

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

October 9, 1994

10/10/94

081924

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONALD A. BAER *DAB*

SUBJECT: Political speeches for Monday and Tuesday

We are sending you today all of the speeches for the New Jersey trip on Monday and the Michigan trip on Tuesday. The main speech for both days is a version of what we hope will evolve into your standard stump speech for the next three weeks. It is based on our talks last Friday, your press conference remarks, your political speeches in the last two weeks and advice from David Dreyer, Stan Greenberg and others.

The White House political operations want the Tuesday event in Dearborn, Michigan, to be the main campaign kick-off. The New Jersey event can be a test-run. I will be along on both trips, and, if you want, we will have time Monday evening and Tuesday morning to adjust the speech as you see fit.

A few specifics about the speeches: Since Senator Lautenberg voted against the economic plan, we have adjusted that language slightly. The political and communications operations recommend not loading up heavily on details about how much the administration has done in specific states you are visiting. We have added in some of that detail (e.g., jobs, college loans, etc.). If you want more, I am also forwarding a one-page state accomplishment sheet prepared by the research department.

Finally, the New Jersey crime event is seen not as a political event, but as a safe schools event. And, as I understand it, we have to be careful in the Dearborn event Tuesday because it is on Ford's plant premises. We can talk about national politics, but not endorse specific Michigan candidates.

Attachments:

New Jersey economic accomplishments
Michigan economic accomplishments

cc: Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Mark Gearan

*I need the State
Speeches
for Don
B*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Office of the Secretary
 Washington, D.C. 20230

October 7, 1994

94 OCT 7 P5:53

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

MEMORANDUM FOR

Christine Varney
 Steve Silverman

FROM:

Rob Stein *RS*

081904

SUBJECT:

Williamsburg Speech Tonight

Secretary Brown will be giving a speech tonight to the Business Council at Williamsburg. The Secretary would like the President to see the text of this speech; please see that the President gets it as soon as possible.

cc: David Marchick

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF **COMMERCE** **NEWS**

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE
OF THE
SECRETARY

Embargoed for release:
Friday, October 7, 1994 7:30pm edt

Contact: Carol Hamilton
(202) 482-6001

Remarks by
U.S. Secretary of Commerce
Ronald H. Brown
at
The Business Council Dinner
"A New Approach to Doing Business"
Williamsburg, Virginia
October 7, 1994

[As prepared for delivery]

Good evening. I'm very pleased to be here tonight. I see a lot of familiar faces here -- it almost looks like the departure lounge at Andrews before one of my trade missions. But let me warn you that I am not going to let the close and cordial relationships I have with many of you keep me from saying a few things that some might not want to hear.

Tonight I would like to present what may seem exotic notions to some: first, you and your companies should be a natural constituency for the Clinton Administration; second, the Clinton Administration and the Commerce Department understand the remarkable changes underway in the business community today; and third, while our interests may occasionally differ or diverge, we share the fundamental goal of profitable and productive economic growth.

I know that there are parts of American business today who are not getting that message. A recent Business Week poll shows that many in the business community remain skeptical. Some down right adversarial.

To my thinking, a business community that rates President Clinton's performance creating jobs, cutting the deficit and ensuring economic growth as "only fair" has missed a sea change -- I know some of you think that the term pro-business Democrat is an oxymoron. But let me tell you Bill Clinton is a pro-business Democrat leading a pro-business administration.

Judge us by the criteria that you'd apply to an enterprise of your own -- the soundness of our strategy, and our bottom line. You'll find we have accomplished a great deal on behalf of both you and the American people.

I have the privilege of working with a President who rejects the traditional but outmoded wisdom that defined and limited the relationship between business and the federal government for many years -- a President with whom I have worked to build a new approach to the relationship of government and business.

We have created an economic climate in which competitive firms will thrive over the long term; we have built a new partnership between the public and the private sectors; and we have discovered new routes to our traditional goals that dispense with runaway budgets and bureaucratic meddling.

This Administration deserves credit for today's economy. This is the Clinton Expansion -- rightfully named for the President whose tough decisions are responsible for the growth we enjoy today. President Clinton inherited an economy that was adrift -- not so much mismanaged as not managed. An economy in which rhetoric did not reflect reality. The federal budget deficit ate up the nation's scarce savings. We pursued an incomplete free trade strategy -- focused on signing agreements, but lacking a strategy for competing and winning once new markets were open. Our private sector watched as overseas competitors linked arms with government officials and took contracts and jobs Americans should -- on merit -- have won.

The Clinton Administration responded by making bold pro-business decisions that provided the foundation for sustained economic growth. We are not just riding a cyclical recovery -- we established a new long-term direction that will continue to strengthen our economy for years to come.

This President has made tough decisions. We slashed the accumulation of public debt by seven hundred billion dollars, cutting spending that needed to be cut and making our tax system more fair.

We made our commitment to commercial engagement, trade, and open markets clear, time and time again -- in the President's courageous stand in support of NAFTA, in wringing concessions out of the Japanese over eighteen hard months of framework negotiations, and in fulfilling our commitment to deliver a finished GATT agreement. And there's no question about it -- if Bill Clinton had not been elected President, there would be no NAFTA today.

The results are now clear. Over four-and-a-quarter million jobs have been created since President Clinton took office, and the economy is growing at well over twice the rate that it grew in the previous four years.

The Clinton Expansion, fueled by rising business profitability, has seen the annual rate of investment growth rise to 14 percent . . . from zero. That's the difference between us and our predecessors in a nutshell.

The share of our output devoted to real spending on capital goods has reached an all-time record level. And while our economy has grown substantially, all of that growth has taken place in the private sector.

There are always those inclined to skepticism when an Administration talks about its economic accomplishments. You know what Casey Stengel used to say -- that anybody could have won five straight World Series with the ballplayers he had. But I want you to consider this: what would the economy have been like if we had not slashed the deficit and not passed NAFTA?

Where would business confidence or interest rates be? Would we have had this surge of investment or the wave of mortgage refinancings that allowed consumers to sustain the recovery. The answers are obvious: we'd be in the same old "start, stop and stagnate" pattern we'd been in. Leadership counts.

But the Clinton Administration has done more than establish a productive economic environment. We've also brought a new approach to our relationship with the business community. For too long, the way our government worked with the private sector has been held hostage to a sterile ideological debate.

One school of thought embraced a strategy of "putting business first", which translated into putting all other interests second. Thus, they saw debt-financed tax reductions, blanket regulatory dispensations, and the subordination of all other interests as the building blocks of economic policy.

But the alternative too often seemed to be "putting government first," an approach caricatured as "industrial policy" -- bureaucrats second-guessing business decisions with little regard for economic realities.

The Clinton Administration neither "picks winners and losers" nor writes blank checks. The President has moved us beyond this debate by building a private-public partnership and creating the tools that allow American companies and workers to win in the marketplace.

Responding to the President's challenge to become a "powerhouse," I am proud to say the Department of Commerce has played a leading role in building this public-private partnership for growth.

We began by acting as fierce advocates for American companies competing against foreign firms for overseas contracts. The Commerce Department's new Advocacy Center has coordinated support for 75 projects, with a total value of \$40 billion dollars and domestic export value of \$17 billion.

For example, TRW turned to us when they were bidding on satellite sales to Korea and Taiwan. We helped them win both nine-figure contracts. We stood with Entergy in their successful bid on a \$1.2 billion Datong power plant contract in China. And I personally pressed the Saudi Arabian royal family as did the President on behalf of a \$6 billion Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas bid to modernize that nation's jet fleet.

Rather than souvenirs and snapshots, CEOs on our Business Development Missions to Russia, China, Poland, South Africa, the Middle East, and Argentina, Brazil and Chile brought home contracts totalling billions of dollars and supporting hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs.

We significantly liberalized and streamlined controls on \$32 billion in computer and telecommunications exports -- nearly cutting in half the number of items subject to regulation. Even better, the speed with which export licenses are approved has dramatically increased. To quote Robert Bishop of Silicon Graphics World Trade Corporation, "Before liberalization...our licensing lead time averaged 150 days...by June 30, export licensing took only a few weeks. This rapid decrease in licensing time has enabled Silicon Graphics to double its volume shipped, and double its orders received from China."

We are working with the private sector to help our firms race more quickly to the frontiers of technological achievement, where the economy's future will be won or lost. We have created an Advanced Civilian Technology Strategy to propel our technological competitiveness forward in a global, knowledge-based economy.

Creating opportunity ultimately means creating and enabling change. Perhaps no change is as formidable as the onset of a Global Information Economy. The Administration's Information Infrastructure Task Force, which I chair, has applied a public-private approach to building the National Information Infrastructure -- the so-called "information superhighway" -- that provides the backbone for the economy of the future as surely as our highways and railroads did in the past.

In short, we've learned when government needs to get involved. And we've also learned when it ought to get out of the way.

I don't want to imply that this partnership is a priority only at Commerce. It was the Exim Bank's intervention at a critical moment -- in support of Commerce, EPA, and even Federal Aviation Administration efforts -- that sealed Raytheon's bid to construct the \$700 million first phase of the \$1.5 billion Amazon Surveillance System for the Brazilian government.

And even as the Department of Defense downsizes, it continues to fund and support private sector research on dual-use technologies, as well as our ongoing defense conversion efforts.

I am proud of these accomplishments . . . proud to be identified as a "pro-business Democrat". Because you can't be pro-growth and pro-job unless you are pro-business. But being pro-business doesn't mean turning away from our traditional concerns.

The same forces that have transformed your businesses -- often at considerable cost and dislocation -- are being felt by American workers and their families.

Re-engineering is changing the jobs our people do and the nature of job security. Global integration puts American workers in competition with their counterparts around the world, just as it does American firms.

For too long the result has been insecurity and fear. Middle Class Americans are coming to believe that the old rules no longer apply, that hard work and honest effort no longer bring security and a good chance for a better life.

This Administration sees the frustration and the concerns of the American people as being similar to the struggles of the American business community. We see our job as giving them, as we do many of you, new tools to succeed in our changing world.

Economic realities demand that we make public education and worker training a national priority, that we attack crime and welfare dependency, just as we champion civilian technology development and export advocacy. And as long as the world's highest health care costs cripple American competitiveness while leaving 37 million people without the health security they need, health care reform is and should be on the agenda.

We won't have a productive and profitable economy, one that grows and that provides a rising standard of living, unless we can be an effective partner for both our firms and our people.

The Clinton Administration does not see this fact as a license to indulge in old-style social engineering or tax and spend transfer programs.

I recently travelled to Chicago's Lawndale section, a poor neighborhood in many ways unhelped by a generation of traditional social spending. I was there to announce a new program, one with a very different approach. I was opening a Manufacturing Extension Center -- an office that would provide small manufacturers access to the latest and most efficient technologies and techniques. We would provide the tools they need to expand and compete. We were attacking poverty and neglect not through social spending, but through a partnership with private business that empowers individuals through their own work.

Our respective public and private sector agendas should not and need not compete. Well-trained workers in stable families and communities make for competitive enterprises. Competitive enterprises -- with growing payrolls and productive workers -- permit families to feel secure and create liveable communities.

Einstein said, after the development of the Atomic Bomb, everything had changed except the way we think. Until this Administration, that statement was true of our federal government.

That has changed. President Bill Clinton has shown it can change. And we are a stronger nation with a stronger economy for it. Our opponents have shown that they cannot -- indeed, they are moving backwards. Last week, three hundred Republican congressional candidates endorsed a "Contract With America" that seeks to resurrect the old program of tax breaks that would blow a hole in the side of the federal deficit equal in size to the Clinton deficit reductions passed by the Congress last year.

Go back and ask your CFO what will happen to growth, interest rates, and earnings if we add seven hundred billion dollars to the deficit and send the federal government back to foraging through capital markets. This wasn't a Contract with America, it was a contract on America.

Measure our performance in the short run -- economic growth, corporate earnings, investment spending, housing starts, durable goods orders, or whatever statistics you desire. Or look at our long-term strategies -- debt reduction, education and training, business advocacy, research and technology partnerships -- a strategy for entering the Global Information Economy with vision, confidence and drive.

What you'll see is something fresh, something forward-looking, something that works. You'll see a revolutionary partnership between the public and private sectors that is allowing us to spark growth even as we maintain our traditional commitment to America's families' struggle to cope with change. You'll see an economic agenda that -- by any objective measure -- is reaching a profitable bottom line for our businesses and our people.

