long string of ill-fated Presidential commissions to improve Government efficiency. But a year later, the skeptics have been proved wrong...the National Performance Review has been one of the Clinton Administration's few clear victories."

The *Austin American-Statesman's* front page Insight Section Sunday, September 4, issue said, "Despite having been dismissed by skeptics as a publicity stunt, Gore's National Performance Review has scored some victories... A report last month by the Brookings Institute credited the program with accomplishing 'far more than anyone thought possible' but warned that it might not go far from here."

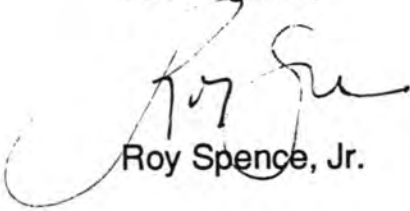
Mack, as you know, I have believed all along that this is the issue of our time, simply because if we do not restore the American people's faith that government is of measurable value to the taxpayers (the customers), the United States of America will be in deep trouble long-term. If the President of the United States would focus (post health-care reform) not on creating new government programs, but dismantling the dysfunctional ones, there is no

question he will get re-elected and he will leave a legacy that will restore the American people's faith in its government again.

The President and the Vice President need to surround themselves with the savvy, hands-on, low cost, high quality providers, e.g., Herb Kelleher, Southwest Airlines, the President of Home Depot, etc. If this administration will spend the same amount of energy, talent and political capital in dismantling the dysfunctional parts of the bureaucracy and the hoards of unnecessary regulation, the political opposition will have nothing to run on except hollow rhetoric.

This must be done so that the President can get re-elected and so that we can truly reinvent the way government operates and re-establish trust with the American people.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Roy Spence, Jr.", with a large, sweeping flourish extending from the bottom left.

Roy Spence, Jr.

Did Gore Reinvent Government? A Progress Report

By Donald F. Kettl

MADISON, Wis.

In September 1993, Vice President Al Gore promised nothing less than a campaign to reinvent the Federal Government. In a document boldly named the National Performance Review, he pledged a Government that "works better and costs less," treating citizens as customers and delivering better value for their tax dollars.

Skeptics dismissed the campaign as hollow rhetoric, just another strand in a long string of ill-fated Presidential commissions to improve Government efficiency. But a year later, the skeptics have been proved wrong. Amid sour debate over health reform and crime, the National Performance Review has been one of the Clinton Administration's few clear victories.

The review promised to reduce the Federal civilian work force by 252,000 over five years — a pledge the public liked so much that Congress voted for even greater reductions. The Administration has done away with the Government's inordinately complex all-purpose résumé and application form. It has hammered out a tough bargain with Congress to simplify procurement, and created a council of chief operating officers from all the Cabinet departments to focus attention on management problems.

Even more important, Mr. Gore's review generated a fresh sense of the possible. Good ideas that lay fallow for years have sprung to life; "reinvention labs" throughout the Government are producing mountains of fresh ideas. In Milwaukee, for example, a team of Veterans Affairs managers figured out ways to decentralize some functions and centralize others, thereby saving \$2.8 million, 8 percent of their budget.

But if the review has given rise to new excitement and energy — and more progress in its first year than almost anyone believed possible — its success is threatened by two major problems.

First, a preoccupation with short-term savings. As the Vice President has argued, a Government that works better can cost less. In practice, however, focusing on immediate savings can weaken the campaign and increase costs in the long run.

The biggest chunk of the \$108 billion in promised savings — \$40 billion — was to come from shrinking the Federal work force; where and how to make these cuts would be determined by carefully rethinking how to do the Government's job. Practice has been exactly the reverse: the downsizing has come first, largely disconnected from any strategic plan, leaving managers scrambling to perform jobs that if anything have grown.

Not surprisingly, this reversal has undercut the morale of the very workers being called to take bold risks. In contrast with the familiar anti-Washington rhetoric that blames "bureaucrats" for waste and inefficiency, Mr. Gore's report saw the problem as the system, not the workers, and it promised to enable them to do their jobs better. In return, it asked them to take more chances and worry more about performance.

The downsizing plan has been a bucket of cold water on those goals. Indeed, for most Federal employees, the threat to their jobs, not the focus on results, has been the defining reality of "reinventing Government."

It would be naïve to think that any change of this magnitude could be accomplished without upsetting the people being changed. And the Federal work force can clearly be reduced; there are far too many layers and too many mindless rules. But as downsizing in the private sector has taught us, big cuts without broader strategies only hurt morale and often fail even to achieve their goal of reducing costs. Quick public-opinion victories from cutting Federal employees could easily pale in comparison with the long-term performance problems that would be produced from a government that is dumbed instead of downsized.

The second threat to the National Performance Review is the lack of an explicit strategy for dealing with Congress. At first, it was thought that the Administration could accomplish most of its reforms without Congressional approval. But the first year has made clear that this hope simply isn't realistic. Despite Congress's enthusiasm for the general concept of the performance review, both houses have been tugging at its individual threads in ways that could unravel it. For example, House members didn't want to hurt health care for veterans, so they voted to exempt the Veterans Health Administration's 212,000 employees (almost 10 percent of the total) from the work-force cutbacks. The Senate then voted to exempt Federal criminal justice employees.

For the many valuable pieces of Mr. Gore's effort to endure, a new balance of power will somehow need to be struck. Congress has a legitimate interest in overseeing the executive branch. But if bureaucrats are to produce a cheaper and more effective Government, they need greater freedom to do their jobs without micro-specification of the details. The Government Performance and Results Act of 1992, which commits the Government to a decade-long effort to draft strategic plans and measure the results, is an important first step.

Congress and the President need to strike a new bargain, based on these foundations, if government is to improve the way it works. The movement launched a year ago, however promising, is not self-sustaining. Making it stick will require hard work that has only just begun. □



For once, a study that won't gather dust.

Donald F. Kettl, professor of public affairs and political science at the University of Wisconsin, is a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington. He is author of the institution's new report "Reinventing Government? Appraising the National Performance Review."

Sunday,
September 4, 1994



Austin Am

What ever h

REINVENTING

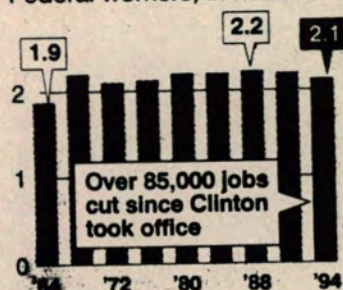
Reinventing government

One year later

Clinton said his reinventing government program would save \$108 billion by 1998 through job cuts, modernization and trimming bureaucracy. The progress so far:

↓ Work force shrinking

Federal workers, in millions:



► Goals update

On target

- Cut 272,900 federal jobs by 1998; will save \$43 billion
- Simplify procurement system; will save \$22.5 billion

Getting going

- Modernize IRS
- Give military base commands more authority
- Reduce internal government regulations by 50%
- Simplify hiring and firing

No action

- Reform food stamp program
- Cut vacant public housing subsidies
- Give president legal authority to reorganize agencies
- Improve debt collection

SOURCE: Office of Personnel Management

Knight-Ridder Tribune

After 1 year: Fewer on the payroll, still more to do

By JULIA MALONE
Cox News Service

WASHINGTON — A year ago, Vice President Al Gore began a quest to make the federal government "work better and cost less."

But in taking on the whole federal bureaucracy at once, Gore's effort to "reinvent government" has been like trying to empty a lake with a bucket. It's hard to see much progress.

Despite having been dismissed by skeptics as a publicity stunt, Gore's National Performance Review has scored some victories since its launching Sept. 7, 1993, with Gore and President Clinton standing among stacks of federal regulation books on the South Lawn of the White House.

In a draft report to be released this month, the 40-member performance review staff said that slightly more than 100 of their 910 reform proposals have been enacted.

But those innovations are so scattered throughout the bureaucracy that they lose some of their impact.

Gore's reinvention team is now tracking hundreds of reforms in 85 separate pieces of legislation awaiting approval by Congress.

The General Accounting Office,

See Drive, D4



President Clinton was all smiles in claimed a string of successes in

A SUCCESS STORY

Reinventing government drive making headway

PRESIDENT CLINTON has been the target of much criticism from numerous quarters — including this page — since he took office more than a year and a half ago.

While much of that criticism has been deserved, we must concede that too many of the president's critics are unwilling to give him or his administration credit when credit is due.

A case in point: When Vice President Al Gore, a year ago, announced his campaign to "reinvent" government by reducing the bureaucracy, there were many skeptics. The plan was often ridiculed as being nothing more than cosmetic tinkering with the vast mechanism of government.

Now comes the Brookings Institution with a report that while Gore's National Performance Review hasn't been as successful as the vice president predicted, it is not a failure. In fact, the report says the effort is "proving one

of the most lively management reforms in American history."

Personnel and purchasing rules have been simplified, red tape has been cut, regional offices have been shut down and the administration is still striving toward its goal of cutting the federal work force by 12 percent in five years.

The report does caution that, among other things, the effort relies too heavily on short-term savings and that it has alienated some of the people whose support it needs to succeed. But overall, it's a darn good report card.

We hope Gore's task force continues its work, all the while keeping in mind that most rules — even the regulations that have led to some of the most bizarre and frustrating tales of a bureaucracy run amok — were implemented for a good purpose: to prevent corruption or unfairness.

If nothing else, this drive has proven that bureaucracy can be checked.

Vice President Al Gore called the FCC "the little agency that could" two weeks ago when he presented "The Hammer" award for reinventing government. The FCC auction team won the award for its success with its recent spectrum auctions, which raised more than \$800 million for the U.S. Treasury. That figure must now be revised after it was revealed that the agency expected several bidders in the IVDS auction to default.

From left: Al Gore, FCC Chairman Reed Hundt, commissioners Susan Ness and Rachelle Chong.



Drive to reinvent government still has miles to go

Continued from D1

The nonpartisan investigative arm of Congress, will issue a reminder of how much is unfinished this week when it releases its scorecard on the National Performance Review.

A report last month by the Brookings Institution credited the program with accomplishing "far more than anyone thought possible" but warned that it might not go far from here.

"It energized employees, it attracted citizens, it drew media attention to government management," wrote Donald Kettl, a professor at the University of Wisconsin who conducted the yearlong study for the institution, a public policy research organization in Washington, D.C.

But Kettl added that in its zeal to find quick savings, the Clinton administration "failed to build the foundation for success in the long haul."

The most far-reaching change is shrinking the 2.1-million-member federal civilian work force by 12 percent over six years. On course toward that goal, the administration has trimmed the payroll by the equivalent of 78,000 full-time positions this year, largely through offering to pay workers up to \$25,000 to leave.

The total personnel savings are estimated at \$43 billion, but federal spending won't fall by that much. Congress voted last month to use most of the savings to pay for the recently passed \$30.2 billion anti-crime bill.

Also, Kettl charged that the federal worker cuts came so fast that there wasn't time for strategic planning to plan for true transformation of the agencies.

Elaine Kamark, Gore's chief of policy, dismissed that criticism as "academic folly" and she added that "nobody who has undertaken a major reorganization" can do it "absent a crisis mode."

Even so, Kamark conceded that the National Performance Review has to make much more progress before most Americans can see a real difference in their government.

But she pointed to what Gore has called "islands of excellence" stemming from the project. Among them:

The same agencies that are losing billions of dollars today, will lose the same amount of money, but they'll do it more efficiently.

— Scott Hodge, Heritage Foundation

■ Some agencies are beginning to use a government "credit card" to buy office equipment directly off the shelf of commercial stores, such as Office Depot, avoiding costly and time-consuming forms sent to bureaucratic purchasing offices.

■ The Health and Human Services Department touts a Georgia experiment as a model for cutting red tape. State and federal workers there teamed up with the Atlanta Project, a private group, and distilled 64 pages of applica-

tions for food stamps, welfare, and other benefits into a single eight-page form. But the new application has been tested in only about 85 cases.

■ Veterans hospitals are beginning to install telephones for their patients, using donated equipment and volunteers.

Throughout the government, reinvention groups work on efficiency schemes and speak in a new lingo, in which the public is referred to as "the customers."

But within the ranks of federal

workers, some are deeply resentful about the reinvention shake-up, which they see as little more than political posturing. After the president ordered agencies to slash at least 50 percent of their management directives, one Interior Department field office came up with a mock solution.

The employees decided to pull out every other page from their rule book and then "just guess what's in the middle," said one manager, who insisted that his name not be published for fear of being branded an "obstructionist."

However, other workers warm-

ly welcome Gore's reform effort. Glenn Kamber, who has spent nearly 26 years in civil service, said the process "gives people who care an opportunity to be creative again" and return to their mission of serving the American people, not federal bureaucracy.

Kamber, who chairs a working group on customer service at the Department of Health and Human Services, described "rules and regulations that have accumulated like barnacles over the years" at an enormous cost.

"I think you've got to scrape

them off every once in a while," he said.

This does little to satisfy critics who believe a real overhaul of government must drastically reduce the scope of its activity.

"At best, the National Performance Review will make the paper flow within those failed agencies a bit more efficient," said Scott Hodge, a budget expert at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. "The same agencies that are losing billions of dollars today, will lose the same amount of money, but they'll do it more efficiently."

Leon - I think we should have someone who

LETTERS

Plunder them for papers, major mag & doc
Thank you for putting them in the support for

Owning guns: It became clear to me as I read "Should You Own a Gun?" [Cover, August 15] that the difference in philosophy between Kleck and Kellermann has almost nothing to do with crime or, for that matter, guns; it has to do with how they view the American people. Gun-control opponents see a group of mostly rational, decent people who have a right to decide for themselves how they can best protect themselves and their families from increasingly violent criminals. Advocates of gun control see a nation of irrational, childlike beings who must be protected from their own incompetence by a wiser, more compassionate government.

Kenneth E. Dunlap
Afton, Minn.

■ The idea that guns are an effective deterrent against crime is really absurd, and I am a qualified witness to that absurdity. We live in a nice suburban home, and my husband was a gun owner. We kept our weapon safely out of our child's reach and thus out of quick accessibility. I came home from shop-



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/21

Hot issue. Pros and cons of owning guns

ping early one afternoon and was confronted by two teenage boys burglarizing our house. I had no opportunity to get that gun, but the boys, after tying me up, managed to find it. Fortunately, they did not use it on me, but they left with the gun. I was left tightly bound and gagged. I spent the next few hours lying hogtied with a dish towel wrapped around my mouth reflecting on the benefits of gun ownership. A dog or an alarm system would have provided me with more protection than that gun, and

God knows where it is now. Our gun will not be replaced.

Susan Friedman
Radnor, Pa.

■ Thanks for one of the most balanced articles dealing with firearms that have appeared in any of the national news media. The lack of hysteria was indeed refreshing. It should be noted, however, that no study has ever achieved a positive correlation between suicide and firearms. In point of fact, some of the countries with the highest suicide rates have virtually no available firearms.

Doug Spittler
Alameda, Calif.

Blaming Bill: In "Whatever It Is, Bill Clinton Likely Did It" [August 8], Lloyd Cutler says that "These attacks have reached a level of invective and viciousness that is unparalleled." One possible explanation: we have never had a man of Clinton's caliber in the White House before.

Betsy Johnson
Oakley, Kan.

■ I have been observing politics for over 50 years, and only Harry Truman had to deal with the kind of vicious flak being thrown at our president. He is constantly being bombarded by a snarling pack of political hyenas, right-wing preachers and big-mouth talk-show hosts. In spite of this, he has accomplished more in his short tenure than his predecessors did in 12 years. The economy is humming, the deficit is down and Barry Goldwater is about the only Republican not trying to bring him down or get his job.

Bob Reding
Gold Beach, Ore.

■ Your account of the smear campaign against the president sheds light on the methods and objectives of the extreme right. They simply cannot accept that Americans elected a more progressive, tolerant, activist government. If Clinton's vacillation and timidity sometimes make me wonder if I can continue to support him, the maneuverings of these sleazy fanatics remind me that I must.

Gary Pierce
San Francisco

AUTHORS WANTED

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly, juvenile and religious works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free 32-page illustrated booklet S-69 Vantage Press, 516 W 34 St., New York, NY 10001

**100,000 KIDS ARE
COUNTING ON US.
THAT'S WHY WE'RE
COUNTING ON YOU.**

Every year, nearly 100,000 kids attend The Salvation Army's 49 camps. There they enjoy fresh air, exercise, learning activities, new friendships. And lots of love.

Please give, so we can continue providing programs like these to needy boys and girls. They're counting on us. And you.

THE SALVATION ARMY.
Working Miracles Every Day.



“Without
a good education
I would not be
a doctor to help
sick people
or a teacher
to help children
like me.”

Nicholas Genchi
5th grade

America needs more schools
that encourage our children to fulfill
their promise.

KEEP THE PROMISE.

For information on how you can
help change the schools in your
community, call 1 800-96-PROMISE.



Education Excellence Partnership

Address letters for publication to Letters Editor,
U.S. News & World Report, 2400 N Street, N.W.,
Washington, DC 20037-1196. Include full name,
address and daytime phone number. Letters may
be edited. Via fax: (202) 955-2685. Via E-mail
(☐): 71154.1006@compuserve.com. To join
U.S. News Online on CompuServe: (800) 510-4247.

Capital Notebook

Advice to the President: Keep It Simple, Sir

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

You can't do everything, but you have to do some things. You can argue with underlings (privately), but in the end they have to play your game with you calling the plays. You check on them all the time, slap them down when they need it and get rid of them when it suits you.

This, argues Gettysburg College political scientist Shirley Anne Warshaw, is the recipe for a successful presidency, and the key ingredient is a rough, tough White House staff promoting a limited agenda and bird-dogging the troops so they don't free-lance.

"An incoming administration has to have a very clear focus," Warshaw said. "If you don't, the Cabinet bureaucracies and their constituencies will overwhelm you."

The verdict is still out on President Clinton, she says, but the news so far hasn't been good. With shake-ups in White House staff and a chief executive who dabbles in everything and tends to change his mind, the ship of state is running in heavy weather.

"The administration had too broad an agenda when it came in," Warshaw said. "You have the departments talking about [all sorts] of improvements and programs at the same moment the president is saying we want to cut the deficit and reduce federal intervention in local affairs. You can't do both."

And, she added, you run the risk of becoming accountable for a whole array of failures that never really had a chance of succeeding. If your eyes are bigger than your stomach, you'll be writing your memoirs at the end of four years.

Still, shifting Leon E. Panetta into the White House as chief of staff "is a well-intentioned move," she said. "Panetta is certainly making changes, but I don't think we can tell yet if they are the right ones."

Warshaw is adding a Clinton chapter to her upcoming book "White House Staffing," in which she examines administrations from Nixon on to analyze what works and why.

She found that effective administration generally demands a strong White House staff capable of muzzling Cabinet officials who have laundry lists of "50 or 60 policy objectives" that aren't going to make it into law. Too many demands, too little time.

"Without fail," the most effective administra-

tion belonged to Ronald Reagan, she said. Reagan's staff, and particularly domestic policy adviser Martin Anderson, "was the most sophisticated in controlling the agenda, determining what was going on and delivering the message repeatedly to the departments."

And for those who could never understand how such a weird old man could keep the wolves at bay for eight years, the reason should be obvious: he didn't have a cluttered mind.

"He only had a few objectives," Warshaw said. "Cut government waste, increase military spending, reduce government regulation. Almost everything in the administration fit into that platform" and the staff made sure it stayed that way.

Second best, she said, was Richard M. Nixon, who did well with a very competent staff until it imploded over Watergate. "Nixon's ultimate failure," however, "was his own personality," Warshaw said. He scored very low on social skills.

Third, she said, was Jimmy Carter, who made a mid-course correction by firing half his Cabinet, naming Hamilton Jordan his chief of staff and letting him take charge of policy, manipulate the news media and keep the politics on track. Unfortunately for Carter, she said, changes came "too late to matter."

Fourth was Gerald R. Ford, the accidental president who inherited Nixon's can of worms. His downfall, Warshaw said, was "an enormous amount of infighting" among his staff, which included his own people, Nixon holdovers and a third crew brought in by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller.

And last, she said, was George Bush, who had decent staff "but no agenda." Bush wanted to "continue the Reagan mandate," except the Reagan mandate had "largely been accomplished." Bush, Warshaw said, was "a caretaker," and "Americans don't want a caretaker president."

Clinton, of course, has the opposite problem. Needing "a short list of policies," Warshaw said, he is instead all over the map. He's got gays in the military, health care, welfare reform, assault weapons, a tight budget and a government that "Works Better and Costs Less."

If you go into overload, you can refocus, but you have to do it in four years, because, Warshaw found, most of a president's big successes come in the first term. Then again, without big successes, a first term is quite likely all you get.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

Leon
Worth reading
B.

Viewing Population as a Global Crisis, Cairo Conferees Have Missed the Point

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

By TIM CARRINGTON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — It's a little late to say so, but maybe there shouldn't have been a global conference on population after all.

As the cacophony from Cairo demonstrates, world convocations have a way of getting hijacked in one of two directions: into paralyzing debates on narrowly focused issues such as abortion; or into diverting and overly "global" discourse on whether the world is going to run out of food, space or breathable air.

Treating population as a global crisis demanding a global cure misses the point. In fact, the world isn't doing so badly on the population front. Thanks to huge increases in the practice of family planning, average births for women aged 15 to 49 have dropped to 3.1 currently from five in the years 1950 through 1955. Malthusian talk of population time-bombs tempts too many people to dismiss all such concerns: one U.S. editorialist calculated that everyone in the world could happily fit into Texas — and concluded there is no world population problem.

Statistics Can Be Deceiving

But the world isn't one place, and world statistics can be deceiving. Overpopulation might not be a problem in the U.S., Italy or Japan. It may be less of a problem in Mexico than it used to be. But what about Uganda, whose population is poised to balloon to 28 million in 2005 from 18 million today, even after taking into account the AIDS scourge? Or Bangladesh, whose population is expected to reach 144 million in the year 2000, nearly three times its level in 1960? Or Brazil, whose numbers are likely to swell to 173 million in 2000 from 73 million in 1960?

NASD Unveils Task Force On Securities Arbitration

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The National Association of Securities Dealers announced the launch of a task force to consider reforms in securities arbitration.

As expected, the nine-member task force is headed by David S. Ruder, a former Securities and Exchange Commission chairman. Its launch comes as securities arbitration has been widely criticized for being biased in favor of brokerage firms.

The task force "will study arbitration's overall goals, the process as it has evolved over the last 25 years and the current environment, for the purpose of formulating recommendations for the future form and structure of securities arbitration," the NASD said.

Among the task force's members are J. Boyd Page, a partner at the Atlanta law firm of Page & Bacek and president of the Public Investors Arbitration Bar Association; and John Bachmann, managing principal at Edward D. Jones & Co., a St. Louis brokerage firm.

Many of the world's poorest areas are experiencing record population growth. This uncontrolled fertility frustrates the battle to alleviate poverty. Poor countries overwhelmed by the sheer number of births find it all but impossible to provide basic education, health services and jobs. The resulting conditions feed environmental and human disasters such as the apocalyptic horrors in Rwanda.

In short, there is a population problem, but it is essentially limited to less-developed countries. In fashioning programs for alleviating poverty and encouraging development, industrialized countries and the international institutions have to introduce family planning and reproductive health services.

This is painstaking, grinding work that seems a long way off from the debates of Cairo. After the conference concludes tomorrow, international institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank still will have to figure how to finance and deliver family-planning and reproductive health services, country by country. Policies will have to be tailored to fit individual countries' laws, religious and cultural traditions.

Changing the Language

The language of population planning has changed. When it's finally thrashed out, the Cairo document won't speak of time-bombs and population control, but will emphasize reproductive health and choice. The future won't be built on coerced sterilizations, as occurred in India and Bangladesh in the early days of the family-planning movement, but on client-based services that make a mix of contraceptives available, and provide basic health services for mothers and infants, along with help in avoiding sexually transmitted diseases.

These reproductive programs need to be paired with a strong push for girls' education. According to a World Bank study, uneducated women in Zimbabwe, on average, have 7.3 children, while those with 10 years of schooling have 3.3. Of course, educated women also will likely earn some money and do a better job of keeping healthy the children they do have.

In the past, the World Bank has been criticized for dragging its feet in making population an integral part of the development programs they pursue around the world. But the bank has tried to improve the quality of services it backs.

Looking to the future, Joan Dunlop, president of the International Women's Health Coalition, predicts that the Nordic countries and the World Bank will move fairly quickly to put some of the ideas from the Cairo session into practice. The U.S. Agency for International Development also will have to design programs for reaching women in countries where family-planning is still viewed as a distant, first-world concept.

To decide whether the debates of Cairo were worth it, wait five years and ask a village mother in central Africa.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN EPA to Back Plan Without Requiring Electric Vehicles

A WALL STREET JOURNAL News Roundup

The Environmental Protection Agency is expected to endorse a plan for cutting auto emissions in 12 Northeast states and the District of Columbia that wouldn't require the sale of electric vehicles. Instead, it would be up to each of the 12 states and the district to decide whether to require the sale of electric vehicles.

The Wall Street Journal reported incorrectly on Friday that the agency's preliminary approval of the region's petition would mandate the sale of electric vehicles in the Northeast. In fact, what the approval would require is the sale of low-emission vehicles that run on gasoline or natural gas. An EPA spokesman said Friday that the agency has held since January 1993 that it doesn't have the authority to mandate sale of electric vehicles.

In February, the 12 Northeast states and the District of Columbia petitioned the EPA for permission to apply a California-style program for cutting auto emissions. The California program requires auto makers to begin selling a certain percentage of low-emission vehicles starting this year. California also requires auto makers to sell a certain percentage of zero-emission — that is, electric — vehicles starting in 1998. But an EPA official said that the EPA's expected endorsement of the petition, to be issued in the form of a proposed regulation, will make clear that the agency is mandating the sale only of low-emission vehicles, not zero-emission vehicles.

In their February petition, the Northeast group, acting jointly as the Ozone Transport Commission, indicated some confusion over whether it would indeed be up to each state to decide whether to mandate electric-car sales.

The petition said the states would mandate such sales if required under section 177 of the federal Clean Air Act. But it adds that "if such a zero-emission vehicle sales requirement isn't a required component" of state programs adopted under the act, as the EPA contends, then the individual states would decide for themselves.

By making clear that each state will have to decide on that point itself, the EPA set the stage for a round of lobbying on the state level by critics and proponents of electric cars.