We have a plan. We have a strategy. We are implementing it. And it is working. I am proud of what we have done, prouder still that it will look even better after ten years than after two. And I am proud to be able to come to this room and to say to you that we seek to be your partner in the truest sense of the word. Stand with us in this partnership and I believe there is no limit to what we can accomplish.

Thank you.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 OCT 7 P 6:43

October 7, 1994

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

Handwritten notes and signatures:
10/10/94
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

CHRISTINE A. VARNEY
Secretary to the Cabinet

Handwritten signature: [unclear]

081897

SUBJECT:

Summary of Weekly Cabinet Reports
October 7, 1994 through October 14, 1994

CABINET-WIDE ACTIVITY

CABINET POLITICAL TRAVEL

Members of the Cabinet will travel extensively next week and through the month of November. Next week, 9 Cabinet Members will participate in more than 35 political events for incumbents and candidates. The Cabinet travel is being closely coordinated with the Vice President's and your activity for the week.

SOO LINE STRIKE

Congress has passed a joint resolution extending the status quo period in this dispute until February 28, 1995. A Presidential Order was issued on August 29 temporarily ending the strike between the Soo Line Railroad and the United Transportation Union and returning the parties to the pre-strike status quo. This order would have expired at the end of October.

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DEPARTMENT SUMMARIES

Department of the Treasury

- **Haiti Sanctions:** Sanctions imposed on Haiti are scheduled to be suspended the day after President Aristide returns to Haiti.

Department of Commerce

- **National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) Grants:** On Wednesday, October 12, Commerce will announce the NTIA Infrastructure Assistance Program grant recipients. Approximately 100 grants will be awarded in 45

states for a total of \$24.4 million. The grants require matching funds and will generate a total of \$67.6 million toward the development of the National Information Infrastructure in public institutions.

- **Minority Enterprise Development (MED) Week:** Commerce and the SBA will co-sponsor the National MED Week Conference, an important annual minority business advocacy event.
- **Census Bureau:** The Census Bureau's *Report on Income, Poverty and Valuation of Non Case Benefits: 1993* has been released. The report reveals that while the poverty rate is unchanged, the number of Americans living in poverty is up for the fourth year and household income and health care coverage has declined.

Department of Labor

- **Working Women Count:** The Labor Department will unveil the results of its Working Women Count survey which looks at women's attitudes and views on the work place.

Department of Transportation

- **Federal Transit Administration Withholds Funds From Los Angeles:** The Federal Transit Administration has suspended new grants to fund the Red Line subway project in Los Angeles. This suspension is for technical and management problems and remains in effect until certain remedial actions are taken by the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority.

Department of Justice

- **COPS Grants:** On October 12, you will announce the first phase of COPS awards. Approximately 380 jurisdictions will receive \$200 million to hire approximately 2,700 new officers.
- **Villalpando Surrender:** On Monday, October 10, Catalina Villalpando, former Treasurer of the United States, will surrender herself to the Federal Prison Camp in Alderson, West Virginia. She was sentenced to a four month term for obstruction of justice, income tax evasion and conspiracy to commit false statements.
- **Religious Freedom and Restoration Act (RFRA) Case:** In U.S. v. Nathan Jim, the Department has a pre-hearing brief due on October 7 on the issue of whether the RFRA precludes the prosecution of a Takima Indian for shooting eleven bald and golden eagles in violation of the Endangered Species Act and Bald Eagle Protection Act.

What are we
doing on this?

Health and Human Services

- **The Plague:** A protocol to identify, quarantine, and treat persons suspected of having plague who are traveling by air from India to the United States has been implemented by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). Two CDC epidemiologists acting as technical consultants for the American community in India are currently in New Delhi, where they are meeting with Embassy and Indian government officials. We have offered our assistance to the Indian government, but they have declined such assistance. CDC scientists have provided consultation and advice to World Health Organization staff in New Delhi. So far, India has reported 4,780 suspected cases of plague, including 51 deaths, to the W.H.O.

Department to Defer \$315 Million Medicaid Claim in California: On Friday, October 7, the Department will announce that it is deferring the payment of approximately \$315 million in federal Medicaid funds claimed by the State for administrative costs incurred from 1992 through 1994. The State claimed this amount based on its system for identifying costs incurred by county governments in administering Medicaid. The Health Care Financing Administration, however, found that the State's system does not reliably separate activities that are eligible for federal Medicaid administrative matching from those that are not.

The system is being implemented throughout the State, but the current \$315 million claim is based almost entirely on claims from Los Angeles County. The State has used this projected income to help balance its budget for State FY'94-95. The deferral action simply means we do not pay the funds to the State pending the State's opportunity to address our concerns and establish that the claim is allowable. The State has 60 days to do this and may request an additional 60 days if necessary.

- **Kansas Medicaid:** Next week, HCFA will notify Kansas that it is out of compliance with federal law because it imposes a \$325 co-payment on inpatient hospital admissions. This co-payment is at odds with the approved State plan and creates barriers to service for beneficiaries. Kansas is challenging HCFA's interpretation on legal grounds. The State's Hospital Association also opposes the co-payment and has marshalled congressional opposition (Senator Dole, Congressman Slattery) to Kansas's plan.
- **Welfare Experiment:** In the near future, the Department will announce the commitment of over \$1 million in federal funds to test the effectiveness of weekly visits to the homes of teenage parents on welfare. This is a three-year joint initiative by HHS's Administration for Children and Families and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. Activities will be designed to test the feasibility of incorporating weekly home visits in the JOBS program. The goal of these visits -- which will be made by staff who work with case managers -- is for the staffers to establish a close relationship with the young mothers and their children. Demonstrations aim at

improving social, personal, health and economic outcomes among teen parents and their children.

Office of National Drug Control Policy

- **Regional Drug Strategy Conference:** Next week, Director Brown will host a Regional Conference for state and local officials from the Mid-west who are assisting in identifying issues to be included in the 1995 National Drug Control Strategy.

Department of Education

- **ESEA Reauthorization:** On Wednesday, October 5, the Senate broke a filibuster and passed the Improving America's Schools Act. The House passed the Act on September 30.

 **California Student Aid Commission (CSAC):** CSAC is the nation's second largest student loan guarantor. It has guaranteed in excess of \$13 billion in student loans, and currently guarantees about \$1.7 billion in new loans annually. Several audits and reviews indicate that CSAC has been negligent in its fiduciary responsibilities, so the Department fined CSAC \$62.6 million and issued a management performance plan. Within the next few days, CSAC will receive a letter from the Department informing it of the Department's plan to begin terminating upcoming payments until the fine is recovered. CSAC will have 15 days to appeal, during which time discussions of its management plan will occur to see if some agreement can be reached.

Department of Agriculture

- **USDA Reorganization and Crop Insurance Reform:** The House and Senate both passed legislation authorizing reorganization of USDA and reform of the crop insurance program. USDA reorganization will save \$2.5 billion, close about 1,100 field offices, reduce staff by at least 7,500, and eliminate 14 of the 43 Departmental agencies. The savings will come from office closings, personnel reductions, and streamlining the Washington, D.C. headquarters rather than from program reductions.

The crop insurance reform will revamp the way in which the government responds to crop disasters, saving taxpayers \$150 million over the next five years. The new program requires agricultural producers to purchase crop insurance in order to be eligible for other USDA farm program benefits, and provides incentives for producers to purchase higher levels of coverage. In addition, the program includes a Noninsured Assistance Program for crops for which crop insurance is unavailable.

- **USDA Economic Research Service (ERS) Report on NAFTA:** The ERS released a report entitled *NAFTA: An Early Assessment*. Data from January through July continues to support the estimate that 50,000-60,00 new agriculture-related jobs would

result from NAFTA. In addition, the report shows that U.S. agricultural exports to Mexico are 9 percent higher than last year, and total U.S. exports are up 19 percent.

Environmental Protection Agency

- **Superfund Reform:** Congressional leaders announced on Wednesday, October 5, that Superfund Reform legislation would not be passed in this Congress. The announcement received widespread media attention.

Department of State

- **North Korea Talks:** After consultations in Washington, Ambassador Gallucci returned to Geneva for talks with DPRK officials. While it is too early to predict the outcome, the October 6 talks were constructive with indications of possible progress in the clarification of Pyongyang's past nuclear activity.
- **Middle East:** Last week, Tunisia and Israel announced the exchange of economic liaison offices. Secretary Christopher is urging the Tunisians to send a high-level delegation to the Casablanca Conference to advance normalization of their relations with Israel. Foreign Minister Peres also met with the Omani foreign minister this week as a result of our efforts.
- **Israel Loan Guarantees:** On September 30 the State Department exercised special waiver authority to recover \$95 million in slated deductions to Israel's FY'95 loan guarantee allotment. The move is intended to support Israel as it implements the Declaration of Principles and deals with settlements in the occupied territories. Most Members of Congress supported our initiative, but Representatives Obey and Hamilton voiced strong criticism for inadequate consultation and for changing our policy regarding Israeli settlements.
- **Northern Ireland:** In his meeting with Deputy Assistant Secretary Kornblum, Gerry Adams gave his views on the peace process, thanked the Administration for its role and asked for a multiple entry visa and permission to do fund-raising in the United States. Ulster Unionists have reacted angrily to State Department actions lifting the ban on official contacts with Sinn Fein.

Department of Defense

- **Bosnia:** The NATO Defense Ministers' meeting in Seville produced consensus that 1) we must stick with the Contact Group plan, 2) we must work with Serbia to cut off war supplies to the Bosnian Serbs, and, 3) we must close the gap between UN forces and NATO on the use of air strikes to pressure the Bosnian Serbs. Secretary Perry was able to persuade the other ministers to support a NATO policy which requires that air strikes responding to provocations in violation of existing resolutions be timely,

without warning and that allows the air crews to have a choice of multiple targets. Aircraft continue to come under small arms fire in and around Sarajevo.

- **Somalia:** The U.S. abstained last week on the Security Council Resolution extending the United Nation's mandate for one month. The vote to extend the mandate simply delays the inevitability of a UN decision to withdraw without achieving any meaningful form of political reconciliation among the factions. Many of the troop contributors are there at our urging. They have made it clear they expect our assistance in extricating themselves, and DoD believes we have a moral obligation to follow through.
- **Security Policy Board:** Jim Woosley and John Deutch co-chaired the initial meeting of the Security Policy Board. At NSC staff's request, the Board agreed to develop national standards regarding the role of sexual orientation in personnel security clearances. Jamie Gorelick proposed that the Board consider the long-delayed draft Executive Order on classification.
- **AWACS Crew Members Hearing:** The Article 32 hearings will begin October 11 at Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma for the AWACs crew members being charged in conjunction with the shootdown of two Blackhawk helicopters. The hearings will be open to the public, and are expected to generate substantial press coverage.
- **Former Soviet Union:** Two U.S. companies have been awarded a \$20 million contract in the Ukraine under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Defense Conversion Agreement. Groundbreaking is expected to take place in October.

United Nations

- **Iraq:** Baghdad has issued a very proactive statement threatening the U.S., Kuwait, and others if there is not a clear date for lifting the sanctions. Next week, the U.N. will report that it is ready to begin testing its long-term monitoring system of Iraq. The USUN will work to ensure that this small step forward by the U.N. does not mitigate the importance of requiring Iraq to fulfill outstanding obligations such as the recognition of Kuwait's borders.
- **Tajikistan:** A technical mission now in Dushanbe will return soon to report on the value of sending a peacekeeping mission to the area. U.S support or opposition for such a peacekeeping operation will be closely scrutinized by Russia which continues to perceive U.S. hostility to Russian actions in the former Soviet Union.

United States Trade Representative

- **Uruguay Round Implementation:** USTR's motion for summary judgement on all counts was granted in Public Citizen v. Kantor, which had attempted to stall the UR

implementation with claims that the U.S. government had not adequately assessed the environmental impact of the legislation and should not be compelled to adopt procedures to implement the National Environmental Policy Act.

- **Asia/Pacific:** Three trade associations representing U.S. Meat producers have filed a section 301 petition regarding Korean restrictions affecting U.S. meat exports.
- **North American Affairs:** USTR, in coordination with USDA, announced the five U.S. Commissioners on the U.S.-Canada Joint Commission on Grains. Canada also named its five commissioners. The Commission will look at all aspects of grain trade between the two nations as well as competition between the two nations in third country markets. The Commission is expected to begin meeting soon; their preliminary report is due on June 12, 1995.
- **Environmental Developments:** A GATT panel has rejected the claim of the European Union that key provisions of U.S. laws regulating auto fuel economy discriminate against European luxury cars. The laws in question are the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE), the gas guzzler tax, and the luxury tax. The panel's finding confirms that GATT trade rules can be compatible with U.S. laws conserving natural resources and protecting the environment.