Electric-car mandates already have been adopted in New York and Massachusetts. But major auto makers, including Detroit's Big Three, are suing to block the requirements in those states. Auto makers have doubted the feasibility of mass producing electric vehicles and whether consumer demand exists for them.

Decision on 'Fast-Track' For GATT to Come Soon

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration will decide this week whether to drop a proposal that would extend "fast-track" trade negotiating authority.

The proposal is part of the package of legislation Congress is considering that would approve the world trade pact negotiated under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. A joint House-Senate panel is meeting on the legislation and is supposed to make its recommendations Monday. The administration will then use the report as a basis for submitting final legislation.

The debate over fast-track renewal, which binds Congress to vote either "yes" or "no" on future trade deals without making changes, has delayed GATT approval. Senate Republicans have blocked fast-track, arguing that the administration will use it to pursue worker-rights issues and environmental measures that the Republicans oppose. Some Democrats have argued Republicans are using the fast-track issue as an excuse to hold up the measure, and thus embarrass the White House.

The administration finds itself under heavy pressure to drop fast-track, if that's what it takes to get GATT approved before Congress adjourns. Several senior officials said they would try once more to sell the proposal, and then abandon it if they don't make headway.

EU Ministers Agree Deficits Must Be Cut Despite the Recovery

A WALL STREET JOURNAL News Roundup

European Union finance ministers agreed at a weekend meeting in Germany that their governments must aggressively slash hefty budget deficits despite clear signs that the severe recession is over.

The ministers, meeting in the southern German lakeside town of Lindau, said governments must not be lulled by positive economic signs into relaxing their efforts to reduce red ink in preparation for economic and monetary union. Under the Maastricht treaty's European Monetary Union guidelines, only tiny Luxembourg now meets the strict targets on budget deficits and government debt.

"There was agreement that, in reducing deficits, we cannot simply rely on economic recovery but must further reduce the structural component," German Finance Minister Theo Waigel told a news conference after the ministers' informal meeting. Deficits tend to shrink naturally during periods of economic growth as tax revenues are boosted, but the ministers said Europe's recovery is threatened because long-term interest rates are being driven up by their governments' extravagant borrowing.

"Real long-term interest rates are very high for this early phase of recovery, underlining the continued need for action in consolidating public-sector budgets," said Mr. Waigel, whose country holds the EU's rotating presidency.

Such consolidation is sure to be difficult, because cuts in government spending must often target sensitive sectors such as social services and pensions.

Turning Eastward

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Islamic Party's Gains In Istanbul Stir Fears Of a Radical Turkey

Refah Tends to City's Ills,
Won't Reveal Its Agenda
If It Wins National Vote

Can Business Ties Help West?

By BARRY NEWMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ISTANBUL, Turkey — "Look at me," says Melissa, and it's hard not to. "I'm half naked," she adds, accurately. "If they saw me this way, they'd beat me up. Soon, I'll have to cover my head working here."

The bar girl's boss at the Hisar Club doesn't laugh. "Beyoglu is an area where anything goes," Fazli Gundogdu says as dots of light from a revolving globe trail over his Hawaiian shirt. "But don't be fooled by the nightclubs. I think we might be turning into another Iran."

Outside, feeble neon signs lead from bar to bar along Beyoglu's back streets, from the brothel district to the transvestite quarter. On the main drag, Istiklal Caddesi, a banner is draped over an iron fence. It says:

"Children! We're having a circumcision festival! Circumcision and festival free! For application, apply at Beyoglu municipality public-relations office."

A Surprising Victory

Municipal sponsorship of religious ritual in this kind of neighborhood may seem as unlikely as the Christian Right taking over Times Square, but in Beyoglu it is happening. A devoutly Islamic political party runs the most decadent district of the most cosmopolitan city in Turkey, this most secular of Muslim nations. The Refah Party — Refah means "welfare" — won mayoral elections last March in Beyoglu and 15 more of the city's 27 boroughs, and a Refah man, Tayyip Erdogan, looks after 11 million citizens from Istanbul's City Hall.

Mayor Erdogan promises to close the brothels and build a mosque in Beyoglu's heart. He is painting curbs in no-parking zones Islamic green and white. After all, Istanbul is still one of Islam's holiest sites. But the mayor doesn't overplay it. He is just as busy picking up trash, paving streets, piping water, punishing corruption and peddling half-price bread.

On a Friday morning, supplicants gather in his office, and Mr. Erdogan greets them amid potted shrubs and trays of linden tea. He is 40, a former food-company executive in a sharp black blazer.

Two Views of Religion

"Our view of religion is different from yours," he says to a Western visitor as the crowds file in and out. "According to your rules, religion only counts in the place where you pray. Our religion is a way of life. I have no time at all, not one minute,

without Islam."

An aide suggests that Refah is a party of people "who see Islam as the most important issue in their lives," but the mayor softens that. "Refah isn't a religious party," he says. Refah represents a mission. We want a just order. We're for happiness."

While the mayor draws no line between religion and politics, his party draws no distinction between city politics and geopolitics. It openly opposes joining the European Union. It questions membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It wants Turkey to turn its back on the West and lead the Muslim world. If the party is out to transform the country into a full-blown Islamic state, it keeps that to itself, but the West is on guard. Collecting the garbage is hardly Refah's sole ambition.

The municipal elections tested the field for national balloting due in 18 months at most. Having won 29 big-city races with 19% of the total vote, including not only Istanbul but Ankara, Refah could well nose out two center-right parties that usually vie to govern the country. In self-defense, those parties might also shift into higher Islamic gear. Given Turkey's pique toward the West, Islam is a vote-getter.

Early this year, the economy boiled over. Prime Minister Tansu Ciller imposed austerity and begged the International Monetary Fund to prop up her program. Turks don't like austerity, and they don't like to beg. They don't like the stalling in Europe and the U.S. over aid to Muslims in Bosnia or Western apathy toward Russian meddling in the Caucasus. And they don't like ex-Communist East Europeans cruising into the European Union while Turkey stands and waits.

The West has a gripe, too: Turkey's war against its rebellious Kurds and the human-rights abuse that goes with it. Turkey could get drummed out of the Council of Europe for that—a hateful fate to stalwarts of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk; in 1923, the founder of modern Turkey made emulating the West the national creed. Yet many others might rejoice. For them, belonging to Western clubs is the last thing any Turk should want.

"Whenever the West needs us, we're tied to the West," says Ersin Kalaycioglu of Bosphorus University. "As soon as the threat recedes, we go back to being a cultural eyesore."

In the Cold War's global drama, Turkey
Please Turn to Page A10, Column 1



Tayyip Erdogan

Turning Eastward: Islamic Party Gains in Istanbul And Is Arousing Concerns About a Radical Turkey

Continued From First Page

had a supporting role as an outpost on NATO's southern flank. On the smaller stage of today's passion plays in the Caucasus, Balkans and Mideast, Turkey's part is pivotal. "It would be disastrous to have it a destructive power opposed to Western policy," says Philip Robins of Britain's Royal Institute for International Affairs. A Turkey left out in "Europe's hallway," says William Hale at the University of London, could become "nationalist, militantly isolationist and Islamic."

Refah's rise is an index of Turkey's injured pride, and it makes thoroughly Westernized Turks like Prof. Kalaycioglu tremble. He lists the party's "core values" as "xenophobia, chauvinism and anti-Semitism." If it wins power before Turkey mends its Western fences and heals its economy, Refah "could slide into 'ascism,'" he says, and "convert this country into something like Lebanon."

Is the professor getting hysterical? Could Turkey's democracy crack in an Islamic tremor like the ones shaking Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria? An American banker here believes that even a fundamentalist regime would be bound by the "commercial reality" of Turkey's business ties to the West. He calls Prime Minister Ciller "nuts" for using the Refah threat to plead for an IMF lifeline. But nobody outside Refah really knows what the party has up its sleeve.

A Legal Obstacle

It is a crime in Turkey for a political party to advocate an Islamic state. So if Refah does aspire to apply the Koran as the law of the land, it has reason not to shout about it. Just as well. While secular Turks keep guessing at its heavenly agenda, Refah gets on with a very earthly pursuit of votes. Its workers are Turkey's slickest ward heeler.

A trip to the municipal dump is enough to show anyone why the district of Umraniye on Istanbul's Asian shore is in Refah's grip. Through a cloud of flies, party worker Birol Hayal strolls past the "Dangerous and Illegal" sign to the edge of a gully. On hills all around sit the half-built houses of Umraniye's slums. But the dirt tracks that once led down to more houses in the gully now disappear under a heap of trash. A gas pocket exploded in the dump last winter. The avalanche that followed buried the houses and killed 23 people.

"It's one reason we won," Mr. Hayal says, itemizing others: polluted tap water or no water at all, streets unpaved and filthy, bribe-happy police — 700,000 people, in brief, living on services meant for 200,000. With Ankara's politicians choking Istanbul's budget, Refah can't fix much. It lays asphalt, adds garbage trucks, pretti-

fies parks. It claims to be whipping corruption. But there is one more reason the party got 40% of the vote in Umraniye.

"The way we work," Mr. Hayal says. Back in his office, he lifts a clipboard off the wall and flips through a printout of names and streets. One column shows Refah activists — in Umraniye alone it has 35,000 — and a list alongside matches them with voters by place of birth. Four million peasants have moved to Istanbul in the past 10 years. The city ignores them. But the workers Refah sends to knock on their doors come from their own hometowns. Mr. Hayal says. "No other party in Turkey does this."

Getting Out the Vote

And on election days, no other party zips around slums in laptop-equipped Jeep Cherokees to flush out laggards and whisk them into polling booths. Refah's wealth, rumor has it, comes from Saudi Arabia. But Refah loyalists' explanation seems just as likely: Its money comes from prayerful guest workers in Germany and from the few grateful peasants who came to Istanbul and made good.

Ismail Ozdemir is one of them. He and four brothers left the Black Sea coast in 1987 to open a restaurant in Umraniye. It has a green and white sign, green tables and white walls. At lunchtime on a warm day, the waiters, in green and white shirts, have no one to wait on. The only thing eating away at this place is austerity.

"You see that meat," Mr. Ozdemir says, motioning toward a stack of kebabs. "By this time of day, they should all be gone. A state that doesn't think about the people—that's no state at all."

He sits at a green table and lights a cigarette. "I'm honest," he says. "I pray. I like Refah very much. These are honest people. Western countries are afraid of Refah, afraid we'll be a powerful country. They'll have to take their hands off Turkey when it becomes powerful." He lights up again and adds, "Turkey is Islamic. Refah will safeguard our religious culture."

It was Attaturk's war on the caliphate's religious culture 70 years ago that taught Refah's precursors how to survive suppression. Islamic institutions were torn down and sects outlawed. Imams were converted into civil servants, the alphabet from Arabic to Latin, Hagia Sophia mosque into a museum. For 30 years, the pious were kept out of college and government. But by the 1960s, a new chasm had appeared in Turkey — between capitalists and Communists.

To help fight the left, the secular state let Islam seep back into politics. With an army coup in 1980, the tactic became official. What better way to tame a rebellious generation, the generals asked, than

to teach traditional values? "By creating a feeling of Muslim brotherhood," says Bosphorus University Professor Binnaz Toprak, "you could contain the malcontents."

A Switch of Problems

Leftist books were banned in the 1980s; Islamic books abounded. The state expanded religious education, built thousands of mosques and trained thousands of imams to preach in them. It worked, kind of. The leftist menace in Turkey went the way of the Cold War, but in its place, the old secular-religious rift has reopened.

Turgut Ozal, the president who died last year, tried to attract into his own center-right party the young, educated and ambitious who also take Islam seriously. Refah, born in 1983, went after the underclass. Its public message has the ring of a populist manifesto, and it resounds all the way to Beyoglu.

Once, its hills above the Golden Horn were home to Armenians, Jews, diplomats and exiles; Islam hardly had a toehold. Now, the bar girls commute in, and among Beyoglu's 290,000 residents, thousands are migrants living in dusty slums. Yet Refah goes gently. It never rails against alcohol and vice. It looks for bugs in strip-club kitchens, coaxes drinkers indoors. And when one Refah man does talk about his deepest beliefs, it happens by accident.

Mustafa Ceylan is alone in Refah's Beyoglu branch on a Saturday morning, watching a cowboy movie. When a visitor comes in, he phones the press office and waits for a call back. He is a bearded, 32-year-old former sailor and, for two years, a Refah worker full-time.

"Beyoglu is a great place for atheists and Communists," he says, making conversation. "They go hand in hand. They want to frighten the West by discrediting us. There's no such thing as extremism in Islam. People simply live their religious beliefs."

On television, Alan Ladd is riding through the badlands.

"I used to be a leftist," Mr. Ceylan says. "I saw that politicians always made their own families rich. They make laws, and if they don't like them, they make other laws. I realized it's better to have laws made by a higher power."

Alan Ladd ducks behind a rock, and Mr. Ceylan goes on: "The Koran is a perfect law that people must obey. We believe in that. We want people to come to power in this country whom we trust, people who are good Muslims."

He turns back to the screen. "All my life," he says, "I've loved to watch cowboys and Indians." Mr. Ceylan hooks his thumbs in his pockets and watches Alan Ladd walk into a saloon.