HAITI

At the halfway point between the Carter agreement and the return of President Aristide, there is substantial progress to report. We have secured the Parliament and the legitimate members are now considering amnesty legislation. Coalition forces have joined U.S. troops on the ground. Over 200 police monitors from several countries have arrived in Haiti. The repatriation of migrants from Guantanamo continues to run smoothly, with almost 2,000 migrants returned since the beginning of Operation Uphold Democracy. DoD flew two Congressional delegations to Haiti this past weekend. Representative Murtha led a House delegation which included Representatives Dixon, Dicks, Payne (NJ), Young (FL), Lewis (CA), Skeen and McHugh. The Senate delegation included Senators Dodd, Warner, Coverdell, Gregg, Levin and Pell. DoD has decided that no additional Congressional delegations will travel until after October 15.

CUBA

The current policy of keeping migrants at Guantanamo indefinitely is becoming increasingly costly both politically and economically. The interagency process is considering steps which could be announced as early next Tuesday. Options include: granting 20,000 visas or instituting a visa lottery for approximately 6,000 visas which may include provisions for Guantanamo Cubans preferential; announcing steps to improve camp conditions for the long-term; announcing parole of extreme humanitarian cases from Guantanamo. These however,

are only short-term measures and do not address the long term aspects of keeping people at Guantanamo. Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili feel this aspect of our migration policy needs to be revisited in a timely manner.

Panama houses 3,290 Cuban migrants. Forty-nine out of an original 96 migrants have resolved not to eat until three demands are met: the immediate release into the U.S. of women, children, and the elderly; visits from U.S. government and Cuban American organization personnel to discuss and provide a suitable solution; the right to be processed into the U.S. as political refugees under the Cuban Refugee Act of 1966.

At the United Nations, we anticipate a difficult vote on October 26 when the issue of the Cuban embargo will be debated. The U.S. has sent a worldwide demarche arguing that the UN General Assembly should not debate this bilateral issue, that we seek to defeat the resolution, that we regard a vote for the resolution as a vote against the United States, and that we will keep a vote tally by country. Despite these measures the U.S. has lost on similar resolutions in the past and the prognosis for this year is not good.

cc: Vice President Gore
Leon Panetta
Mack McLarty

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

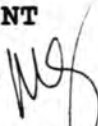
10/10/94

94 OCT 6 P3:48

081902

OCTOBER 6, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK GEARAN 
SUBJECT: BOSTON GLOBE EDITORIAL

I thought you might like to see the attached editorial which appeared in yesterday's *Boston Globe*.

a bit weird but good

Let's look at the record

With political rhetoric increasingly loud and poisonous, especially in Washington, it may be useful to put the adjectives aside for a moment and look at President Clinton's record.

In 21 months, Clinton has presided over:

The failure of health reform.

The failure of welfare reform.

Enactment of family leave legislation.

Enactment of the Brady Bill after a decade of defeats by the National Rifle Association.

Enactment of a crime bill that is balanced between prevention and punishment and puts thousands more police on the streets. President Bush's efforts to pass a crime bill did not succeed.

Enactment of a national service program that already enrolls more young people than the Peace Corps did at its peak.

Enactment of higher-education financing reforms that will make college loans more accessible for millions of middle-class families.

Environmental advances, including an agreement to protect the Florida Everglades.

Advancement of an urban agenda that includes empowerment zones, an expanded Community Reinvestment Act, a greater emphasis on homelessness, funding for the Community Development Financial Institutions Act and many specific grants, including \$50 million for Mission Hill.

On economic matters, Clinton:

Failed to deliver a middle-class tax cut.

Raised taxes on those with high incomes and for many with middle incomes.

Raised, at the same time, the earned income tax credit, providing support for working families. The credit, with no bureaucracy, is already working powerfully against welfare and poverty.

Tackled the federal deficit. For the fiscal year

just ended the deficit is expected to be close to \$200 billion - far less than projections.

On governmental improvement, Clinton:

Failed to win campaign finance reform.

Delivered on most of the first-year goals of the Reinventing Government project, including a reduction of some 20,000 federal employees.

In foreign policy, Clinton:

Has achieved little in Bosnia, though he hasn't plunged the United States into war there, either.

Achieved some goals in Somalia, at some cost.

Helped peace efforts in the Middle East and Ireland, though not as a major player.

The verdict is still out in North Korea and Haiti, but progress has been made with minimal bloodshed so far.

Clinton's policy toward Russia and the former Soviet Union has won praise from right and left.

On trade issues, he won acceptance of the North American Free Trade Agreement, negotiated a new General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (yet to be ratified) and took steps to expand trade with China and last week with Japan.

The list isn't complete. Still, there is a record. Congressional Quarterly rated Clinton's first year the most effective since Lyndon Johnson's in 1965. The second year included failures, but health and welfare reform involved tough issues to which Clinton sought a comprehensive approach.

There has been no mention here of Clinton's style or management ability or decisiveness. Or of his woman friends, or his wife's investments, or the hair styles of either. Yet such matters dominate, making Clinton a pariah ridiculed by Republicans and shunned by many Democrats, including candidates for office.

Still, there is a record.

Boston Globe

10-5-94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

080687

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1994

94 SEP 30 P 9:07

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:

SAM COPPERSMITH
SENATE NOMINEE

DATE/TIME:

9/30, 11:30pm EDT: (602) 840-1680 (home)
10/1, 9:30-10:30am EDT: (602) 840-1680 (home)
10/1, 7:20-7:45pm EDT: (602) 840-1680 (home)
10/2, 10am-12:30pm EDT: (602) 840-1680 (home)
10/2, 10-11:30pm EDT: (602) 266-3990 (campaign)
Car phone: (602) 228-6326
Congressional cellular: (602) 919-5459

RECOMMENDED BY:

JOAN BAGGETT & TOM EPSTEIN

PURPOSE:

Congratulations on Primary Victory

BACKGROUND:

Freshman Representative Sam Coppersmith has emerged victorious from an election that literally was decided by the last precinct. He edged Secretary of State Richard Mahoney by only 123 votes in the primary and endured a laborious recount process that lasted over two weeks and resulted in a 66 vote victory. Coppersmith was declared the winner today and Mahoney strongly endorsed him. Coppersmith's main challenge now will be to organize his general election campaign and raise enough money to combat Republican John Kyl and his multi-million dollar war chest. Coppersmith has run to the right and is well positioned for the general election. A recent poll puts Coppersmith nearly 20 points behind Kyl in this race but Kyl is extremely conservative and vulnerable against a centrist Democrat like Coppersmith. Cook rated the race a "toss-up."

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. Congratulations on your primary victory
2. Good luck in the general election
3. What can we do to help?

CONTACT PERSON &
PHONE NUMBER:

Joan Baggett 6-1125 or
Tom Epstein 6-2944

SUBMISSION DATE:

September 30, 1994

ACTION:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1994

10/10/94

081302

94 OCT 5 P12:38

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL GALSTON

VIA: LEON PANETTA
CAROL H. RASCOSUBJECT: LAMAR ALEXANDER AND BILL BENNETT'S ARGUMENTS
AGAINST THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

We need to push this w/ pol columnists EJ, Broder, Klein et al - it's a must not characterize full interference

You asked me to inquire into the arguments used by Lamar Alexander and Bill Bennett against the administration's proposed reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and to report back to you.

The heart of their argument is that our ESEA is hostile to the best education reform ideas, is overly regulatory and intrusive, imposes new federal controls on states and localities, and is indifferent to the social and moral underpinnings of education. None of these charges is correct. In fact, the new ESEA:

- ✓ expands state authority;
- ✓ enhances local and school-level flexibility;
- ✓ provides for a broad waiver authority of ESEA provisions;
- ✓ for the first time ever, aligns Title I money with the National Education Goals;
- ✓ promotes school-wide reform rather than the kinds of narrow compensatory education programs criticized by several reform commissions in recent years;
- ✓ puts the federal government squarely on the side of charter schools through a separate section and funding authority; and
- ✓ establishes a new program to encourage character education in public schools.

The ESEA received final passage last week in the House with broad bipartisan support. Just this morning (Wednesday), the Senate filibuster against final passage was broken by a vote of 75 to 24. In that vote, many moderate and even conservative Republicans joined forces with us against the hard-right ideologues. Final passage is expected this afternoon.

On the basis of these developments, I think it is fair to conclude that the Alexander/Bennett argument enjoys limited support (at most) even within the Republican party, and even in the current overheated partisan atmosphere.

I attach a copy of the full Alexander/Bennett statement, along with a point-by-point rebuttal prepared by the Department of Education.

It is useful to place the ESEA in a broader context. On February 17, 1993 in your "Vision of Change for America," you set forth a comprehensive plan for lifelong learning. A year later in your speech to the American Council on Education, you translated that plan into a seven-point legislative agenda. **With final passage of the ESEA reform and reauthorization, six out of the seven principal elements of your lifelong learning agenda will have been enacted into law since you took office.** They include:

- o Head Start reform and expansion;
- o Goals 2000;
- o ESEA reform and expansion;
- o the School-to-Work Opportunities Act;
- o the National and Community Service Act; and
- o student loan reform, especially direct lending and income-contingent repayment.

As you know, the seventh principal part of lifelong learning--the Reemployment Act--did not reach the congressional finish-line. But it did spark a very useful debate that I believe has prepared the ground for significant legislation with broad bipartisan support in the next congress.

It is no exaggeration to say that under your leadership, the 103rd Congress represents the most significant two years for education and training in thirty years. This is a major accomplishment, and I believe you should seize every opportunity in the coming weeks and months to underscore its historic significance.

THE DOCUMENT WAS SEEN 10/5

WHITE HOUSE NEWS REPORT
Tuesday, October 4, 1994

AP Daybook.....i

8:30 a.m. The Commerce Department releases the Index of Leading Economic Indicators for August.

TBD An Equifax-Louis Harris & Associates survey featuring a "Distrust Index" based on public attitudes about faith in government and the value of voting is released on the first day of a Privacy & America Business Conference, "Managing the Privacy Revolution."

9:00 a.m. Secretary Reich speaks on the changing role of business in the global economy at the Financial Executives Institute's conference. Grand Hyatt, 1000 H St., NW.

9:30 a.m. Senate Foreign Relations hearing on U.S. assistance to Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union. 419 DSOB.

10:00 a.m. The International Insurance Council discusses the U.S.-Japan trade agreement and

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

To Counter Saddam's Ploy

WASHINGTON

The first foreign-policy blunder made by Bill Clinton, soon after his election, was about Saddam Hussein. The President-elect told Tom Friedman of The New York Times that as a good Baptist he believed in conversion, and that perhaps the dictator could be dealt with if he acceded to U.N. arms-destruction and human-rights requirements.

Some of us turned purple. That was contrary to the hard-line American position to use sanctions to force the tyrant from power. President Bush had sent an unambiguous message to Baghdad: get rid of Saddam or forget about pumping oil. Clinton's remark offered Saddam room to maneuver.

President Clinton found a way out of that gaffe by professing to foresee no way that Saddam could obey the U.N. resolution's requirements and remain in power. Then Clinton exhibited toughness in putting a missile into the window of Saddam's spy chief as retaliation for the plot to assassinate former President Bush.

The hard-line policy has evidently been working. Two weeks ago, the cash-strapped Saddam had to stop subsidizing food prices, which then doubled, causing internal unrest. If he cannot show some promise of

ending sanctions, he will be deposed.

That is why the dictator has been appearing to comply with the U.N. inspectors searching for mass-destruction weapons factories. This week, inspector Rolf Ekeus will tell the U.N. that a monitoring system is finally in operation, and Iraq's Tariq Aziz will demand that the U.N. stop

Go intimidation one further.

starving Iraqi babies (though the Republican Guard is well fed).

Saddam will have support in the Security Council. Russian intelligence chief Yevgeny Primakov is Saddam's longtime ally; Russia will support the lifting of sanctions, if only to make possible the repayment of \$6 billion owed Moscow by Iraq. France's Foreign Minister, Alain Juppe, is salivating at the prospect of his nation's resuming business with its best oil source.

France or Russia care little that Saddam continues to try to strangle

Iraq's Kurdish minority and starve its Shi'as, or will surely circumvent arms inspections at the first opportunity; what does cause them to hesitate is Saddam's continued claim of ownership of Kuwait.

Now we come to Saddam's reason for the well-publicized movement of Iraqi troops — including the Hammurabi division of the Republican Guard spared by the shortsighted men in the Oval Office on March 26, 1991 — to the Kuwaiti border.

The reason may be that Saddam has observed Clinton in Bosnia, Haiti and North Korea and thinks it may be possible to snatch a couple of islands and make a face-saving deal with a State Department feeling the pressure to out-Carter Jimmy Carter. That's a misreading of geopolitics, but Saddam has been wrong before.

The more likely reason is to create a favorable basis for negotiation of an end to sanctions. He now has the world's attention. Here is his stick-and-carrot strategy:

First, the stick: If sanctions are not lifted now, he will threaten to throw out the U.N. inspectors and begin rearming. He thinks the world will not make war on him for that; indeed many U.S. editorialists will agree with Moscow and Paris that Sad-

dam's was the poor victim of demonizing American hard-liners.

Second, the carrot: If sanctions are lifted to allow his oil to flow, then not only will he allow the inspectors to stay, but he will refrain from once again taking over Iraq's 19th province, which calls itself Kuwait.

Not so stupid. By creating a threat, Saddam makes possible his grand concession: If we will let bygones be bygones, he will not make war. Paris may even extract "recognition" of Kuwait and claim a diplomatic triumph, deserving of instant trade relations.

Here is what Clinton's response should be:

If Saddam moves on Kuwait, that will trigger a fight to the finish: destruction of his forces, a parade in Baghdad, establishment of Kurdistan, war crimes trials, free elections.

If he refrains from invasion but throws out inspectors, not only will sanctions be tightened but the U.S. and its allies will "inspect" by national means and will regularly bomb suspected nuclear, germ and chemwar sites.

Hope for Iraqis: If Saddam is overthrown, sanctions will be lifted. Sometimes the only conversion possible is in a baptism of fire.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

28

OS/Tony
Ltr.

E. J. Dionne Jr.

The Not-So-Inevitable GOP Landslide

It's obvious that 1994 will be a fine year for Republicans. What's not obvious—yet—is that this year's elections are destined to be the catastrophe for Democrats that so many in Washington are predicting. The line between Republican gains and a Republican landslide is actually quite thin because so many contests are close. What happens in the next month will matter a lot.

Republicans enter this election with three big advantages. First, they are bound to gain seats in the House because many conservative Democratic incumbents are retiring from districts that have been strongly Republican in presidential elections. It was only a matter of time before Republican voting habits seeped down to the congressional level. Second, rank-and-file Democrats are demoralized and disappointed with President Clinton; many of them may just sit out this year, tilting close elections toward the GOP. Third, the Democrats have so far run a largely defensive campaign, trying to prove that they're as fierce about crime and as reverent toward the family as any Republican on the ballot. There's nothing wrong with doing that. But such campaigns don't convince anyone that Democrats have accomplished things in the past two years or have ideas about what to do with the next two.

Democrats can't do anything about who is retiring, but they can alter the other factors. The first thing they want to do is get Congress out of town. Almost anything that gets the public's attention off Congress as a whole is seen as helping the Democrats who run the institution. The Democrats are also trying to move district-by-district, state-by-state to discredit individual Republican opponents. It is a sign of the times that Edward M. Kennedy has run his first negative campaign commercial since Massachusetts sent him to the Senate in 1962. Democrats are "going negative" early to prevent their foes from riding the current anti-Washington mood to prohibitive leads. The unspoken slogan is: We're no great shakes, but *they* are a whole lot worse.

These campaigns are having some effect—Kennedy, for example, seems to have restored his lead over Republican Mitt Romney—but a move toward the negative may not save other endangered Democrats, such as House Speaker Tom Foley. And however well they work in individual cases, negative campaigns make the political mood even more sour, which does little to lift Clinton or Democrats as a party.

More promising is an assault on the "Contract with America" that most Republican House candidates have signed. Many Democratic strategists are gleeful because this document ties "outsider" Republican candidates back into their congressional leadership and defines the Republicans as advocates of tattered Reagan-style tax cuts. By promising to balance the budget without offering specifics, Republican leaders have invited questions about unpleasant details that were once the province of health care reporters deconstructing the Clinton plan. A month before election day, the Republicans are on the defensive.

"The Republicans had positioned themselves rather nicely by being an angry voice out there," says Stan Greenberg, Clinton's pollster. "They made the mistake of giving that voice some content that people don't want to be reminded of." Greenberg argues that the Reagan Era is not popular among Americans outside Republican ranks. Forward

into the Past is not an appealing slogan. And by reopening the deficit debate, the Republicans' plan helps the Democrats claim the mantle of fiscal responsibility. This, at least, contains the seeds of a partly positive message, last year's deficit reduction package being the Democrats' main achievement and the economic recovery being the main thing they'd like some credit for.

But many Democrats think attacks on the Republican contract will take them only so far because the party faces much deeper difficulties. They are summarized by two lines of attack against Clinton from within his own party. On the one side, centrist "New Democrats" argue that Clinton got his priorities backward in proposing a massive government-led reform of the health care system before convincing voters that he had reformed the way government does business. In this view, Clinton would have done better by starting with the reform of smaller programs—the welfare system notably—and

**Clinton has to
convince people that
government can
actually work.**

putting more emphasis on his and Vice President Al Gore's plans to reshape the way government does things. Link this up with political reforms (especially in the way campaigns are financed), and Clinton could have built public confidence for more ambitious government undertakings later.

Some in the party's liberal wing, on the other hand, argue that with the failure of health care, Clinton has nothing much to offer other than deficit reduction. Clinton's liberal critics note that the economically insecure—the "forgotten middle class" of the 1992 campaign—feel little better now than they did two years ago and thus still mistrust government.

These critiques have more in common than those who make them might realize. On the one hand, neither fully takes into account how difficult the deficit problem has made everything else. Clinton would have a much more visible program in areas popular with new and old Democrats alike—job training and education, for example—if the deficit plan hadn't so restricted his ability to spend. On the other hand, both sides in the Democrats' intramural debate are expressing a common frustration at Clinton's failure to convince Americans that government can actually work, which is at the core of the Democrats' problems this year.

Clinton can't change all that in the month left to Election Day, especially since popular doubts about government are now so wrapped up with qualms about him. But he can argue that, like it or not, his deficit program was the first necessary step toward restoring government's ability to get anything else done. And he can suggest how a Democratic Party tempered by the struggles of the past two years intends to repair a government that so many others would simply try to wreck. A lot of the voters who have turned on Clinton still tell the pollsters they admire him for taking on tough problems and want him to succeed. Clinton's assignment this fall is to convince them that's still possible. Otherwise, the Republicans may well win their landslide.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

How
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Practical solutions . . .

Illegal immigration can be controlled

A respected bipartisan commission has injected a badly needed voice of reason into California's polarizing debate on illegal immigration.

In a list of recommendations to Congress, the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform has struck a sensible balance. The panel urges stronger border enforcement and denial of most government benefits to illegal immigrants. But it does not endorse such wrongheaded extremes as expelling undocumented children from public schools — the main thrust of Proposition 187 on the November ballot.

The chairman of the federal commission, former Democratic Rep. Barbara Jordan of Texas, stressed quite correctly that immigrants who enter this country illegally should not be entitled to welfare and most other social services.

In California, illegal immigrants are not eligible for welfare or food stamps, although their children born in this country are eligible, because they are U.S. citizens. Proposition 187 would not change those rules.

The ballot initiative does seek, however, to bar from school classrooms the estimated 300,000 immigrant youths who have been brought to California illegally by their parents. Jordan emphasized that this provision is clearly unconstitutional in light of a 1982 Supreme Court decision, *Plyler vs. Doe*.

That ruling held that, because children are not responsible for their parents' actions, denying them an education would violate the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law. Proponents of Proposition 187 hope to persuade the Supreme Court to reverse that precedent, even though it is only 12 years old.

Before voters embrace that cause, they should consider the consequences of turning hundreds of thousands of idle youths loose on California's streets, depriving them of any chance to learn English or acquire minimal job skills. Such a policy would only magnify the problems

of gangs, drugs, graffiti and violent crime that stalk nearly every community in California.

The immigration panel also urged Congress to increase funding for the U.S. Border Patrol to deter illegal crossings near ports of entry such as San Diego. As explained in the editorial below, stepped-up enforcement on the line can be effective in countering unlawful immigration.

Regrettably, the commission recommended that the increased enforcement be financed with a new border-crossing fee. This is a bad idea for two reasons. First, the lion's share of the fee would come directly out of the economy of the San-Diego-Tijuana region, which includes the world's busiest land border crossing. Second, the fee would allow Washington to shift to border communities the fiscal burden for what is entirely a federal responsibility.

One of the more controversial proposals offered by the panel is the establishment of a computerized national registry to help employers verify the legal status of potential workers. Despite complaints from the American Civil Liberties Union that a government registry would compromise privacy rights, the panel's proposal is an important step toward a solution to the central weakness in the 1986 immigration reform act — fraudulent work papers.

The real magnet that draws illegal immigrants to this country is not schooling for their children but rather jobs. The most effective way to stop illegal immigration is to stop hiring undocumented workers. As long as counterfeit documents are readily available to illegal aliens, employers will continue to give them jobs. The ultimate answer is a tamper-resistant identity card for all workers, regardless of race or ethnicity.

California voters are fed up — and understandably so — with illegal immigration. If they want real solutions, they should support the commission's balanced approach instead of blindly venting their frustrations on schoolchildren through Proposition 187.

Not needed

SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE

10/14/94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Don
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↳ SI letters

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this a friend

Jessica Mathews

When a Sea Dies

In a sad first, environmentalists recently notarized a death certificate for a sea, suspending further efforts to save the Aral Sea. Recognized as a crisis only in the mid-'80s, the sea has shrunk by two-thirds in just 20 years and has already split in two. A large fishing industry has been destroyed and once-thriving ports now lie 50 kilometers from the shore.

The fate of what was the planet's fourth-largest inland body of water, and the environmental and human catastrophe unfolding in the five Central Asian Soviet successor states, would make a 20th century morality play. The immediate culprit was cotton, which Moscow used to call "white gold" for its ability to earn hard currency. The real villains were greed, stupidity and unchecked, tunnel-visioned apparatchiks on the one hand, and on the other a lethal combination—by no means unique to the region—of mankind's technological power and still largely unrecognized ecological ignorance.

In one sense, the result was not unintended. As the rivers that feed the landlocked sea were tapped to irrigate vast new cotton fields, the sea would have to shrink. Experts even argued (using the same kind of spuriously sophisticated but incomplete cost-benefit analyses that cause such controversy here) that the disappearance of the sea would be a good thing. The land where it had been could be used to grow more cotton, watered by canals from Siberia's rivers, or by using nuclear explosions to make those rivers flow southward instead of—in this view—wastefully into the Arctic Ocean. What no one recognized was that the Aral Sea was the region's ecological linchpin, whose role even the most gargantuan technology could not replace.

Normally, a huge mass of water vapor evaporating from the sea intercepted the fierce, dry winds that blow out of the north. As the sea shrank, summers became hotter and drier and winters grew longer, colder and snowless. The local climate became less and less suited to cotton.

Wind erosion and salt storms blown from the receding seabed make what was once a fertile land resemble the site of a biblical plague. Salt fog, salt rain and dry salt crystals coat fields and poison people. Thousands of square miles of farmland cannot now grow anything, and on thousands more productivity is dropping, propped up only by heavier and heavier use of fertilizer and pesticides and more and more water to rinse the fields of salts after each harvest. The added chemicals poison the water supply. The rinsing flushes away salts the soils need, requiring yet more fertilizer, and so on in a rapidly descending spiral.

As always when the natural water balance is disrupted, where there isn't too little water, there is too much. In the frenzy to fulfill Moscow's plan, irrigation canals were built without liners in sandy soils so that as little as 20 percent of the water reaches the fields. The rest seeps into the ground, turning productive farmland into useless, salinized swamps, poisoning fresh groundwater, causing buildings and power systems to collapse and flooding towns, which then require constant pumping at huge energy cost.