212

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/21

~~UP~~
with reading
we're still not
getting it right

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 SEP 16 P12 : 35

September 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR JODIE TORKELSON
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR MANAGEMENT AND
ADMINISTRATION

THROUGH: JOHN PODESTA *JP*
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND STAFF SECRETARY

JAD JIM DORSKIND
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF
CORRESPONDENCE AND PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES

FROM: *DB* DAN BURKHARDT
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE GIFT UNIT

SUBJECT: REPLACEMENT FOR MARGARET WHITEHEAD

On September 30, 1994, Margaret "Peggy" Whitehead will retire from the White House Gift Unit.

Peggy is an extremely valuable member of my office. She works steadily, diligently, and puts in long hours to ensure proper accounting for the gifts to the President and other members of the First Family. This function is critical so that we can properly prepare the financial disclosure and foreign gift reports on behalf of the principals that are required by law. In addition, Peggy speaks by telephone with numerous potential donors regarding offers of gifts to the President and First Lady.

It is crucial that we replace Peggy. Presently, Jessica Arons is covering Johanna Ramos's position, which was left open when Johanna took a sudden leave of absence without pay. Johanna is scheduled to return November 14, 1994. At that time, I would like to assign Jessica to Peggy's position.

I appreciate your efforts to make it possible for Jessica to assume Peggy's position at the necessary time.

Thank you.

September 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. PODESTA

FROM: G. TIMOTHY SAUNDERS *JS*
Acting Executive Clerk
WILLIAM MCCATHRAN *W.M.C.*
Assistant to the Executive Clerk

SUBJECT: Presidential Pardons and Grants of Executive Clemency

Attached is a list of dates and numbers of Presidential pardons and Grants of Executive Clemency for comparison purposes looking back through the administration of Jimmy Carter. Please note these figures may not be all inclusive.

*Back
To
Clerk
Thanks
JDP
9.20.94*

Pardons and Executive Grants of Clemency

PRESIDENT	MEMO DATE	DATE PARDONED	NUMBER PARDONED	TOTAL
CLINTON	-----	-----	-----	-----
BUSH	1/18/93	1/18/93	13	
	12/13/92	12/24/92	18	
	12/19/92	12/24/92	6	
	1/15/92	1/15/92	1	
	6/27/91	7/5/91	12	
	3/5/91	3/5/91	17	
	-----	8/14/89	10	77
REAGAN	1/13/89	1/13/89	13	
	1/6/89	1/9/89	1	
	1/3/89	1/6/89	9	
	12/13/88	12/15/88	1	
	12/8/88	12/13/88	1	
	9/6/88	9/8/88	1	
	9/16/88	9/20/88	3	
	7/29/88	8/1/88	2	
	7/19/88	7/25/88	6	
	7/13/88	7/15/88	2	
	6/2/88	6/6/88	1	
	1/29/86	1/30/86	6	
	12/24/85	12/26/85	22	
	10/1/85	10/4/85	8	
	-----	6/11/85	1	
	5/31/85	6/4/85	1	
	3/27/85	3/29/85	2	
	12/21/84	12/21/84	22	
	11/26/84	12/3/84	8	
	7/14/84	7/16/84	3	
	6/22/84	6/22/84	1	
	6/11/84	6/13/84	8	
	2/17/84	2/22/84	6	
	2/13/84	2/16/84	7	
	2/7/84	2/13/84	6	
	11/25/83	11/30/83	2	
	10/25/83	10/27/83	2	
	10/18/83	10/20/83	1	
	7/8/83	7/11/83	1	

(MORE)

PRESIDENT	MEMO DATE	DATE PARDONED	NUMBER PARDONED	TOTAL
REAGAN (cont'd.)	4/28/83	5/2/83	8	
	3/3/83	3/9/83	7	
	2/18/83	2/22/83	13	
	-----	12/23/82	1	
	9/14/82	12/23/82	1	
	9/13/82	9/14/82	1	
	6/29/82	6/30/82	24	
	5/13/82	5/17/82	10	
	4/5/82	4/6/82	2	
	12/21/81	12/22/81	12	
	12/17/81	12/17/81	35	
	-----	12/3/81	2	
	-----	3/26/81	2	265
CARTER	12/22/80	12/23/80	70	
	-----	5/16/80	48	
	12/27/79	12/29/79	14	
	12/18/79	12/19/79	62	
	9/13/79	9/14/79	8	
	-----	4/27/79	2	
	-----	9/6/79	4*	
	1/27/79	1/29/79	1	
	12/20/78	12/22/78	64	
	11/1/78	11/6/78	31	
	8/18/78	8/18/78	2	
	8/3/78	8/7/78	22	
	12/16/77	12/19/77	74	
	10/31/77	11/1/77	66	
	10/6/77	10/6/77	1	
	4/12/77	4/12/77	1	470**

Notes:

* (Puerto Rican Nationalists)

** (So-called "blanket amnesty," Proc., "GRANTING PARDON FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, AUGUST 4, 1964 TO MARCH 28, 1973," and E.O., "RELATING TO VIOLATIONS OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, AUGUST 4, 1964 TO MARCH 28, 1973." Both these documents relate to the Vietnam conflict and are dated 1/21/77. Carter's totals do **not** include an estimate of these numbers.)

Bolded items could possibly be construed as "Christmas Pardons."

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: September 7, 1994

94 SEP 8 A9:05

Date of Request: 6/21/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chairman
Requestor Name: Rabbi Arthur Schneier
Title: President
Organization: Appeal of Conscience For
119 West 57th Street
New York, New York 1001
Contact Tel. #: 212/535-5800
Event Date: 9/26/1994
Event Description: Appeal of Conscience For
presentation
Notes: Awards will be presented
Saul Menem of Argentina
Jr., President and CEO of
Corporation. The group
further religious freedom
throughout the world.

Recommendations:

JP

PL

*In involved
to do this
but
nothing
about the
group
can we
find out*

*defer to
LMO
JEP*

9.20.94

*John -
here's more
info.*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/20

*The President
of the European Parliament*

The Hon. William J. CLINTON
The President of the
United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
NW WASHINGTON D.C. 20500
USA

15 -09- 1994



Dear Mr President,

As you know, the citizens of the European Union voted in June this year to elect their members of the European Parliament, and I have the great honour of having been elected President of the Parliament in July.

The European Parliament attaches the greatest importance to the closest possible relations with the United States of America, and with its President, its Administration and its Congress.

It is therefore fully appropriate, that on behalf of the Parliament, I should extend a formal invitation to you to address us in a special session of the Parliament, and that this invitation should be the first to a Head of State outside the European Union.

I understand that on your previous visits to Europe it has not been possible for you to address the Parliament, given the constraints of your timetable, and ours. We therefore hope that it will be possible during the next year for you to give an address to the plenary session of Europe's directly elected Parliament. I know that all members of the Parliament will attach the greatest possible importance to this visit.

If you are agreeable to this proposal, my Private Office would make contact with your staff with a view to examining possible dates.

I am asking my colleague John HUME, a distinguished member of the European Parliament, and whose achievements in the Northern Ireland peace process make us so proud, to present this letter to you personally, along with my warmest greetings.

Yours sincerely,

Klaus HÄNSCH

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

94 SEP 20 P4:37

September 20, 1994

The Reverend William F. Keucher
Interim Senior Pastor
First Baptist Church
1328 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Dr. Keucher:

Thank you for your letter of September 13 and for your invitation to attend and participate in First Baptist's Homecoming Service on October 2. I know you are very excited about this special anniversary in the history of the church. While I never know what my schedule will hold, I have shared your letter with Ricki Seidman, my scheduler, to let her know about your thoughtful invitation.

I'm grateful for your prayers and hope that I may have an opportunity to meet you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

*cc Ricki ✓
Linda Lader ✓
Linda should consider
letter to be
kept at NH ✓
Linda ✓*

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages *3*

To <i>Linda Lader</i>	From <i>Fran Wessel</i>
Dept./Agency <i>638-4141</i>	Phone # <i>456-2702</i>
Fax #	Fax #

NSN 7540-01-317-7368

5099-10*

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

The First Baptist Church of the City of Washington, D.C.

1328 Sixteenth Street, Northwest

Washington, D.C. 20036

(202) 387-2206

September 13, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

My Dear Mr. President:

This letter carries a special invitation for you to attend our Homecoming Service on Sunday, October 2nd, at 11:00 AM. We would be honored if you would also bring a greeting to our congregation during our worship service, or at our homecoming luncheon, whichever would be possible in your busy schedule. Of course, we would be pleased if Mrs. Clinton could be present with you, although we are aware that she has commitments to Foundry, our friendly neighbor.

As you may recall, First Baptist is looking forward to its 200th Anniversary. Its notable history includes the founding of Columbia College, now George Washington University, and other significant contributions to the religious and secular life of the Nation. Its Baptist roots won interest and respect from earlier Presidents together with the substantial presence of Presidents Truman and Carter.

Since my coming May 1 as Interim Senior Minister, I have become aware that you have not worshiped with First Baptist since the resignation of its pastor, Dr. Everett Goodwin. His leaving may have been distressing to you inasmuch as he had established a relationship with you, starting with the wonderful Pre-Inaugural Prayer Service.

I recall, however, that when President Nixon resigned the Presidency, the people did not abandon the institution of the Presidency. It loomed larger than the person in that high office, and merited the support of the people. In the same way, affection for and support of a former pastor should not interrupt or diminish loyalty and support for the church institution and its continuing mission.

Mr. President (Page 2)

In your leadership role as President, we expect you to make a case for the institution of our Government, especially when citizens are disappointed by some aspects of its work. I hope that I may be understood in making a case for the mission of First Baptist Church in its strategic setting as the Baptist Church with ties to the Southern Baptist Convention, the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, the Alliance of Baptists, and the American Baptist Churches, USA, most easily accessible to your place of residence.

Meanwhile, let me tell you that you are often in our prayers, especially when you are pilloried by religious enthusiasts who misunderstand your commitments to the basic tenets of a great heritage, together with the need to represent, protect and uphold the civil liberties of all Americans.]

We look forward to the possibility of your presence and homecoming greeting.

Sincerely,



Dr. William F. Keucher
Interim Senior Pastor
(Past President, ABC/USA)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{9/20}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 SEP 16 P4:37

SEPTEMBER 16, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF ITEMS ATTACHED

- My note to you indicating that we are making modest progress with **Hussman** attaching, as an example, a somewhat positive column by **Gene Lyons**.
- My note to you requesting that we visit regarding the attached **Al Hunt** column, "The Fumbling Foreign Policy Team."

→ Let me know.

9/20

THE WHITE HOUSE

Chief of Staff

~~TO THE~~
President -
also following
on Bill
Bradley.

94 SEP 16 PM 37

See Miller
Trump -
We should
excuse.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA

FROM: KATIE MCGINTY 

REF: Northwest Salmon and Bill Bradbury's Role

This memorandum is to follow-up on my September 2 memorandum regarding Bill Bradbury and his role in resolving the Northwest salmon issue. On September 9, 1994, Michael Davis, Associate Director for Natural Resources, met with Bill in Portland to discuss the issue. According to Michael the meeting went very well and Bill was satisfied that we have a plan of action for getting the Federal government's act together and involving all interested stakeholders, including state, tribal, and local governments. Michael assured Bill that he would be involved in this effort. Bill will be meeting this week with Will Stelle to discuss in more detail how he may be able to help in this very contentions and important issue.

I will update you on this matter as appropriate.

cc: Michael Davis
Will Stelle

Martha Foley

7/20

THE WHITE HOUSE

Chief of Staff

~~To The President~~

Good chance
this will be
included in
GATT.



94 SEP 16 P 4 37

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

LEON

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/20

C.C. VP
Leon
Pat G.
George

SEP 1 1994

94 SEP 1 P3:09

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

cc: Robert E. Rubin
FROM: Robert B. Reich
SUBJECT: Update on Pension Reform Legislation

*Don can do
this is sound
in good.*

I write to update you on the Administration's Retirement Protection Act. Action on the bill is moving ahead in the Congress and may soon come to a head.

Background

When we came to office, we had concerns about pension underfunding and the solvency of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, the agency that insures pension benefits. In the last years of the prior administration, the pension failures at Pan Am and Eastern airlines cost the Government and pensioners over \$1.5 billion.

In March of 1993, I convened an interagency Task Force to review the situation and make appropriate recommendations. The Task Force included high level people from the National Economic Council and the Office of Management and Budget.

The Task Force found that while the majority of pension plans (75%) are well funded, pension underfunding and the PBGC deficit are growing and present a serious long-term problem. In the last five years, pension underfunding has grown from \$27 billion to \$53 billion. At the same time, the PBGC's deficit has doubled to \$2.9 billion. Funding problems are acute in the airline, auto, steel, and tires industries where there are large amounts of benefits owing for past service.

The Task Force concluded that reform legislation is necessary. The current rules on pension funding give companies the flexibility to set aggressive actuarial assumptions so they can minimize contributions. As an example, General Motors, whose underfunding now exceeds \$20 billion, uses a mortality table that assumes twice as many people die at any given age than the tables used by Ford. This lowers contributions for General Motors since earlier deaths mean fewer pension payments. Also, contribution schedules are too slow. They allow 30 years to pay for many new benefits.

The Retirement Protection Act

The Task Force developed a legislative package that was sent to the Congress in October after careful review by me and several other senior officials. Our reforms call for: (1) strengthened pension funding; (2) better compliance tools for the PBGC; (3) increased PBGC premiums for plans posing the greatest risk to the system; and (4) regular notice to workers and retirees about funding and PBGC guarantees.