An impoverished diet (no fish from the sea, no fruit and vegetables from the ruined land), toxic water and pitifully inadequate health care have created epidemic levels of once unknown diseases. Premature births are the rule, and women are warned not to



breast-feed—their milk is too dangerous. Infant mortality is the highest in the former Soviet Union and may be—the data are not reliable—among the highest in the world. In the worst hit areas it is difficult to find a healthy person.

The region is now freed from Moscow's colonialist rape of its resources, but the collapse of the Soviet Union also means that five countries rather than one must somehow find a way to share too little water. Supplies could be doubled through easy steps like fixing leaky canals, but everything that needs to be done costs money the governments don't have. Making the water safe to drink and thereby lowering the health care burden and restoring people's hope for the future will cost vastly more. Restoring the ecosystem—and possibly the region's future livability—would take a switch away from cotton and irrigated agriculture, and on that point countries' interests sharply diverge. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, both dependent on cotton

exports, would have to turn their economies upside down.

Central Asia's tragedy is a cautionary tale for our time, a reminder that this one lifespan—from about 1950 to 2040—will probably be the most significant in human history. In these few years, world population will nearly quadruple (from 2.5 billion to 9.5 billion), economic output will likely grow ninefold, and energy use and wastes will grow exponentially. For the first time, mankind acquired the power to swallow the systems that govern the planet's basic health, on a regional scale in Central Asia, and globally.

The power to act has come before the knowledge to foresee the consequences. We must either acquire that scientific understanding and the wisdom to follow it very quickly—certainly in the next couple of decades—or likely leave the world permanently less hospitable to all future generations.

The writer is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

T6UP

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

59

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

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JAMES F. HARRINGTON
ELISABETH D. KOZLOW
H. HUGH McCONNELL
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 RODHAM
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.

Michelle/Arias/Wha
we need to discuss
could have
input on
for noon
BE

LAW OFFICES
SIEGFRIED, RIVERA, LEHNER, DE LA TORRE & PETERSEN, P.A.

STEVEN M. SIEGFRIED
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OF COUNSEL
MICHELLE C. FRIGOLA, P.A.
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA 33304

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
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TRANSMISSION REPORT

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1	812024566703	9-16-94 4:38PM	3'36"	5/ 5		COMPLETED 9600

TOTAL 0:03'36" 5

NOTE:

No. : OPERATION NUMBER	48 : 4800BPS SELECTED	EC : ERROR CORRECT	G2 : G2 COMMUNICATION
PD : POLLED BY REMOTE	SF : STORE & FORWARD	RI : RELAY INITIATE	RS : RELAY STATION
MB : SEND TO MAILBOX	PG : POLLING A REMOTE	MP : MULTI-POLLING	RM : RECEIVE TO MEMORY

M E M O R A N D U M

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	7671	Date	9/16	# of pages	4 pgs.
To	Maria Guioz	From			
Co./Dept.		Co.			
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

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

* 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!

* 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".

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

* 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.

* 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!

* 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.

* 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".

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

* 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.

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

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 Nuccio that the Administration could no longer take continued CANF support for granted.

* 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

* 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

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 advise 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

Crushed by My Own Reform

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

By Frank Cornelius

In 1975, I helped persuade the Indiana Legislature to pass what was acclaimed as a pioneering reform of the medical malpractice laws: a \$500,000 cap on damage awards, and elimination of all damages for pain and suffering. I argued successfully that such limits would reduce health care costs and encourage physicians to stay in Indiana — the same sort of arguments that now underpin the medical industry's call for national malpractice reform.

Today, from my wheelchair, I rue that accomplishment. Here is my story.

On Feb. 22, 1989, I underwent routine arthroscopic surgery after injuring my left knee in a fall. The day I left the hospital, I experienced a great deal of pain and called the surgeon several times. He called back the next day and told my wife to get me a bedpan. He then left on a skiing trip. I sought out another surgeon, who immediately diagnosed my condition as reflex sympathetic dystrophy — a degenerative nervous disorder brought on by trauma or infection, often during surgery.

A few months later, when a physical therapist improperly read the instructions on a medical device, I received a tremendous current of electricity through my left leg. This seriously complicated my condition.

In August 1990, another physician proposed a medical procedure, but used the wrong instrument; that left me with several holes in the vena cava, the main vein from the legs to the heart. I would have bled to death in my room if my wife had not come to see me that evening and called for help. As another physician tried to save my life, he punctured my left lung.

The cost of this cascading series of medical debacles is painful to tally:

- I am confined to a wheelchair and need a respirator to keep breathing. I have not been able to work.
- I have continuous physical pain

Frank Cornelius is a former lobbyist whose clients included the Insurance Institute of Indiana.

in my legs and feet, prompting my doctor to hook me up to an apparatus that drips morphine. My pain used to rate a 10 on a scale of 1 to 10. Now it's about a 4.

- Twice, I have received last rites from my church.

- My marriage is ending, and the emotional fallout on our five children has been difficult to witness, to say the least.

- At the age of 49, I am told that I have less than two years to live.

My medical expenses and lost wages, projected to retirement age if I should live that long, come to more than \$5 million. Claims against the hospital and physical therapist have been settled for a total of \$500,000 — the limit on damages for a single incident of malpractice. The Legislature has since raised that cap to \$750,000, and I may be able to collect some extra damages if I can sue

I lobbied for
limits on
malpractice suits.
Now I'm sorry.

those responsible for the August 1990 incident that nearly killed me. But apparently because of bureaucratic inertia, the state medical review panel that certifies such claims has yet to act on mine.

The kicker, of course, is that I fought to enact the very law that limits my compensation. All my suffering might have been worthwhile, on some cosmic scale, if the law had accomplished its stated purpose. But it hasn't.

Indiana's health care costs increased 139.4 percent from 1980 to 1990 — just about the national average. The state ranked 32d in per capita health care spending in 1990 — the same as in 1980.

It's understandable that the damage cap has done nothing to curb health care spending; the two have almost nothing to do with each other. In 1992, the Congressional Budget

**HEALTH CARE
SECOND OPINIONS**
An occasional series.

Office reported that medical malpractice litigation accounted for less than 1 percent of total health care spending. I doubt that the percentage in Indiana is much different.

Proponents of Indiana's damage cap argue that doctors here pay less for malpractice insurance than their colleagues in other states. What they don't say is that malpractice premiums are artificially low because insurers need to offer only \$100,000 of coverage. Negligently injured patients who are entitled to more than \$100,000 must look to Indiana's state-run excess compensation fund.

Because that fund is supported by a surcharge on doctors, the true cost of malpractice insurance in Indiana can be calculated only by adding premiums and surcharges together. And the surcharge for the compensation fund has ballooned.

Doctors and insurers have spent millions propagating the myth that America is awash in unjustified malpractice suits and crazy jury verdicts. And apparently they have captured the attention of the President and Congress: malpractice damage caps were part of many health care measures in Congress this year, and they are sure to be back when the issue resurfaces in the next session.

The prospect that these "reforms" will be enacted is frightening. Make no mistake, damage caps are arbitrary, wholly disregarding the nature of the injury and the pain experienced by the plaintiff. They make it harder to seek and recover compensation for medical injuries; extend unwarranted special protection to the medical industry; and remove the only effective deterrent to negligent medical care, since the medical profession has never done an effective job of disciplining negligent doctors.

Medical negligence cannot be reduced simply by restricting consumers' legal rights. That will happen only when the medical industry begins to effectively police its own. I don't expect to live to see that day.

Pushing Back the Censors in Poland

Just two weeks ago, Poland seemed about to take a giant step back from freedom. The lower house of Parliament, dominated by a coalition of former Communists and their allies, overwhelmingly passed a bill called the Official State Secrets Act, which would stifle the lively independent media that have grown up over the past four years. The upper house, with the same parties in control, was expected to approve the bill as well, perhaps as soon as this week.

But the Polish press fought back and, although the danger has not completely passed, the censors are now in retreat. Upper house action is stalled, lower house leaders are having second thoughts and President Lech Walesa promises to veto the bill if it reaches his desk in anything like its present form.

The secrets act would prohibit reporting on 71 broad areas of government activity, including arms contracts, international financial negotiations and basic principles of foreign policy. Penalties for unauthorized release of such "secret" information ranged as high as 10 years' imprisonment. In addition,

it would authorize officials to withhold other information on the grounds of professional secrecy. Such restrictions would permit governments to escape democratic accountability for important public policies and would thwart exposure of the official corruption that has often accompanied the transition from state to market economy.

Official secrets acts are a European tradition, West as well as East. Poland's old statute, promulgated under martial law in 1982, was even more restrictive, but it has gone unenforced since Communism fell. As a result, Poland now has some of the best newspapers in the new Eastern Europe.

Continued public access to sensitive official information is vital to Polish goals such as developing a healthy stock market and joining the European Community. A free press can also help alert a newly democratic society to signs of totalitarian backsliding, as the present episode indicates.

The old ruling parties may be back in power in Poland, but they have been usefully reminded that they can no longer rule in the old way.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Hobbling of Lobbying Bill Shows Muscle Power of 'Grass Roots' Conservative Network

By RATHARINE Q. SEELYE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 6 — The Christian Coalition took one look at the lobbying bill and sprang into action.

"We have a state-of-the-art network set up," said Mike Russell, a spokesman for the group. "We mobilized 250,000 people within a 24-hour period before the Senate vote, with computer bulletin boards, telephone trees, faxes, talk radio outlets to get the word out to both Christian and secular talk stations. We used the high-tech home gadgetry combined with getting on the phone to grass-roots members to make the phones ring back in your Senator's office."

The message was this: the lobbying bill was a "gag order" on grass-roots advocates. "It looked like a bureaucratic attempt to register citizen activists," he said, "a direct attempt to suppress organizations like the Christian Coalition."

When the Christian Coalition, with friends like Representative Newt Gingrich, decides to fight, it knows how to win, as it demonstrated today when the Senate — which a year ago overwhelmingly passed a bill to overhaul lobbying — all but killed the measure, at least for now.

The lobbying bill was only the latest piece of legislation Republicans have tossed on the heap of failures piling up at the Democrats' door. But it provides one of the best examples of the muscle the minority party is flexing at a time when Democrats, in Congress and the White House, are perceived as weak and ready for the taking.

It also demonstrates how fast the lean machine of the self-described "grass roots" conservative network — aided by modern technology, talk radio, and in this case an unusual coalition of disparate special interests — can be mobilized in the service of the Republican agenda.

Although Democrats paint the lobbying measure as the last chance to clean up Congress this session, Republicans have little fear that this apparent obstructionism will work against them. Rather, they insist they are saving the nation from bad legislation, while solidifying their base and probably winning over valuable voters who supported Ross Perot's Presidential bid in 1992.

"People are fed up with the Clinton Congress," said Haley Barbour, chairman of the Republican National Committee, predicting that the Republicans would take control of the House in November.

"The record on confronting Congress as a beast is pretty strong on the Republican side," said a Republican poll taker, Steven Wagner, predicting that the defeat of the lobbying bill would not hurt Republicans back home.

The lobbying bill was initially hailed by one and all as a way to win back the confidence of voters by

SENATE ROLL-CALL

The Lobbying Bill: 44 Who Had It Both Ways

In May 1993, 95 Senators voted yes on parts of a bill to restrict lobbying and gifts. Yesterday, 46 Senators apparently killed the bill by voting against an effort to end debate.

NV NO VOTE
● VOTE CHANGED
○ VOTE CHANGED
SEE NOTES

	1993	1994		1993	1994		1993	1994
ALABAMA			Simon (D)	Y	Y	BAUCUS (D)	Y	Y
oHeflin (D)		N	INDIANA			● Burns (R)	Y	N
oShelby (D)		N	● Coats (R)	Y	N	NEBRASKA		
ALASKA			● Lugar (R)	Y	N	Exon (D)	Y	Y
oMurkowski (R)		N	IOWA			Kerrey (D)	Y	Y
Stevens (R)	Y	NV	● Grassley (R)	Y	N	NEVADA		
ARIZONA			Harkin (D)	Y	Y	Bryan (D)	Y	Y
DeConcini (D)	Y	Y	KANSAS			Reid (D)	Y	Y
● McCain (R)	Y	N	● Dole (R)	Y	N	NEW HAMPSHIRE		
ARKANSAS			● Kassebaum (R)	Y	N	● Gregg (R)	Y	N
Bumpers (D)	Y	Y	KENTUCKY			oSmith (R)		N
Pryor (D)	NV	Y	Ford (D)	Y	Y	NEW JERSEY		
CALIFORNIA			● McConnell (R)	Y	N	Bradley (D)	Y	Y
Boxer (D)	Y	Y	LOUISIANA			Lautenberg (D)	Y	Y
Feinstein (D)	Y	Y	● Breaux (D)	Y	N	NEW MEXICO		
COLORADO			Johnston (D)	Y	Y	● Bingaman (D)	Y	N
Brown (R)	Y	Y	MAINE			● Domenici (R)	Y	N
● Campbell (D)	Y	N	Cohen (R)	Y	Y	NEW YORK		
CONNECTICUT			Mitchell (D)	Y	Y	● D'Amato (R)	Y	N
Dodd (D)	Y	Y	MARYLAND			Moynihan (D)	Y	Y
Lieberman (D)	Y	Y	Mikulski (D)	Y	Y	NORTH CAROLINA		
DELAWARE			Sarbanes (D)	Y	Y	● Faircloth (R)	Y	N
Biden (D)	Y	Y	MASSACHUSETTS			● Helms (R)	Y	N
Roth (R)	Y	Y	Kennedy (D)	Y	Y	NORTH DAKOTA		
FLORIDA			Kerry (D)	Y	Y	● Conrad (D)	Y	N
Graham (D)	Y	Y	MICHIGAN			Dorgan (D)	Y	Y
● Mack (R)	Y	N	Levin (D)	Y	Y	OHIO		
GEORGIA			Riegle (D)	Y	Y	Glenn (D)	Y	Y
● Coverdell (R)	Y	N	MINNESOTA			Metzenbaum (D)	Y	Y
● Nunn (D)	Y	N	● Durenberger (R)	Y	N	OKLAHOMA		
HAWAII			Wellstone (D)	Y	Y	Boren (D)	Y	Y
Akaka (D)	Y	Y	MISSISSIPPI			● Nickles (R)	Y	N
Inouye (D)	Y	Y	● Cochran (R)	Y	N	OREGON		
IDAHO			● Lott (R)	Y	N	Hatfield (R)	Y	Y
● Craig (R)	Y	N	MISSOURI			● Packwood (R)	Y	N
● Kempthorne (R)	Y	N	● Bond (R)	Y	N	PENNSYLVANIA		
ILLINOIS			● Danforth (R)	Y	N	Specter (R)	Y	Y
Moseley Braun (D)	Y	Y	MONTANA			Wofford (D)	Y	Y

oHeflin voted for gift limitations but did not vote on lobby reform; Shelby voted for lobby reform but did not vote on gift limitations; Murkowski and Bennett voted for lobby reform but against gift limitations; Smith voted for gift limitations but against lobby reform. * Kay Bailey Hutchison was elected in 1993.

restricting activities of the thousands of lobbyists who swarm all over Capitol Hill every day. The Senate last year and the House this year each gave overwhelming support to different versions of the bill.

House and Senate Democrats then spent several months reconciling their two versions, and last month they proposed a stringent new measure that would have banned lobbyists from paying for any gifts, meals, entertainment or travel junkets for lawmakers.

It would have also required all paid professional lobbyists to register and disclose considerable financial information. This is where Mr. Gingrich and others saw an opening to undermine the bill — for the purpose, his critics said, of denying the Clinton White House and Congressional Democrats anything that looked like a victory.

The reconciled version appeared to have widespread support. But when it came to the House floor last week, Republicans launched an orchestrated barrage against it and nearly sank it on a procedural vote.

An unusual coalition of lobbyists from about 50 disparate special interests first raised questions about the bill. The Free Speech Coalition, as the group is known, represents both abortion-rights and anti-abortion groups, handgun control advocates and the National Rifle Association and the Christian Coalition. While their aims are different, they share the same tax status and must operate under the same regulations.

Floyd Brown, a conservative advocate who is a member of the coalition, said the group's own lobbyist reviewed the language of the bill and was worried that the Government was targeting such advocacy organizations. "It placed an unnecessary burden on the exercise of our right to free speech," he said.

The coalition sent faxes to 200 organizations across the political spectrum. "We went to work to kill it," Mr. Brown said.

This meant going on talk programs and getting prominent people involved, including the talk show host Rush Limbaugh, the Christian broadcaster Pat Robertson and Paul Weyrich, co-founder of the conservative Heritage Foundation.

At the same time, Mr. Gingrich fanned the flames with his own spin on the bill. He sent letters before the vote warning colleagues that the bill sought to "gag" religious organizations, though Roman Catholic and Baptist groups said they favored the measure.

In his trademark aggressive style, Mr. Gingrich also tried to spread fear about the bill based on its re-

quirement that the President appoint someone to a five-year term to oversee compliance with the new lobbying law. He suggested that President Clinton might pick "a secular, anti-religious liberal" like Dr. Joycelyn Elders, the Surgeon General, or Roberta Achtenberg, an Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the highest-ranking openly gay woman in the Administration.

Two Republican House colleagues took up the call to arms. By the day the House was to vote, Representative Tom DeLay of Texas had sent faxes to nearly 500 conservative radio talk-show hosts and Representative Ernest J. Istook Jr. of Oklahoma had alerted Mr. Weyrich, who brought the subject up at his weekly lunch, held that day, for three dozen members of conservative and Christian groups.

Time was of such essence that Mr. Weyrich, head of the Free Congress Foundation, a conservative research group, received "talking points"

It looked like smooth sailing, and then the legislation hit a political storm.

from Mr. Gingrich that were written out in long hand.

"Paul's immediate reaction was that the bill was too loosely written," said Bradley Keena, a spokesman for Mr. Weyrich. "It looked like a tool by the White House to try to gain control over the opposition. But we are battle-prepared."

Mr. Weyrich then inveighed against the bill on his own television talk show and on Michael Reagan's coast-to-coast radio show.

Mr. Limbaugh received one of the faxes and a copy of the bill and criticized the language about religious groups as ambiguous. Senator Carl Levin, the Michigan Democrat who drafted the compromise language, called Mr. Limbaugh's show and said the bill was not as dangerous as some were making it out to be. Then Mr. Istook went on the program and said Senator Levin had not been straight about the bill.

"Rush said, 'Here's a piece of legislation with two entirely different interpretations, and that's just

what's wrong with Washington,'" said Kit Carson, a spokesman for Mr. Limbaugh.

While Mr. Limbaugh said the bill would have a "chilling effect" on grass-roots lobbyists, this was not a universal view. Joan Claybrook, president of Public Citizen, a citizen lobbying group, said that this was just an excuse for members to oppose a measure they did not want to comply with.

"It gave cover to members and to the Republican leadership so they could say, 'I was just protecting the grass-roots groups.' The real issue is that the public is totally disgusted with money people controlling what goes on." She said the Christian Coalition, for example, did not feel burdened by the bill. "They just don't want to reveal how they do their stuff."

Despite the efforts against it, the bill cleared a procedural motion in the House, although barely. It then passed the House overwhelmingly, 306 to 112, and Mr. Gingrich directed his efforts toward killing the bill in the Senate.

Today the Senate could not muster enough votes to advance the lobby bill, leaving it in grave condition as the session hobbles to a close. Senator Levin blamed the grass-roots activists, "the very special interests who would finally have to register."

Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader, said that several Democrats had come up to him after the vote and said they were relieved that the bill had not passed. He predicted, however, that if the lobbying part of the bill could be struck out, the Senate would probably pass the ban on gifts, and then everyone would be happy.

The measure was not opposed by all lobbyists. "It will mean a bit more reporting, but we didn't want to put ourselves in the position of opposing lobbying reform," said John Motley, chief lobbyist for the National Federation of Independent Businesses, the group widely credited with helping to puncture the Clinton health care bill.

But he said he did not think the Republican maneuvering would backfire. "The American people discount whatever is going on now anyway," he said. "This is the endgame, and there is so much skepticism already."

**Taking a trip?
Check the Weather Report for
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94



Clinton's visit helped liberate Haiti

By Jack Dorsey and Kerry Derochi The Virginian-Pilot

NORFOLK, Va. Standing in front of an American flag, next to an F-14 Tomcat with his name stenciled under the cockpit, President Bill Clinton said thank you Thursday to the hundreds of sailors who helped liberate Haiti.

"The most important message I have for you today is a simple, straightforward, heartfelt thank you," said Clinton. "Much has been asked of you and you have delivered."

Clinton, flanked by Defense Secretary William Perry and several of the Navy's top admirals, spoke for five minutes in the crowded hangar deck of the carrier Dwight D. Eisenhower, a bust of the late-president beside him.

Sailors jostled in front of the stage, dressed in their white uniforms, carrying cameras and wearing buttons that read, "I Like Ike."

"It's a good morale booster for the crew, letting them know the job they do is important," said John Clayton, 25, an aviation boatswain's mate. "I'll remember this day for a lifetime to come."

The speech capped a whirlwind tour of the Norfolk Naval Base, where Clinton met with leaders of the Haiti mission before shaking hands with hundreds of crew members and their families.

A throng of Navy wives and children crowded the president as he prepared to board Air Force One. For nearly an hour, they spoke to the president about poor mail service to their husband's ships, the rumors of longer deployments and the condition of infant Haitian children.

"I said I have an issue for you and it's the mail," said Judy Brasseaux, whose husband is stationed on the supply ship Savannah, currently off Haiti.

"Everyone is upset about it. It delays the routes. We families need to know what's going on. I was going to talk to an admiral about this. But, hey, I decided to go right to the top first."

Clinton's appearance struck a chord in the families who had waited for him at the air station for nearly four hours.

Inside the Eisenhower's hangar deck, his words brought applause.

Much of his speech focused on Haiti and the role played by the Norfolk-based Eisenhower battle group in Operation Restore Democracy.

Saying the mission was a milestone in military operations for its forging of the four service branches, Clinton commended Adm. Paul David Miller of Norfolk, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Command, for developing the strategic plan.

He hailed the operation as a success, citing images of grateful Haitians greeting the U.S. troops in Port-au-Prince and the faces of refugees who were able to return home without fear. The Eisenhower's role was to quickly deliver Army ground forces and their helicopters, leaving its normal complement of Navy jets at home.

"In less than three weeks, you showed the world what the men and women of the American military can do," Clinton said. "The awesome force you represent is the shield and the sword of American diplomacy."

After the speech, Clinton awarded Navy commendation medals to 10 members of the Eisenhower battle group. He then shook hands with most of the sailors who came to see him, as Fleetwood Mac and Bob Dylan music played from the speakers.

"It's very impressive to see the president make the effort to come all the way to Norfolk to say thank you," said Wendy Clement, 23, an electronics technician. "It shows he's trying to make an effort, to show that he's more involved in what the military does."

"It's not just numbers, it's people. He sees our

expressions. He sees where glad to have him come down here."

During the five-hour visit Clinton toured U.S. Atlantic Command headquarters for briefings on the Haiti operation. A map of the island nation covered one wall of the room.

While there, he participated in a video teleconference, hooking him up with Army Lt. Gen. Hugh Shelton and Ambassador William Swing in Port-au-Prince and with officers aboard the assault ship Wasp and special forces teams in the Haitian countryside.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN TRIM HERE)

His visit was confined to the large naval complex here. He landed aboard Air Force One, then took a 24-vehicle motorcade to the briefing and to the Eisenhower.

Although nearly an hour behind schedule, Clinton told an energetic crowd of mainly women and children waiting across from his plane at the Norfolk Naval Air Station that he would not leave without showing his appreciation to them as well.

"I've had the privilege to visit many military bases in the last 21 months and it has always impressed me just how tightly and closely our military families and military communities pull together and work as a support system," said Clinton.

"I know especially the cruises are long and the turnaround times are too short and I know the strain that can cause on families," he said, interrupted by approving cheers by the several hundred who had waited for him since shortly after his 9:10 a.m. arrival here.

"I wish I were here to announce we were cutting the cruises in half," the president continued, again interrupted by even louder cheers.

"But I can't do that," he said.

"You have paid a terrific price to enable the United States to maintain its national security in a time of rapid change and challenge. I know there are great rewards to military life, but there are also great difficulties as well."

Keeping his promise to take questions from the family members and to shake hands, Clinton waded into a 100-yard long, 20-yard deep sea of service members and their families, spending nearly an hour talking with them.

Few were timid about what they ask the president.

Brenda McBane, a Navy wife from Philadelphia, came to Norfolk Wednesday night after learning Clinton would be here, in hopes of talking with him. She succeeded.