The heart of the bill is the funding reforms. These reforms would prevent companies from using aggressive actuarial assumptions and speed up contribution schedules.

We worked hard to develop a balanced, affordable package. Our reforms apply only to underfunded plans, so the large majority of employers are not affected. For those affected, we seek to reduce underfunding steadily and reasonably. Our reforms would fund all vested benefits in 15 years and eliminate the PBGC deficit within ten years.

Congressional Action

This year, I testified on the reforms before three Committees -- the House Education and Labor Committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, and the Senate Finance Committee.

The reception was highly positive. The primary concern has been the increased pension costs that the bill would bring. I underlined the bill's reasonableness and pointed to the current economic upturn as providing a special opportunity to catch up on pension funding.

On July 22, the Ways and Means Committee adopted our bill with some modifications to the funding requirements. Our champion in the Ways and Means Committee is Jake Pickle, who has been working on this issue for a number of years. The Committee's support was unanimous.

On August 11, the Education and Labor Committee reported out the bill, again unanimously. Their bill further moderates the funding requirements, but on a whole it is positive. Bill Ford was most helpful, working to balance our needs and the views of the automobile companies. The auto industry has heavily underfunded plans and any reform bill must inevitably require auto companies to contribute more to their pension plans.

Along the way, we have picked up endorsements from the AFL-CIO, the United Autoworkers, and the Steelworkers. The primary opposition has come from the auto industry and a few other large companies.

Over the last month, Lloyd Bentsen, Leon Panetta and I each met with auto industry executives. Discussions are ongoing between Administration representatives and the auto companies.

GATT

With the House Committees endorsing our bill, the activity now moves to the Senate Finance Committee. Mr. Moynihan gave us a boost at his Committee hearing, but he has yet to signal that he is prepared to move forward.

With revenue coming from more PBGC premiums, the bill raises over \$400 million. The Ways and Means Committee has included the bill in its GATT financing package. The bill is not in the Senate Finance Committee package. The Committees will sort out the many GATT issues on return from recess.

Future Action

The legislation has made remarkable progress. With a short legislative season, GATT presents the best vehicle to pass our bill.

I think it is essential that we push for passage this year. The momentum provided by Mr. Pickle and then Mr. Ford will not be with us after this session.

We have steered clear of calling the PBGC situation a crisis, but this is a persistent problem that requires a legislative fix. Pension failures continue and it is hard to imagine that another major plan will not fail in the next year or two. It will be to our credit that we have addressed the pension funding problem.

Our bill has attracted editorial support from over seventy newspapers throughout the country. Attached are August editorials from the Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune.

Attachments

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Pension Clock

TEN MONTHS ago the Clinton administration sent to Congress a carefully written bill to correct a serious financing problem in the nation's private pension system. Only now has Congress begun to respond, and the question is whether time enough remains to pass the bill this year. The legislation ought to pass. The problem now is manageable. It isn't clear it will always be.

Congress began the modern regulation of the private pension system in 1974. The regulatory system has generally been a success. A lot of private pension plans were in ragged financial condition then. Most are in sound condition today. But a relative few remain seriously underfunded, and the underfunding has put the government at risk, since under the law it is the pension insurer of last resort.

The risk is hard to measure. Most of the underfunding is in the plans of a few large companies in just four industries—autos, steel, airlines and tires. The fact that their plans are underfunded doesn't necessarily mean the companies won't meet their obligations over time. The method by which the underfunding is calculated is also arbitrary in some respects; it varies according to interest rates, which may or may not reflect the underlying ability of the companies to pay. Still, the last time the Labor Department looked, the unfunded liability among all insured plans was \$53 billion. That's how much less they had on hand than they would have needed at last year's interest rates to pay all the benefits they owed. It's a fair amount of change.

The administration bill seeks to solve the problem gradually, lest it destabilize the companies. It would require them to make up the funding gaps over a number of years, and in the meantime to pay the government higher insurance premiums. The House Ways and Means Committee approved the bill with only minor amendments last week. But the measure is also subject to approval by Education and Labor in the House, and Finance in the Senate, neither of which has acted. Part of the problem is said to be resistance from some of the companies that would be affected. The more they have to put into their pension funds, the less they have available for other purposes—and the attitude of some industries and unions over the years has been, why have pension insurance if you're not going to use it? The steel industry in particular saw the pension insurance system for a while as a possible source of backdoor federal aid; a hard-pressed company could simply lay off its pension obligations on the government.

But pensions are too important to be kicked around like that. The committees should act. There's talk that the bill, because in the short run it would raise money, could eventually come up as part of the trade legislation on which Congress is supposed to vote this year. The trade bill would cost the government tariffs which Congress would have to make up, and the pension bill could thereby serve a double purpose. Maybe that will get it passed.

Chicago Tribune

FOUNDED JUNE 10, 1847

JACK FULLER, *Publisher* HOWARD A. TYNER, *Editor*

N. DON WYCLIFF, *Editorial Page Editor* F. RICHARD CICCONE, *Managing Editor* OWEN YOUNGMAN, *Features Editor*
ELLEN SOETERER, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor* ANN MARIE LIPINSKI, *Deputy Managing Editor*

20 Section 1

Friday, August 12, 1994

A good time to fix the pension system

The nation's pension safety net—the federal insurance system that protects benefits for 41 million workers—has been in need of repair for awhile.

The Bush administration warned of a steady deterioration in the system and proposed reforms, but Congress failed to act on its plan.

When the Clinton White House inherited the situation, it found no immediate crisis but a serious, long-term problem of underfunding of private pensions plans. In response, it proposed a series of targeted reforms called the Retirement Protection Act and vowed to get the legislation passed this year.

The House Ways and Means Committee unanimously approved the bill last month and the Education and Labor Committee okayed it Thursday, but it must still clear two Senate panels. With the economy strong and companies posting healthy profits, Congress should act now to mend the retirement net.

For two decades, the federal Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. has been insuring workers' benefits with premiums paid by employers. It guarantees that most benefits will be paid to workers should a company fail. Today, there are more than 65,000 employers paying into the system, and the agency is paying benefits to more than 346,000 people.

Although an effort was made in 1987 to tighten the rules for pension funding, there's still a great deal of flexibility in the law. Companies—mostly in the steel,

auto and airline industries and many of them in the Midwest—have taken advantage of the wiggle room to underfund their pension plans, and the gap between pension obligations and pension assets has been growing steadily. Between 1987 and 1992, underfunding nearly doubled to \$53 billion.

In addition, demands on the agency have increased. Its deficit, or the difference between its liabilities and assets, has doubled in five years to \$2.9 billion. Because its payments are spread out over many years, however, it's in no immediate financial jeopardy.

The Clinton plan concentrates on increasing funding for underfunded plans. It would close legal loopholes and shorten the time in which companies must fund promised benefits. It also would raise insurance premiums for the plans most at risk, strengthen the agency's compliance powers and require employers to disclose more details of underfunded plans.

Under its plan, the administration estimates that vested benefits will be fully funded within 15 years and the agency's deficit will be wiped out within 10. Yet the proposal is running into opposition from auto and steel companies who want to preserve the option of conserving capital by not funding their plans.

Sorry, but these proposals won't financially handicap any company or jeopardize jobs. They will, however, fix some holes in the retirement system, and there's no better time to do that than now.

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: September 19, 1994

94 SEP 19 P5:35

Date of Request: 9/19/1994
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Co-Hosts
Requestor Name: Mr. Eli Segal
Title: Assistant to the President for National Service
Organization: Corporation for National Service
1100 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20525
Contact Tel. #: 202/606-5000
Event Date: 10/05/1994
Event Description: Premiere of movie "Only You"

Notes: The event costs \$25 a person and will benefit AmeriCorps. The invitation will also include the names of Cabinet members and agency heads running AmeriCorps programs.

Recommendations:

MW _____

JP OK

PL _____

*I don't
get the
fundraising
aspect.
Who gets
the \$*

*OK
clear
by
counsel
9-19-94*

fundraising

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/19

TO:

Doug Sosine

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

571

In Business This Week

EDITED BY THANE PETERSON

TIGHTENING UP AT THE WHITE HOUSE

White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta finally is set to rein in President Clinton's freewheeling advisers with a long-awaited reorganization. Its key aim is expected to be an end to "floaters"—aides who have no specific jobs. Senior Adviser George Stephanopoulos, now glued to Clinton's side, will become Panetta's policy deputy. Panetta also plans to limit the use of outside political consultants, including '92 campaign stalwarts Paul Begala and Mandy Grunwald. Until Panetta replaces political director Joan Baggett next year, he will use a team ap-

proach to setting political strategy. The team members: Baggett, Deputy Staff Chief Harold Ickes, and aide Doug Sosnik.

THE MOUSE STALKS THE PEACOCK

What goes around comes around. Years ago, when RCA was looking to sell the NBC television network, Disney Chairman Michael Eisner was among those interested. Federal restrictions on studio-network combinations, and a hefty price, dissuaded him then. Now, with federal restrictions fading and NBC's current owner General Electric peddling the network, Eisner is on the phone again—with an offer sources put at \$5 billion. Disney executives won't comment officially. But insiders say Eisner feels compelled to find a distribution outlet for his films—even though he worries he is overpaying. Eisner's offer may be more attractive than a \$2.5 billion bid for 49% of NBC from Time Warner.

CORRIGAN MOVES TO THE GIANT SCREEN

Robert Corrigan, 54, who in May resigned as president of IBM's \$11 billion Personal Computer company, thinks he has a future with the big screen. On Sept. 13, Corrigan signed on as CEO of Toronto-based Imax, the leader in giant-screen motion-picture technology. While Imax had revenues of just \$41 million in the first half of 1993, Corrigan says he has ambitious plans for expanding sales of its big-screen theaters and simulator rides.

ONE OF DELL'S LAST BABIES WALKS AWAY

Dell Computer, long considered the *enfant terrible* of the PC industry, is down to its last *enfant*. 29-year-old

HEADLINER

KANTOR PAYS A PRETTY PENNY FOR GATT

It has been almost one year since President Clinton's hard-won victory for NAFTA. Now, he's pulling out all the stops to win passage of the GATT world-trade pact. But he's discovering what a difference a year—and plunging political capital—can make. On Sept. 13, Trade Representative Mickey Kantor was forced to drop renewal of Presidential "fast-track" authority as the price for getting lawmakers to O.K. GATT.

That should clear the way for congressional approval. But it could cripple Clinton's remaining trade agenda—and tie the hands of future Presidents. Under fast track, Con-

gress can only vote yes or no on trade accords—it waives the right to make changes.

With fast track jettisoned, the President and his trade team will go to November's Asia-Pacific Economic

Cooperation powwow and other future conferences lacking authority to nail down deals. Worse, Clinton may not be able to win back fast track. Hill critics,

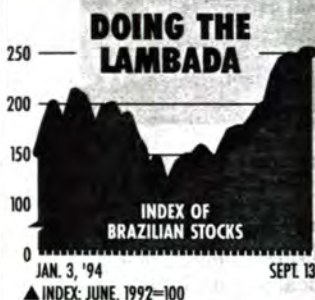
who see trade policy as

captive of business elites eager to surrender U.S. sovereignty to cash in on a global economy, are itching to limit Clinton's trade powers. With all that at stake, GATT had better be great.

By Douglas Harbrecht



CLOSING BELL



Talk about some fast dancing. Brazil's stock market skidded nearly 50% in dollars last spring, as Socialist Luís Inácio (Lula) da Silva took a lead over former Finance Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso in the nation's presidential race. Since then, stocks have rallied 120%—and Cardoso has moved ahead—after the government unveiled a strict inflation and currency-reform plan and inflation fell to an eight-year monthly low of 1.4%. If Cardoso wins the election, scheduled for Oct. 3, he will have to keep the reforms coming to avoid another crash. A likely priority: privatizations.

DATA: BARING SECURITIES LTD.

CEO Michael Dell remains, but on Sept. 14, longtime sales and marketing chief Joel Kocher quit the \$2.8 billion Austin (Tex.) company to become chief operating officer of Artisoft, a Tucson-based networking company. Known for passionate speeches and take-no-prisoners sales tactics, Kocher revved up Dell's phone-sales outfit. But when CEO Dell brought in Motorola veteran Morton Topfer as co-CEO in May to help bring order to Dell's operations, there was little room for Kocher. "Joel just couldn't go much further," says Dean Witter analyst Eugene Glazer.

SPRINT'S PHONE RINGS OFF THE HOOK

Call it a Bell ringer. The bidding among Baby Bells to land Sprint as a partner in a nationwide cellular network is getting intense. Industry sources say talks among the Kansas City-based telephone company and Nynex and Bell

Atlantic could lead to a deal by the end of September. The three would merge their cellular operations, creating a network slightly larger than that of market leader AT&T-McCaw. If the talks fizzle, Sprint could still do a cellular deal with U.S. West and AirTouch Communications. Sprint also is talking to John Malone's Tele-Communications, among others, about bidding together on lucrative personal communication service licenses at the federal government's auction in December.

ET CETERA...

► Monsanto's stock jumped on news that President Robert Shapiro will become CEO.

► The National Academy of Sciences called for a \$2-per-pack cigarette tax.