Her issue was the number of Haitian babies that have been abandoned, she said.

"We read that women are leaving their infants in the fields to be eaten by wild pigs," said McBane. "Women are pushing babies into the soldiers arms to take them."

Clinton offered her the chance to speak with an aide and promised he would give it his attention, McBane said.

An ombudsman for Fighter Squadron 102 at Oceana Naval Air Station in Virginia Beach, who identified herself only as Gloria, said she told the president there are rumors about extending battle group deployments from six to nine months at sea.

"We wanted to make sure he wasn't going to do that," she said. "He said he is trying not to extend the deployment."

Most of the questioning for the president was good-natured.

Michael Haler, 8 and his brother, Matthew, 9, got to shake the president's hand.

"I told him I voted for him," said Michael Haler, whose father is serving off Haiti aboard the carrier America. "He didn't hear me at first, but then said, 'What did you say?'"

"I said it louder and he came up to me and said he hoped I would vote for him again."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

RECEPTION FOR SENATOR LAUTENBERG

SECAUCUS, NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 10, 1994

[Acknowledgements: Senator Bill Bradley;

Congressmen Bob Menendez, Bob Torricelli,

Donald Payne and Herb Klein; Former

Governor Jim Florio; State Part Chair Tom

~~Don Byrne~~
Byrne;

This is
better but on the
small changes!
have made
B

**our candidate in the second district, Lou Magazzu
(MAG-A-ZOO); and, Cardell Cooper, Mayor of East
Orange and candidate for Essex County Executive].**

I'm proud to be here today because -- with the help
of Frank Lautenberg -- New Jersey is coming back.
He's been a champion of jobs, education, kids, the
environment, the right to choose -- and for finally
telling the NRA that its time to get tough on crime..

and to get guns out of the hands of those who shouldn't

have them. He's helping New Jersey do what we are

again on people that
trying to do across America ~~make~~ make our economy, our

families, and our communities strong again.

and you know. That means we're
We're fighting for you. ~~And there have been some~~

had to take on some
hard fights. But ~~I believe they~~ they are the right fights for
~~the future of our~~

our future, ~~They are~~ the fights we had to fight to make

America work for ordinary people again, ~~to take on~~ the

tough issues that have been ignored for too long...

and to begin getting our economic house in order. We have much more work to do, but we've made a start at moving our country forward again.

The American people face a decision: whether to keep moving in the right direction or whether we are going to go back to the failed legacy of the Reagan/Bush years.

Remember?

The Republicans talked a good game.

trick down

But Reaganomics gave us an economy stuck in reverse:

Tax breaks for the wealthy and higher taxes on the

middle class; a quadrupled federal deficit; American

wages that fell from first in the world to tenth; the

worst job growth since the Great Depression. [New

Jersey, alone, lost 224,600 jobs over those four years.]

Our families struggled longer and harder for less.

Our streets grew meaner. Our country was coming

apart when we should have been coming together.

^{have}
You hired me to change all that. We faced a lot of
^{the things we have}
opposition along the way. But ~~with~~ a strategy and
^{Americans can compete & win}
vision for how ~~to move~~ into the twenty-first century,

we have made a start.

Good! /

Now, as we face this election, I ask you to
remember the problems they left us. Remember the
progress we are making. Remember how they fought us
every step of the way. And remember how they want to
take us backwards.

Now that we've begun to go forward, we can't turn back again.

We've begun to make America work for ordinary citizens -- so that our children's generation isn't the first in history to do worse than their parents. And we are doing it by building on what has always been the bedrock of the America Dream: the responsibility of America  to help create opportunity, and the responsibility of our people  to make the most of it.

Not more government, but ^{less} government that works

better for ordinary Americans -- so they can build good
lives on their own.

Look at the record: The family leave law -- so
Americans could be good workers and good parents
[After seven years of gridlock, Frank Lautenberg
helped pass family leave, which will protect 1.4 million
New Jersey working men and women; immunizations
for all children under two by 1996;

national standards of educational excellence, ^{achieved} ~~that insist~~
^{Then innovation and emphasis on parental involvement and character education}
~~on~~ more local control; and, apprenticeships for young
people who don't go to college.

The cost of college skyrocketed in the 80s. We've
made college loans more affordable for 20 million
people -- 776,000 in New Jersey ~~thanks in part to~~

^{he was} ~~Senator Lautenberg's strong support~~ -- who can now
have lower interest rates and longer repayment
schedule.

We adopted a national service plan that let's people

serve their communities and earn money for education:

Already this from P Corp has 20,000 people working, more than all work in P Corp - w/ 100,000 started for 1996.

And to bring free enterprise to more Americans, we've

from ~~from~~ *and* ~~with~~ *and*
created empowerment zones ~~with~~ our community

for urban cities & poor rural areas
development banks ~~and~~ [and sent more than \$100 million to

Camden and Newark for housing and revitalization

projects]. Now more Americans can build their own

futures.

For the first time in a generation, we have begun a serious assault on crime. With the strong leadership of Frank Lautenberg we passed the Brady Bill and the crime bill. That means 100,000 prison cells, a 20-percent increase in police on the beat, a ban on assault weapons and three-strikes-and-you're-out is the law of the land.

[In the next six years, New Jersey could receive \$250 million for 3,400 additional police officers;

another \$100 million for additional prison cells and boot camps; and more than \$100 million for victims services and after-school prevention programs for "at risk" kids, because as Senator Lautenberg says none of what we try to do at the back end will work if we don't teach our children values at the front end.]

And, we have begun to put our economic house in order.

We fought for historic deficit reduction, cutting over \$255 billion in federal spending and raising tax rates on only the top 1.2 percent of America's wealthiest citizens. We cut taxes for 15 million working families - people who work full-time, but still hover near poverty. That's how Democrats encourage work over welfare and honor families.

The deficit is falling -- for three years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was president.

And the unemployment rate is falling; now it's at 5.9 percent, a four-year low. And the economy is moving: 4.6 million jobs since I took office -- almost all of them in the private sector; more jobs created in high-wage industries this year alone than in the previous five years. [New Jersey has gained over 90,000 new jobs in the last 20 months.]

We've broken down trade barriers. And now exports to Mexico are up 19 percent;

exports of cars and trucks are up 600 percent in the last year. We must pass the GATT world trade agreement. It will mean hundreds of thousands of jobs and rising incomes for our workers and our children for decades to come.

Republicans talked for years about making
cutting but inefficiency
government smaller, but they never did anything about it. Well, now it's happening.

We are shrinking federal positions and cutting the federal work force by 272,000, to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration.

All of this is only a beginning. ~~Poverty is going up~~
~~in too many places,~~ and too many Americans are still

working too hard and taking home too little; ~~we are~~
~~not yet~~ ~~merely~~ ~~as~~ ~~employment~~ ~~goes up,~~ ~~poverty~~
~~is~~ ~~still~~ ~~increasing~~ ~~up.~~ ~~among~~ ~~working~~ ~~people.~~
~~What did the Republicans in Congress do?~~

~~But we have a strategy: crush men in wage jobs~~
~~train men from high school~~
~~bring for entry to companies.~~

~~What is the strategy of the Cong. Repubs?~~

~~Failed w/ any~~

~~It seemed like anytime~~ an idea for creating jobs,

educating students, fighting crime, or reforming the

political system ~~came up~~, ~~someone~~ ^{NO MATTER HOW GOOD, ALWAYS SOMEBODY} tried to stop it, slow ^{THEY}

it, kill it, or talk it to death.

^{abi-pasture}

Congress should have passed health care reform ^{emphasizing pre-ins, coordination, cost reduction, with coverage}

instead of watching in 1993 as another million

Americans lost their insurance coverage, and as costs

rose faster than inflation and more citizens lost the right

to choose their doctor.

^{The GOP walked away from every person}
^{attempt at change.}

And it should have passed political reform!

lobbying
campaign
Rep. Cong to
We like much
law it pass

ought to be disgusted by the spectacle of lobbyists

hiding who they work for, what they get paid, and by

members of Congress accepting their gifts and then

walking away from lobbying reform.

Rep. Cong from Rep but
Gov. Cong. killing
them all along w/

Superfund other things.

Now, a lot of the same Republicans have signed

their so-called "Contract with America."

Three hundred and fifty Republican candidates stood on the steps of our nation's Capitol with the Republican

leaders, and one by one, signed this contract, telling us

if you give them control of cong.
what they want to do I give them credit for that much,

because for nearly two years it seemed the only word

they knew was "NO." Now, at least, they've given us

the chance to have a contest of ideas.

But from what I can tell, this isn't a Contract with America; they've taken out a Contract On America.

Their ideas would take us back to the Reagan-Bush

years -- ~~to tax cuts for the wealthiest and~~ a trillion

37 unfunded promises - tax cuts wealthy, def in care.
dollar spending gap that would explode the deficit,

force massive cuts in Medicare and veterans benefits, *↑*

keep crim pris f. being funded,

~~and divide our citizens again. And they would send the~~

*bill to you and your children, just like in the 80s, after getting
y. vote w. their promise, they would walk on on gov
go overboard & hand the bill to you & your children*
The American people ought to have one answer to

this so-called contract: Been there, seen that, done that

-- and we won't be fooled again.

Now we have a choice. My contract with America
is about the future, about moving in the right direction,
is about challenging our people to keep moving forward
about getting common sense to govern people —
now that we are finally heading in the right direction. I

know the people of America grow frustrated with our
government and all the bickering. I know it, because I

After all I just moved to work 20 miles away
share it -- believe me I do. But we have come a long

way and have begun the hard work of going beyond the

old political fights of something-for-nothing on the one

hand and every-man-for-himself on the other.

And I believe we will have the courage and discipline to stay on the course to make our street safe again, invest in education, expand trade and empower people to build better lives for themselves and that we won't go back to exploding the deficit, giving out another tax cut to the wealthy we can't afford, and cutting everything from Medicare to the crime bill.

That's your choice.

~~I believe~~ ^{must} the American people ~~are~~ not going to vote
against what they are for and ~~vote~~ for what they are
against. ~~I believe we know that~~ ^The best contract for
America is about helping more Americans earn a
chance to move into the 21st century with confidence
and hope instead of fear and division.

That's why we need Frank Lautenberg in the
Senate. This man literally founded an industry.

He could have done anything he wanted -- and still has given his best years to public service and to the people of New Jersey. That says a lot about his values and his commitment.

We must find common ground to solve our problems. We can't keep pulling in opposite directions. Senator Lautenberg is a moderate. He's independent. He finds the common ground. Thousands typically cross Party lines to support him.

He brings people together and we need more of that.

If you care about going forward to make America work for ordinary people again, if you believe in assuming our responsibility for the future instead of turning away, if you believe in putting determination over despair, then go out and vote for the people who have shown they believe in the same values and have the ability to make things happen. Frank Lautenberg is that kind of leader.

**PRESIDENT
WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON**

**FUNDRAISING DINNER FOR
SENATOR FRANK LAUTENBERG**

SECAUCUS, NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 10, 1994

**[Acknowledgements: Senator Bill
Bradley, former Governor Jim
Florio and Lucinda Florio, State
Party Chair Tom Byrne, artist
Peter Max].**

I'm proud to be here today because
-- with the help of Frank Lautenberg --
New Jersey is coming back.

Frank Lautenberg is a champion of
jobs, education, kids, the environment,
the right to choose -- and for finally
telling the NRA that its time to get
tough on crime and to get guns out of
the hands of those who shouldn't have
them.

Frank and I are fighting to make America work for ordinary people again, to take on the tough issues that have been ignored for too long, and to begin getting our economic house in order. We have much more work to do, but we've made a start at moving our country forward again.

Just look at the record:

Frank Lautenberg's leadership and strong support helped us pass the family leave law -- so Americans could be good workers and good parents.

We worked hard to guarantee immunizations for all children under two by 1996.

And we're helping our children as they grow up; setting national standards of educational excellence; making college loans more affordable; adopting a national service plan that let's people serve their communities and earn money for education; and we're setting up apprenticeships for young people who don't plan to go on to college.

To bring free enterprise to more Americans, we've created empowerment zones with community development banks [and sent more than \$100 million to Camden and Newark for housing and revitalization projects]. Now more Americans can build their own futures.

For the first time in a generation, we have begun a serious assault on crime. With the strong leadership of Frank Lautenberg we passed the Brady Bill and the crime bill. That means 100,000 prison cells, a 20-percent increase in police on the beat, a ban on assault weapons and three-strikes-and-you're-out is the law of the land.