► Microsoft is about to ship its new Windows NT networking software.

► A federal grand jury in Virginia indicted three former United Way officials.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/19

TO: Let's have the

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

Did you see

JDP

QUIET CRACKDOWN

THE QUARRY: CORPORATE CIVIL-RIGHTS VIOLATORS

Back in 1977, the federal government accused Honeywell Inc. of discriminating against women. The issue: The Minneapolis company printed internal job listings for heavy industrial jobs on blue paper—a code meant to discourage female applicants. The case languished during the 12 years that Republicans Ronald Reagan and George Bush lived in the White House. But a new squad of civil-rights cops in the Clinton Administration revived the matter and quietly forced Honeywell into a \$6.5 million settlement on Sept. 8.

There's plenty more to come. With little fanfare, the Administration's antidiscrimination troops are gearing up a tough national enforcement drive. The crackdown's targets range from polluters who dump their muck in minority neighborhoods to companies that discriminate in hiring to banks whose loan departments redline poor areas. Business, perhaps preoccupied with issues such as health-care reform, has hardly noticed. "This wasn't on our radar screen," says Michael Rousch, a lobbyist for the National Federation of Independent Business.

MOMENTUM. Yet signs of the tougher new policy are everywhere. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' planned Sept. 21 hearings on Wall Street's dismal minority-employment record are only the latest example of a drive that has been gaining momentum for weeks (table). The Justice Dept. has stepped up its policing of bias in lending by banks, and it has joined the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in more closely monitoring business discrimination against disabled Americans. The Labor Dept. is scrutinizing the civil-rights records of federal contractors. And

the Environmental Protection Agency is cooking up a new program to ensure that companies don't pollute more in poor minority neighborhoods than in other areas. "There's no question they're being more aggressive," says Stephen A. Bokart, general counsel for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

President Clinton's antidiscrimination drive got off to a slow start because of his ill-fated nomination of Lani Guinier for Justice's top civil-rights post. But Deval L. Patrick, the new Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, has been on the job for nearly six months. And Gilbert F. Casellas should be confirmed any day now as the new EEOC chairman. With them and other former civil-rights activists leading the charge as Clinton appointees, critics fret that new initiatives will impose unwieldy restraints on business. Edward Yingling, chief lobbyist for the American Bankers Assn., complains that in at least one case "the government seems to be making the standards as they go along. That is scary to us."

Indeed, Justice and Treasury Dept. bank regulators are aggressively pursuing banks for unfair lending practices. The government has entered into four settlements so far. The one that irks

Yingling is a controversial Aug. 22 deal suburban with Maryland's Chevy Chase Federal Savings Bank. Chevy Chase denies Justice's allegations that it adopted a policy to avoid black neighborhoods. But it agreed to provide an additional \$11 million in subsidized loans and new branches in those areas.

The banking industry fears that the government is exacting overly harsh



CLINTON

The President's civil-rights team has mounted an enforcement drive that could affect an array of industries nationwide



remedies in cases such as Chevy Chase. "This is credit allocation, and it's undue interference," fumes Washington banking consultant Edward E. Furash. But Justice's Patrick counters: "We're not seeking any particular remedy other than the elimination of unfair lending."

Right or wrong, many companies are reluctant to fight back. The cost of litigation is steep, and the bad publicity

CLINTON'S ANTIBIAS BINGE

SEPT. 21

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission plans hearings on Wall Street's minority-employment record. The inquiry will lead to recommendations for action by the White House and Congress.

SEPT. 8

The Labor Dept. reached a \$6.5 million accord with Honeywell, settling a 19-year dispute over alleged discrimination against women employees. Labor is actively policing other government contractors to root out discriminatory practices.

SEPT. 6

The Justice Dept. reversed its position in a case involving a laid-off white New Jersey schoolteacher. The Bush Administration backed the teacher's claim of reverse discrimination when she was fired instead of a black teacher, but the Clintonites say that employers sometimes can choose a minority over an equally qualified nonminority.

SEPT. 1

Justice announced an agreement with Avis that requires it to provide hand-operated rental cars to disabled people. Justice is investigating 10 other rental-car companies on the same matter.

AUG. 22

Justice reached a settlement with Chevy Chase Federal Savings Bank requiring the D.C.-area bank to open more branches and to make more investments and subsidized loans in black neighborhoods. It has also stepped up investigations of lending discrimination generally.

lated East Coast and Midwest, where utilities have often "slammed" power plants into poor areas, says Scott E. Berger, senior environmental scientist for Public Service Co. of New Mexico.

The environmental drive is already gaining speed. On Sept. 7, the EPA, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control, and related agencies launched the Mississippi Delta project to study the effects of pollution on residents in that highly industrialized area. The EPA aims to start a potentially costly emission-reduction program, and other agencies will provide medical assistance to residents.

MISPLACED? The EPA also has targeted a Chicago public-housing project built on a landfill and surrounded by 11 polluting industrial plants. "No community, just because it's poor or minority, should become the dumping ground of waste," says Clarice E. Gaylord, director of the EPA's Office of Environmental Justice.

Companies grumble that the government is changing the rules on businesses long after they got lawful permits to build. Moreover, "the charge of racism may be misplaced in some of these situations," says Charles J. McDermott, government affairs director for WMX Technologies Inc.

Another controversy is brewing at Justice over an affirmative-action case involving a white teacher, Sharon Taxman. She had sued the Piscataway (N.J.) Board of Education in 1992 for dismissing her rather than a black colleague of equal seniority and ability. She won in U.S. District Court. But on appeal the Clintonites reversed the Bush Justice Dept.'s brief



PATRICK

Justice's new Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights will soon be joined by a new chairman of the EEOC

in support of Taxman. Now, Justice argues that employers can use affirmative-action goals to justify retaining minorities over comparably qualified whites.

Some legal scholars allege that if Justice's view prevails, the case could lay the groundwork for expanded racial preferences—and even quotas. That could force companies to expand diversity programs—which could inflame white work-

may be costly for image-conscious execs. That makes settling and suffering in silence the preferred option. "It was a prudent decision to put it behind us," says Andrew L. Sandler, an attorney for Chevy Chase.

Probably the most perplexing new civil-rights issue confronting business is the Administration's "environmental justice" initiative. In February, the President or-

dered the Environmental Protection Agency to come up with a plan to protect poor minority communities from getting hit with an unfair share of pollution. Studies have shown that a disproportionate number of hazardous-waste dumps, pollution-spewing factories, and even utility plants are located in such neighborhoods. Now, that could be a problem for utilities in the densely popu-

Top of the News

ers. "The Administration is giving top management a machine gun to go after expensive, middle-aged white males," claims Frederick R. Lynch, a professor of government at California's Claremont McKenna College.

Even the White House worries that its troops may be going too far. The Housing & Urban Development Dept. has already backedpedaled from a contro-

versial policy. HUD had begun an inquiry into neighborhood protests against a proposed low-income housing development in Berkeley, Calif. The investigation was prompted by housing activists' charges that the opposition was based on bias against substance abusers, who could be considered disabled. HUD dropped the matter in August, and the agency now says it will no longer investigate activi-

ties protected by the First Amendment.

Like business, Clinton has been preoccupied and hasn't paid much attention to his zealous antibias cops. But if he continues to give them free rein, companies may find that settling without a fight is too high a price to pay.

By Catherine Yang, with Amy Barrett in Washington, Richard A. Melcher in Chicago, and bureau reports

IS WALL STREET FINALLY STARTING TO GET IT?

It was hearing women employees complain about the scantily clad dancers at Merrill Lynch & Co.'s 1992 Christmas party that finally convinced Chief Executive Daniel P. Tully that it was time to act. In the six months before the party, Tully had heard about six other incidents of alleged sexual harassment at his firm. Merrill had already formed a committee to study bias and implement measures to recruit and retain more blacks and women. But Tully's concerns got things moving. Says Roger M. Vasey, the Merrill executive vice-president who is leading the firm's effort: "This program has teeth."

Wall Street could use one. The industry has a record of not hiring many women and minorities—and failing to protect them from bias once on the job. Now, with the Clinton Administration cracking down on civil-rights violations across the economy and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission holding hearings on Sept. 21 to examine the financial industry's record, Wall Street has good reason to clean up its act.

Just how bad is the Street's record? Pretty dismal. There are virtually no women and blacks in top management at the major firms. Of 546 managing directors and directors at Merrill, just 57 are women; only 38 are black, Asian, or Hispanic. At Goldman, Sachs & Co., there are just seven women and one black out of 150 partners. Salomon Brothers Inc., which also has a diversity committee, has just one black trader.

Merrill is one of the few firms taking action. Vasey, a heavy hitter who used to run its fixed-income depart-

ment, has an annual budget of \$1 million for his diversity committee. Merrill now awards up to 10% of the bonuses to its 10 executive vice-presidents on the basis of eight criteria, including recruitment, retention, and career development of minorities and women—with progress monitored quarterly.

Some significant steps have already been taken. Merrill also has doubled paid maternity leave to three months, for instance, and it now has a screen-

man Sachs has installed a day-care center in the lobby of its building that provides backup child care. Morgan Stanley & Co. has hired a full-time consultant to work exclusively on diversity issues and has assigned William M. Lewis Jr., an African American managing director in investment banking, to head its diversity task force. Among measures taken so far: Morgan has started a \$2.5 million scholarship program in which it sponsors

promising college students in their junior and senior years as interns. And last year, for the first time, it began recruiting at five historically black colleges.

There are skeptics, of course. New York lawyer Jeffrey L. Liddle, who will be testifying at the Sept. 21 hearings, calls Wall Street's efforts at diversity "a cruel joke. Those committees do nothing." The companies, critics contend, are acting mainly to avoid lawsuits. For example, in December, 1993, 10 former and current African American Merrill employees from San Francisco branches filed a complaint with the National Association of Securities Dealers alleging that Merrill discriminated against them

on the basis of race. Merrill says in a statement that it "is outraged by these meritless claims."

Now, Wall Street is under intensified pressure. Many state and federal agencies require detailed information on the number of women and blacks in senior positions at financial companies bidding for their business. And with the feds on the case, Wall Street may have to get more serious about promoting equality.

By Leah Nathans Spiro in New York



Financial firms are addressing historically unequal hiring and treatment of women and minorities. Goldman Sachs now offers emergency day care

ing process to make sure it doesn't hold corporate outings at golf clubs that discriminate. It's also trying to boost the number of women branch managers—now only six out of 325—by not forcing them to move all over the country as a prerequisite for a promotion. And it just added former Securities & Exchange Commissioner Aulana Peters, a black woman, to its board.

Other firms also are getting started. To help retain female employees, Gold-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1994

94 SEP 19 All : 50

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA
PHIL LADER
LAURA TYSON
PAT GRIFFIN
JOHN PODESTA ✓
ANDREW CUOMO
LISA CAPUTO
GINNY TERZANO

OK if counsel approves wording
gll

FROM: MARILYN DIGIACOBBE *MD*
SUBJECT: RECEPTION IN HONOR OF ITALIAN-AMERICAN APPOINTEES

On Friday evening, October 28, 1994, the Italian American Democratic Leadership Council (IADLC) will host a reception in honor of the over 150 Italian-American appointees to the Administration. The reception is a \$100 a person fundraiser for the IADLC, with proceeds used to support Italian-American Democratic candidates for office. The reception is scheduled to coincide with the National Italian American Foundation Gala Weekend.

The Italian American Democratic Leadership Council would like permission to include your name on the invitation as one of the honorees.

The invitations must go to print by Tuesday, September 20. Therefore, I ask that you let me know if it is OK to list your name by close of business on Monday, September 19. I can be reached at 456-2721.

If you need any further information regarding the event, feel free to call me or Jim Rosapepe of the IADLC at 296-8060.

Thank you for your attention.

cc: Alexis Herman
Steve Hilton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 SEP 19 P 1 : 58

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: LINDA LADER

Fax Number:

Phone Number:

FROM: JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT:

DATE: 9/19/94

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 6

MESSAGE:

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

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

September 8, 1994

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

Dear Bishop Browning:

Your efforts on behalf of the Crime Bill were invaluable, and I will be forever grateful for your courage in speaking out so forcefully. I want you to know, too, how much I enjoyed seeing you at the recent breakfast at the White House. I appreciate your candor, your genuine interest in this Administration, and your friendship.

The breakfast was a great source of encouragement, and I am pleased that you enjoyed both the breakfast and your meeting with my senior staff. I am confident that with your continuing involvement, our message of hope and faith will overcome the voices of fear and cynicism.

Thank you also for your prayers and for your thoughtful letters, which I have shared with my staff. I look forward to talking with you soon about the important issues you raised.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/JAD/emu (Corres. #1752932)
(8.browning.el)

cc: Tony Lake w/inc.
cc: Carol Rasco w/inc.
cc: Linda Lader w/inc.
cc: Phil Lader w/inc.
cc: Flo McAfee w/inc.

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Buy
 ce Corso
 Under
 need to buy
 for him

August 9, 1994

The President
 The White House
 Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I am deeply honored and grateful for the opportunity to break bread with you this day. Thank you for your kindness in thinking of me. I am hopeful that we might have a chance again soon to discuss a number of items.

Allow me to lay out a little background. As the Primate of the Episcopal Church, the Presiding Bishop is its personal connection with the worldwide Anglican Communion, the world's second most widely dispersed Church (after the Roman Catholic Church). As an Anglican primate, I meet in regular sessions for ten days with fellow primates from throughout the world, affording our Church detailed, grassroots knowledge of events, personalities, and policy considerations in countries such as Korea and South Africa, Burma and Rwanda, to name a few.

Because of the influential role of the United States in world affairs, I am often asked by overseas Church partners to represent their concerns to my government. I have tried to honor these requests and have been personally and intimately involved in conflict resolution and back channel diplomacy in the Middle East, South Africa, the Philippines, El Salvador, Haiti, Korea, Bosnia and Rwanda. For example, in South Africa, I have met with both FW DeKlerk and Nelson Mandela. This year I made an Easter visit to the Middle East which included private meetings with President Mubarak, King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin. I had on an earlier trip visited Chairman Arafat in Tunis. And I have just had an extensive visit from the Archbishop of Rwanda.

If a chance arises that we might speak together, I would like to discuss issues of mutual interest, both at home and abroad. For today, let me leave you with a few thoughts on issues of deep concern to me as I know they are to you.

The Episcopal Church stands four square behind a health plan that provides universal access and comprehensive benefits. For the Church this is about respecting the dignity of every human being which we affirm and serve in our baptismal covenant. I deeply appreciate your leadership on this issue and am solidly behind you in this effort and willing to call on Episcopal members, of which we have 15 senators and over 50 members in the House. Last summer, I called on Senators Chafee and Danforth, among others, and pressed the issue of universal coverage with them. I am prepared to follow up with them and others as may be helpful. We have done a mailing to our grassroots advocacy network imploring them to weigh in on this vital issue.

I have also publicly supported the right of reproductive services for women in the health plan, including abortion. The Episcopal Church, while struggling internally over abortion, supports the legal right of every woman to an abortion which must include access to medically safe services. Let me know how I can help.

I am grateful that you have sought the support of the United Nations for any forced intervention in Haiti and I share your deep desire to see the suffering and killings of Haitian people come to an end. In early June, I sent David Dinkins and others on a fact finding mission to Haiti and have concluded that a forced removal of the despotic thugs under international auspices may be the only and best way to deal with this deep human tragedy. You will have my prayers and support if you finally conclude this must be done. And I will give this support under considerable fire from some of my own constituency, I can assure you. The diocese of Haiti is under the jurisdiction of the Episcopal Church in the U.S. and is of very special concern to us.

I was filled with joy and pride to be on the White House lawn for the signing of the Declaration of Principles between Chairman Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin. I am more grateful than I can say for your efforts and the efforts of Warren Christopher in pursuing a comprehensive peace for the region. On Easter Monday while I was in Jerusalem, I issued a statement with my regional colleague calling attention to the difficulty of Israeli settlements and the issue of Jerusalem as very serious obstacles to peace. I urge you to go cautiously on the issue of Jerusalem and to hold Israel accountable for its continuing expansion of settlements. To have integrity in the peace process, we must be fair to all sides and also respect the historic life of the Christian Churches in the region.

Your leadership among the countries of the former Soviet Union has received well deserved praise from diverse sources. The Russian Patriarch of Moscow told one of our recent delegations that in his meeting with you he said that the best ecumenical relationships of the Russian Orthodox Church are those with the Episcopal Church in the U.S. and other Churches should look to us as a model. So I am glad we are both acquitting ourselves well with our respective partners.

Finally, but personally very important to me, I have for several years worked with our partner Church in the Philippines to try to bring an honorable peace to a country that has known civil war for twenty five consecutive years. My efforts have included meetings with then Secretary of State Baker and the political wing of the insurgency, the National Democratic Front. I would dearly like to have your help in moving this issue forward, but this would require some fundamental shifting in U.S. policy. I am prepared to make this case to you.

Mr. President, you are leading our nation during some very turbulent times, both here and abroad. The American people are fortunate to have someone of your intellect, good judgment and compassion to lead us through these troubled waters. My prayers are with you everyday.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Edmond L. Browning". The signature is written in dark ink and is preceded by a small plus sign.

Edmond L. Browning
Presiding Bishop and Primate

XC: Flo McAfee

ELB:bjg



THE MOST REVEREND EDMOND L. BROWNING
PRESIDING BISHOP, THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH CENTER
815 SECOND AVENUE • NEW YORK, NY 10017
212 867-8400

Dozskind

August 15, 1994

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to have been with you last week to engage with other religious leaders on the crucial contribution of the religious community to the restoration of civility in the public arena. I was glad also for the chance to discuss with your senior staff the results of our reflections. I applaud your determination to be inclusive as to the voices brought to the table in search of a way to heal our civil society.

In the letter I left with you, I offered to be of assistance in several public policy areas of mutual concern. I reiterate that offer here and look forward to our next opportunity to be together to further discuss those issues.

My prayers are with you and Mrs. Clinton.

Faithfully yours,

Edmond L. Browning
Presiding Bishop

ELB:jwm

September 8, 1994

Dr. James Davison Hunter
Department of Sociology
539 New Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903

Dear James:

Your thoughtful comments at the recent breakfast at the White House meant a great deal to me. Thanks for the copy of Before the Shooting Begins. Your ground-breaking work provides some important clues on how our society might return to honest, civil discourse over critical public issues.

I am doing my best to start a dialogue that will stop the shouting and advance learning from and working with one another. I would appreciate your suggestions about signals that I can send to the religious community to move this dialogue ahead in a positive direction.

Thanks again for joining us. I look forward to your continuing counsel.

Sincerely,



BC/JAD/emu (Corres. #1748632)
(8.hunter.jd)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Linda Lader
cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

Dr. Michael Novak
American Enterprise Institute
1150 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Michael:

I'm glad you were able to join us at the recent White House breakfast. I value hearing your perspectives.

The Templeton Prize is a remarkable -- and deserved -- honor. As discussed at the breakfast, The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism and your other works serve to re-focus us as we struggle daily with difficult issues of public policy.

I am doing my best to start a dialogue that will stop the shouting and encourage learning from and working with one another. I appreciated your straightforward comments and would welcome your continuing counsel.

Thanks again for being with us, and I look forward to getting together again soon.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/JAD/emu-lynn-ckb (Corres. #1752929)
(8.novak.m)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Linda Lader
cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

Ms. Diane Knippers
Institute on Religion and Democracy
Suite 900
1331 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Diane:

I am glad that you could join us at the recent White House breakfast. I appreciate your forthrightness. You are an articulate advocate of the positions that you hold dear.

I have been doing my best to engage in a dialogue that will stop the shouting and encourage learning from and working with one another. Your efforts at honest communication on issues of great importance to all Americans is an important step toward that meaningful national conversation.

I am grateful for your candor and your prayers, and I look forward to our next opportunity to continue our discussions.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/JAD/jfc-ckb (Corres. #1753082)
(8.knippers.d)

cc: Phil Lader
Linda Lader
Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

Mr. Max Lucado
Oak Hills Church
8308 Fredericksburg Road
San Antonio, Texas 78201

Dear Max:

I enjoyed having a chance to talk with you at the recent White House breakfast, and I very much appreciate your beautiful letter filled with so many kind words of encouragement. Thank you also for sharing with me the books, When God Whispers Your Name and The Final Week of Jesus. I look forward to reading them.

I heard, and understood, your reference to Mordecai; it's a very good idea. Thank you again for your support and spiritual guidance. I hope you will continue to pray for me.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/JAD/emu-pw-ckb (Corres. #1748659)
(8.lucado.m)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Linda Lader
cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

Dr. Os Guinness
Trinity Forum
Suite B
5210 Lyngate Court
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Os:

Your comments at our recent breakfast certainly were "on target." I look forward to pursuing your thoughtful suggestion for a series of speeches addressing fundamental issues of faith and values in America.

I appreciate your courage in expressing your strong support for me and my Administration, particularly in the religious community. I am doing my best to start a dialogue that will stop the shouting and encourage more learning from and working with one another. You have already taken some big steps toward raising the level of public discourse over issues that have divided Americans for too long.

I welcome your continuing thoughts as to how we can encourage the nourishment of faith in this nation. Your historical perspective is important, and I am confident that with your ongoing involvement, our message of hope and renewal will overcome the voices of fear and cynicism.

Thank you again for all of your help. I am deeply grateful.

Sincerely, **BILL**

BC/JAD/emu-ckb (Corres. #1753059)
(8.guinness.o)
cc: Phil Lader/Linda Lader/Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

Dr. Martin Marty
University of Chicago
Divinity School
1025 East 58th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Marty:

Your typically thoughtful comments at the recent White House breakfast meant a great deal to me.

Your unique historical perspective on religious and moral issues has provided a voice of reason over the years. I welcome your continuing counsel as I work hard to restore civility in public debate.

The time I spent with you and your colleagues was a tremendous source of encouragement. The themes of hope and faith we discussed that morning must overcome the voices of fear and cynicism. I also appreciate your taking some extra time with my staff.

Please give your son my best wishes for success this fall. If he's anything like you, he'll make a wonderful leader. Thank you for your continuing counsel -- and for your prayers.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/JAD/emu-lynn-ckb (Corres. #1752934)
(8.marty.m)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Linda Lader
cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

The Reverend Peggy Jones
Macedonia Assembly of God
778 University Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55104

Dear Peggy:

I am glad that you were able to join us recently for breakfast at the White House. Thank you for sharing An Issue of the Heart with me. I look forward to reading your prose and The Story of Caux.

I want to commend you for your ground-breaking work in interracial congregations. Your efforts are crucial as we try to turn the national dialogue toward hope and faith and as we work to overcome the voices of fear and cynicism.

Thank you again for your support, your kind gifts, and your prayers.

Sincerely,



BC/JAD/emu-pw-ckb (Corres. #1748602)
(8.jones.p)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Linda Lader
cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

September 8, 1994

Dr. Stephen Carter
Yale Law School
127 Wall Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

Dear Stephen:

Thank you again for joining us for breakfast at the White House -- it was good to see you again. You broke the ice and framed our discussion. I am confident that with your continued involvement, our message of hope and faith can overcome the voices of fear and cynicism.

Thank you again for your genuine interest in our work here, for your support, and for your prayers. I look forward to the opportunity to continue our discussions.

Sincerely, **BILL**

BC/JAD/jfc-lynn-ckb (Corres. #1753095)
(8.carter.s)

cc: Phil Lader
cc: Linda Lader
cc: Flo McAfee

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Bill & Dan & Murphy Brown

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/19

Why, you might reasonably ask, were two politicians—President Clinton and former vice president Dan Quayle—lecturing the nation last week on the horrors of out-of-wedlock births? Isn't it the job of preachers and priests and rabbis and parents to say, as Clinton did, that "you shouldn't have a baby before you're ready and you shouldn't have a baby when you're not married"? Do we need a politician like Quayle to tell us that "it's important for fathers to be involved in raising their children"?

There are plenty of cynical explanations for why Clinton and Quayle did the "family values" number last week. Clinton, it is said, is desperate for some new issues and wants to sound like a "New Democrat" again by focusing like a laser beam on those tried-and-true values of community, opportunity and responsibility. The best speech of his term so far was his address to a group of black ministers in Memphis last year in which he also preached on these themes. What better way to get out of a deep hole than by trying Memphis II?

As for Quayle, he wants to be president and sees the religious right as a prime constituency, especially since former education secretary Bill Bennett—a favorite of religious conservatives—has decided not to run in 1996. The whole world knows that Quayle caused a huge ruckus in 1992 when he went after the Candice Bergen televi-

sion character Murphy Brown for having a baby out of wedlock. In the process, he endeared himself to many a conservative.

Quayle, who is by no means as dumb as so many say he is, knew perfectly well that Murphy Brown II would get lots of attention. So he gave his new version of the old speech and got a respectful hearing from Ted Koppel and Katie Couric.

These explanations are true as far as they go. But they don't get at just why it is that out-of-wedlock births have become a political issue. Where Clinton and Quayle agree, and where both are right, is on the proposition that many social problems—especially street crime and falling educational performance—are caused in significant part by the decline in the proportion of children born to families in which a father and mother are present and have made more than a passing commitment to each other. If you care about poverty, the well-being of children, social justice and equality, you have to care about the state of American families.

This ought not be a complicated proposition. The fact is that raising children is an immensely time-consuming endeavor. Single parents have a tougher time of it than married parents do in large part because one person has exactly half the potential time available that two people do. Psychologically, a

kid is obviously better off knowing that he or she is important enough that both a father and a mother are willing to be there. What happens to your sense of self-worth if your father simply disappears? Even children whose parents die prematurely have the security of knowing that the departed parent didn't just walk away.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, to his enduring credit, tried to make these basic points almost 30 years ago. He argued that the rise in the number of children being raised without fathers would have a devastating social impact. He was pilloried by many, mostly liberals, who said he was "blaming the victims" of poverty. In fact, he was trying to figure out what could be done to stop the spread of poverty and reduce its toll.

Now, most liberals are willing to accept Moynihan's point. Clinton's embrace of the cause of restoring the family—he did so long before he ran for president—is a sign that this is one issue where left and right, Republican and Democrat, might come together.

By speaking out for the family, liberals are underscoring the view that social problems cannot be solved by government action alone. That, in turn, leads to a redefinition of the government's role. In many instances, the government's job is not to establish

huge programs to deal with every aspect of a problem but to create conditions in which families and neighborhoods are in a stronger position to solve problems themselves. Family leave laws (opposed, by the way, by many conservatives) give parents a chance to do their jobs better. The national service program Clinton kicked off yesterday embodies a notion that conservatives talk about so much—the need to "empower" citizens and communities.

Dan Quayle takes some satisfaction in the altered debate, and it's true that much of what Quayle said in the Murphy Brown speech made sense. But before Quayle is canonized, it's worth recalling what the political point of the Murphy Brown speech really was.

Far from searching for a consensus on family issues, many Republicans used "family values" talk as a battering ram to cast Democrats as the advocates of "alien" ideas, presumably because they thought it was wrong to discriminate against gays and were somehow enmeshed in that horrid "counterculture" of the 1960s. Quayle couldn't resist another shot at the counterculture in last week's speech, arguing that "the elite in particular did not want to admit what was going wrong in America."

Well, okay: The folks who viciously

assailed Moynihan were, indeed, wrong, and some liberals—though fewer and fewer—have been reluctant to accept that private behavior, especially when it involves children, does have social consequences.

But the Republicans' values talk failed in 1992 because on these issues, most people don't like bashing or "culture wars" or the pretense that one political party has a monopoly on familial virtue. People could think that it's wrong to have kids out of wedlock and still feel for Murphy Brown, who brought a child into the world rather than have an abortion. Quayle insists that his point was not to attack single mothers, only to emphasize "the importance of fathers." But he got into trouble because many outside the "elites" didn't read his statement that way.

So let's have a truce. Credit both Quayle and Clinton for being right about the intact family. Acknowledge that neither Quayle nor Clinton nor anyone else has come up with a magic cure for family dissolution. Go to work to figure out those limited things government can do to strengthen the family. Admit that both economic circumstances and the moral climate affect the well-being of kids. And stop pretending that our political opponents are sinners, knaves or freaks. On these issues, we all see through a glass darkly.

— This is a wise article —
providing indication
of when we should go

Leon / GS / Baer / Lander
Axtu

copy
Geron

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/19

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 16, 1994

94 SEP 16 P10:01

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ELI SEGAL EJS

SUBJECT: AMERICORPS LAUNCH COVERAGE

great job on the
Rushoff - Means

Media coverage around the nation of the AmeriCorps launch activities was extensive, as the attached group of print examples indicate (we will forward a video tape of television clips next week). As has been the case over the last year, interest is greatest at the local and regional level, where our launch events received prominent and very favorable comment. We even managed to pull off some out-of-the-ordinary connections, including recognition of the Philadelphia-area AmeriCorps members at halftime of the Monday Night Football game.

At the national level, our groundwork with columnists paid off with excellent stories from Morton Kondracke, Al Hunt, Bob Herbert, Germond & Witcover, Tom Oliphant, Bill Raspberry, Maryanne Means and Chris Matthews. Editorial coverage was also very favorable, with the *Post* and *New York Times* being the most notable.

This launch-related period will end this weekend, with an expected segment on *CBS Sunday Morning*, Mary McGrory's column in the *Post*, the *USA Weekend* interview with you, and Al Shanker's regular column in the *New York Times*.

Amidst all of this favorable coverage, there have been two negative notes. One was Chuck Grassley's editorial for the *Washington Times* on Monday, which continued his attack on AmeriCorps as too expensive, too expansive (he argues that Pell Grants should have been expanded instead), and too bureaucratic. We have engaged in this dialogue with Senator Grassley for some time and do not expect a new ally any time soon.

To some extent, we have paid more attention to a recent *Rolling Stone* article in which the writer describes program site visits where Summer of Safety participants were wasting time (due to poor program staff work). Similar criticisms were contained in a generally-favorably *Los Angeles Times* story, which also raised the specter of advocacy by members. Our programs must be accountable for providing direct service with real results, and we know we will need constant vigilance and a fair amount of luck to achieve that goal. The *Rolling Stone* writer also argues that AmeriCorps should focus on personal development of the disenfranchised and forget trying to change conditions in communities. We disagree. The greatest personal satisfaction from service comes from the certainty that one's actions have made a real difference to others. But beyond that, AmeriCorps can be a real delivery system for change, and we have both the opportunity and the commitment to make it happen.

9/19
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

94 SEP 16 P6:29

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT B. REICH *bm*

SUBJECT: WORKPLACE AIR QUALITY AND SMOKING REGULATIONS

For your information

Summary

On September 20 the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is launching hearings on its proposal to regulate indoor air quality, including secondhand tobacco smoke. The tobacco industry is mobilizing a public relations response, including letter-writing campaigns and full-page ads. But there's strong evidence that secondhand smoke is a major workplace hazard. Congressional interest (as well as legal pressures) impel us to act. And the orchestrated opposition obscures a bedrock of favorable public sentiment.

Court Case Trigger

While OSHA had been moving toward a rulemaking on indoor air quality for several years, a court case has forced the pace of the process. Action on Smoking and Health (ASH) sued OSHA in 1992, arguing unreasonable delay on regulating exposure to secondhand smoke, and (after two extensions) the court set a hearing date of May 1994. OSHA began drafting a proposed rule under the previous Administration, and the pace has accelerated on our watch, in hopes of avoiding a court finding of undue delay. OSHA issued a proposed rule just before the hearing, which led the court to rule in OSHA's favor. Once the proposal was issued, administrative procedure rules left little discretion on the timing of a hearing.

The Proposal

The proposed regulation would require employers to develop and implement plans to protect workers from airborne contaminants in general. The specific provisions on tobacco smoke, which have generated disproportionate interest, give employers the option of either adopting no-smoking policies or establishing separately-ventilated smoking areas.

Process and Timing

The tentative proposal's publication spurred 100,000 written comments--easily a record--and over 800 requests to testify. The hearings will run from September 20 through December 5, and generate a record that will shape revisions to the proposal. It will take at least a year to develop the final rule and--given the issue's complexity and the volume of testimony--maybe longer. The final regulation will not take effect for several years.

Background

As the evidence mounts on the risks of exposure to secondhand smoke, it becomes increasingly clear that OSHA cannot meet its mandate while ignoring passive tobacco exposure.

- Secondhand tobacco smoke contains over 4,000 chemical compounds, among them at least 43 known or suspected carcinogens. The Environmental Protection Agency officially classified environmental tobacco smoke as a "known human carcinogen" in 1993.
- Lung cancer caused by passive smoking kills an estimated 3,000 adults yearly. Between 400 and 700 of these deaths are attributed to exposure on the job.
- Estimates endorsed by the American Medical Association show total cancer deaths due to secondhand smoke vastly exceeding cancer deaths from all currently regulated airborne toxins combined.
- The Surgeon General and her five predecessors jointly characterize environmental smoke as "deadly" and estimate it claims over 50,000 lives each year.
- Indoor air contaminants aside from tobacco smoke, which the rule will also cover, cause asthma, Legionnaires's Disease, and other serious ailments.

Public Controversy

The tobacco industry strongly opposes workplace smoking restrictions, and has deployed its resources to fight the rule. Its central strategy has been to cast OSHA's proposal as "going too far." For example, its advertisements have claimed that OSHA would ban smoking in private vehicles, or in private homes if a babysitter, meter reader, or other worker ever entered. (The rule would not affect private homes or vehicles.) The industry has also attacked the science showing risks from secondhand smoke, especially the EPA's analysis. Yet the proposed regulation is consistent with emerging public opinion and business practice:

- Most Americans now believe that secondhand smoke is dangerous, and favor measures to protect them from this risk. An ABC News/Washington Post poll found that 78 percent of the public believed second-hand smoke to be a health risk; a separate Gallup poll found that the same percent, 78 percent, viewed environmental smoke as "very" or "somewhat" harmful. And a CBS News/New York Times poll found 67 percent supporting an outright ban on smoking in all public places--tougher than OSHA envisages.
- California, Maryland, Utah and Washington State have taken aggressive steps on smoking. The Maryland law, now tied up in court, flatly bans smoking in all public buildings.
- Many companies have established entirely smoke-free workplaces on their own initiative, including Federal Express, Greyhound, Honeywell, Ralston-Purina, and Turner Broadcasting, and an even larger number of companies, such as General Dynamic, Adidas USA, Coors, General Mills and Motorola, have nearly smoke-free workplaces.

Congressional Briefings

I met this week with Senator Wendell Ford of Kentucky, and OSHA is briefing House and Senate staff today.

cc: Vice President Gore
L. Panetta
P. Griffin
J. Baggett
H. Ickes
R. Rubin

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Bill & Dan & Murphy Brown

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 9/19

Why, you might reasonably ask, were two politicians—President Clinton and former vice president Dan Quayle—lecturing the nation last week on the horrors of out-of-wedlock births? Isn't it the job of preachers and priests and rabbis and parents to say, as Clinton did, that "you shouldn't have a baby before you're ready and you shouldn't have a baby when you're not married"? Do we need a politician like Quayle to tell us that "it's important for fathers to be involved in raising their children"?

There are plenty of cynical explanations for why Clinton and Quayle did the "family values" number last week. Clinton, it is said, is desperate for some new issues and wants to sound like a "New Democrat" again by focusing like a laser beam on those tried-and-true values of community, opportunity and responsibility. The best speech of his term so far was his address to a group of black ministers in Memphis last year in which he also preached on these themes. What better way to get out of a deep hole than by trying Memphis II?

As for Quayle, he wants to be president and sees the religious right as a prime constituency, especially since former education secretary Bill Bennett—a favorite of religious conservatives—has decided not to run in 1996. The whole world knows that Quayle caused a huge ruckus in 1992 when he went after the Candice Bergen televi-

sion character Murphy Brown for having a baby out of wedlock. In the process, he endeared himself to many a conservative.

Quayle, who is by no means as dumb as so many say he is, knew perfectly well that Murphy Brown II would get lots of attention. So he gave his new version of the old speech and got a respectful hearing from Ted Koppel and Katie Couric.

These explanations are true as far as they go. But they don't get at just why it is that out-of-wedlock births have become a political issue. Where Clinton and Quayle agree, and where both are right, is on the proposition that many social problems—especially street crime and falling educational performance—are caused in significant part by the decline in the proportion of children born to families in which a father and mother are present and have made more than a passing commitment to each other. If you care about poverty, the well-being of children, social justice and equality, you have to care about the state of American families.

This ought not be a complicated proposition. The fact is that raising children is an immensely time-consuming endeavor. Single parents have a tougher time of it than married parents do in large part because one person has exactly half the potential time available that two people do. Psychologically, a

kid is obviously better off knowing that he or she is important enough that both a father and a mother are willing to be there. What happens to your sense of self-worth if your father simply disappears? Even children whose parents die prematurely have the security of knowing that the departed parent didn't just walk away.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, to his enduring credit, tried to make these basic points almost 30 years ago. He argued that the rise in the number of children being raised without fathers would have a devastating social impact. He was pilloried by many, mostly liberals, who said he was "blaming the victims" of poverty. In fact, he was trying to figure out what could be done to stop the spread of poverty and reduce its toll.

Now, most liberals are willing to accept Moynihan's point. Clinton's embrace of the cause of restoring the family—he did so long before he ran for president—is a sign that this is one issue where left and right, Republican and Democrat, might come together.

By speaking out for the family, liberals are underscoring the view that social problems cannot be solved by government action alone. That, in turn, leads to a redefinition of the government's role. In many instances, the government's job is not to establish

huge programs to deal with every aspect of a problem but to create conditions in which families and neighborhoods are in a stronger position to solve problems themselves. Family leave laws (opposed, by the way, by many conservatives) give parents a chance to do their jobs better. The national service program Clinton kicked off yesterday embodies a notion that conservatives talk about so much—the need to "empower" citizens and communities.

Dan Quayle takes some satisfaction in the altered debate, and it's true that much of what Quayle said in the Murphy Brown speech made sense. But before Quayle is canonized, it's worth recalling what the political point of the Murphy Brown speech really was.

Far from searching for a consensus on family issues, many Republicans used "family values" talk as a bittering ram to cast Democrats as the advocates of "alien" ideas, presumably because they thought it was wrong to discriminate against gays and were somehow enmeshed in that horrid "counterculture" of the 1960s. Quayle couldn't resist another shot at the counterculture in last week's speech, arguing that "the elite in particular did not want to admit what was going wrong in America."

Well, okay: The folks who viciously

assailed Moynihan were, indeed, wrong, and some liberals—though fewer and fewer—have been reluctant to accept that private behavior, especially when it involves children, does have social consequences.

But the Republicans' values talk failed in 1992 because on these issues, most people don't like bashing or "culture wars" or the pretense that one political party has a monopoly on familial virtue. People could think that it's wrong to have kids out of wedlock and still feel for Murphy Brown, who brought a child into the world rather than have an abortion. Quayle insists that his point was not to attack single mothers, only to emphasize "the importance of fathers." But he got into trouble because many outside the "elites" didn't read his statement that way.

So let's have a truce. Credit both Quayle and Clinton for being right about the intact family. Acknowledge that neither Quayle nor Clinton nor anyone else has come up with a magic cure for family dissolution. Go to work to figure out those limited things government can do to strengthen the family. Admit that both economic circumstances and the moral climate affect the well-being of kids. And stop pretending that our political opponents are sinners, knaves or freaks. On these issues, we all see through a glass darkly.

— This is a wise citizen's provision indication of when we should go —

Leon / GS / Baer / Lander
Astin