[In the next six years, New Jersey could receive \$250 million for 3,400 additional police officers; another \$100 million for additional prison cells and boot camps; and more than \$100 million for victims services and after-school prevention programs for "at risk" kids, because as Senator Lautenberg says none of what we try to do at the back end will work if we don't teach our children values at the front end.]

We're putting our economic house in order. The deficit is falling, the unemployment rate is falling, and the economy is growing: 4.6 million jobs since I took office -- over 90,000 new jobs in New Jersey alone.

Republicans talked for years about making government smaller, but they never did anything about it. Well, now it's happening. We are shrinking federal positions and cutting the federal work force by 272,000, to its smallest size since the Kennedy administration.

All of this is only a beginning.

Poverty is going up in too many places,
and too many Americans are still
working too hard and taking home too
little.

What did the Republicans in Congress do? It seemed like anytime an idea for creating jobs, educating students, fighting crime, or reforming the political system came up, someone tried to stop it, slow it, kill it, or talk it to death.

Congress should have passed health care reform instead of watching in 1993 as another million Americans lost their insurance coverage, and as costs rose faster than inflation and more citizens lost the right to chose their doctor.

And it should have passed political reform. We ought to be disgusted by the spectacle of lobbyists hiding who they work for, what they get paid, and by members of Congress accepting their gifts and then walking away from lobbying reform.

Now, a lot of the same Republicans have signed their so-called "Contract with America," telling us what they want to do. I give them credit for that much, because for nearly two years it seemed the only word they knew was "NO." Now, at least, they've given us the chance to have a contest of ideas.

But from what I can tell, this isn't a Contract with America; they've taken out a Contract On America. Their ideas would take us back to the Reagan-Bush years -- to tax cuts for the wealthiest and a trillion dollar spending gap that would explode the deficit, force massive cuts in Medicare and veterans benefits and divide our citizens again.

And they would send the bill to you and your children, just like in the 80s.

Now we have a choice. My contract with America is about challenging our people to keep moving forward now that we are finally heading in the right direction.

I know the people of America grow frustrated with our government and all the bickering. I know it, because I share it -- believe me I do.

But we have come a long way and have begun the hard work of going beyond the old political fights of something-for-nothing on the one hand and every-man-for-himself on the other.

And I believe we will have the courage and discipline to stay on the course to make our streets safe again, invest in education, expand trade and empower people to build better lives for themselves.

I can't believe we'll go back to
exploding the deficit, giving out another
tax cut to the wealthy we can't afford,
and cutting everything from Medicare to
the crime bill.

That's your choice. I believe the American people are not going to vote against what they are for and vote for what they are against. I believe we know that the best contract for America is about helping more Americans earn a chance to move into the 21st century with confidence and hope instead of fear and division.

That's why we need Frank Lautenberg in the Senate. This man literally founded an industry. He could have done anything he wanted -- and still has given his best years to public service and to the people of New Jersey. That says a lot about his values and his commitment.

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B.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

October 4, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAROLD ICKES
SUBJECT: DNC mailing list

As you requested, I have obtained some information about the DNC's data base mailing list.

1. The DNC total data base consists of approximately 1.3 millions names/addresses as follows:
 - 900,000 - direct mail names
 - 80,000 - finance names
 - 320,000 non-finance names
2. Additional lists purchased by the DNC which are not included in the above 1.3 million data base:
 - 1992 Clinton primary contributors
 - 520,000 Presidential Inaugural names (of which approximately 430,00 are included in the 1.3 million DNC data base referred to above)
 - 50,000 - 1992 Clinton primary direct mail
 - 90,000 - Democratic activists
4. The DNC does not own or have control over the following lists:
 - Clinton 1992 primary supporters who are not contributors
 - Clinton/Gore 1992 general election campaign supporters who are not contributors
5. As I understand it from Marsha Scott, an entity located in Arkansas has a data base with approximately 1 million or so names/addresses consisting of your

supporters throughout you gubernatorial years as well as certain 1992 primary and general election supporters. I will get more details on this from Marsha.

As we discussed, the keeping of lists during the 1992 Presidential Primary was, with some exceptions, helter skelter, at best. Marsha Scott is undertaking to contact people who were involved in the various state primaries to reconstruct those lists as best as possible and put them into a data base in a systematic way. She and I have been working closely on this, but given your concern, we will spend more time on it.

cc: Leon Panetta
Martha Phipps
Marsha Scott
Joan Baggett



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

*sent copy to
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212-551-9106

W. Geary



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

A10 THE VIRGINIAN-PILOT AND THE LEDGER-STAR SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1994 M

THE RACE FOR

Gore paints North as "liar" while campaigning for Robb

BY DWAYNE YANCEY
LANDMARK NEWS SERVICE

Vp 10/11
Vice President Al Gore battered Oliver L. North with the verbal punches Democrats have longed to hear this campaign, blasting the Republican Senate nominee Friday night as a "liar" with a long "record of deceit" that would make him unfit to hire for any job, much less the Senate.

An uncharacteristically feisty Gore, speaking to a Democratic rally in downtown Roanoke, appealed to Virginians' sense of honor to reject North as the "colonel of untruth" whose felony convictions were overturned on what he labeled a "technicality."

"This is the state of Thomas Jefferson," Gore told more than 200 people who paid \$25 per person to hear him pitch Sen. Charles S. Robb's re-election at the Roanoke City Market Building. "This is the commonwealth that has always put a premium on personal integrity and honor. Now you're being asked to hire someone to represent you in the United States Senate who comes not recommended by his former employers, who when asked what they think about you hiring him, say 'no way.'"

Gore ticked off a long list of former Reagan and Bush administration officials — including former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell and retired Desert Storm General Norman Schwarzkopf — who have publicly expressed doubts and misgivings

about North.

Gore likened North to a job applicant who comes in "like a ball of fire" and initially impresses an employer with his "slick" talk.

"You're tempted" to hire him, Gore said, an allusion to the momentum North has developed during the summer and the slight lead he holds in the most recent polls. "But then when you check with the last person he worked for, and his previous employer says 'he's a liar. He disgraced himself in his last job.' And when you ask his immediate superior, his immediate superior says 'no way'" — the latter a reference to former National Security Adviser Robert "Bud" McFarlane.

It was the strongest denunciation that Democrats have leveled at North so far — and certainly the most high-profile.

Gore also made a point of praising Virginia's Republican senator, John Warner, who has bucked his party to back independent J. Marshall Coleman. It's Warner's rejection of North, Gore said, "that means the most to me" because, unlike the former Reagan and Bush officials, Warner "has something to lose" by attacking North.

Granted, Gore said, North's convictions were set aside on a "technical reversal." But at a time when the nation's top concern is crime, Gore asked, "what kind of message that does send to the young people" if Virginians elect North?

Democratic leaders across the state have complained lately that

Robb's campaign has been too singlish — and that their own party activists haven't been energized yet to work on his behalf. That didn't seem to be a problem Friday.

Robb at one point pounded the lectern and declared, "It's time we start telling it like it is." He then blistered North for "pandering" to voters by promising to cut taxes while increasing defense spending and protecting Social Security and other popular programs.

"We'd all like to live in that kind of world," Robb said. "That's Ollie's world. That's not the real world."

The tough talk about North was greeted with a roar of approval by party activists.

"The real campaign has started," said Susan Swecker, a Richmond lawyer who traveled across the state to the \$1,000-per-person fundraiser Gore attended earlier in the evening at an office building on the City Market. "This is a really enthusiastic crowd."

That's something Robb hasn't seen much of this year, especially in Southwest Virginia, where polls show North doing his best, and Robb his worst.

Gore's visit to Roanoke should help change that, predicted Roanoke Sheriff Al Hudson. "He needs the support up in this part of the state. North is doing a terrific job getting the people, and Robb has been tied down in Congress. He hasn't been able to do the campaigning he'd like to. Basically, this will wake some Democrats up and get them involved in his campaign."

Vice presidents do

BY TYLER WHITLEY

Times-Dispatch Staff Writer

ROANOKE — Vice President Al Gore last night called Republican Oliver L. North a lying demagogue who would take the country back to higher budget deficits and tax breaks for the wealthy.

In the strongest Democratic attack of the campaign season, Gore defended the record of the Clinton administration and gave some of the credit for that record to Sen. Charles S. Robb, D-Va.

The vice president said inflation is at a record low, employment is high, auto sales are booming and wages are up because senators like Robb were willing to make tough choices and vote for a tax increase that affected only a few wealthy people.

A crowd of 200 Democrats at City Market gym shouted and whooped as

Gore, setting aside his crutches, unloaded on North, the Republican standard bearer and apparent front-runner.

He called North "the colonel of untruth" and added:

"During this period of change and transition, many people feel called to the words of demagogues, who are willing to bend the truth and falsify their statements and pretend they are giving some answer when, in fact, they are just repeating failed ideologies of the past," Gore said. "The real issue here is whether the people of Virginia will see through this tissue of lies."

Another vice president campaigned yesterday for North, who is

North ad
chides Clinton
visit to Virginia.
Page B1.

PLEASE SEE SENATE, PAGE A8 ▶

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Vice presidents do battle in state

Gore calls North demagogue who bends the truth

▼ SENATE FROM PAGE A1

involved in a three-way race with Robb and independent candidate Marshall Coleman. Former Vice President Dan Quayle urged a North victory so the Republicans could have a majority in the Senate next year.

And he hinted he would like to have that majority in 1996 when he runs for president.

"Bill Clinton will be a one-term president," he said to about 200 Republicans who paid \$75 apiece to hear Quayle and North at the Oakwood Country Club in Lynchburg.

Quayle made clear that family values would be a key part of his campaign if he seeks the presidency. He noted that Clinton was critical of the "Murphy Brown" speech Quayle made in 1992 when Clinton was running for president.

But now Clinton is talking about

family values, he said, adding, "Welcome aboard!"

North also criticized the television sitcom that features an anchorwoman who had a child out of wedlock. He said the Brown show had referred to him three times in recent episodes.

"I don't like her views of America any more than Dan Quayle did," North said.



Coelho

Clinton also was a target.

North said "Bill Clinton has a steadfast, stalwart, lockstep friend and ally in Chuck Robb."

As for the Clinton-Robb politics, North said, "They stink."

Quayle also addressed a Christian Coalition seminar at Regent University in Virginia Beach yesterday.

Earlier in the day, Democratic Party leader Tony Coelho conceded that Robb appears to be losing. But he said he thought Robb would be able to pull out a victory.

At a breakfast with reporters, Coelho said, "In fairness to the Republicans, it's one in the negative column." But he quickly added he

expects Robb to win anyway.

"So many people have tried to write that race off. I see Robb aggressively fighting back. . . . He's going to win because he's taken off the gloves and is going out there and educating voters as to who he really is."

Coelho, who is in line to become Democratic national chairman this fall, said his negative assessment of Robb's chances is based on where he believes the race stands this week.

After the Robb camp talked to Coelho in the afternoon, Robb spokesman Bert Rohrer suggested that Coelho had been misunderstood.

Rohrer summarized Coelho's words about Virginia this way: "The Virginia [Democratic] campaign was proceeding quite nicely, and they fully expected us to win."

Gore also stumped for 5th District Rep. L.R. Payne Jr. in the Charlottesville area.

Cheered by a 200 supporters at the Charlottesville-Albemarle airport, Payne was praised as an ally and an independent thinker.

"Sometimes he's with us. Sometimes he's not. The determination for him is if it is right for his congressional district," said Gore.

Payne, 49, was elected to the House in 1988. He faces opposition

from George Landrith, 33, a Charlottesville lawyer, who has never held elected office.

The vice president also attended a fund-raising dinner in Earlysville in Albemarle County before leaving for Roanoke.

While Robb and North were calling on vice presidents to help raise money for them, state Democrats were demanding that North release his military records, as Robb did earlier this week.

Both Robb and North served in Vietnam and won medals.

A spokesman for North said he would release his records and had nothing to be ashamed of in them. He underwent psychiatric counseling at one point during the war when his wife threatened to divorce him after he had applied for another tour of duty.

An angry Robb said North had insulted his military service by describing him as a Marine who served in a ceremonial position. Robb also saw combat.

North said he was misquoted.

Staff writers Peter Hardin and Caylon Santos and Media General News Service writer Gene Martow contributed to this article.

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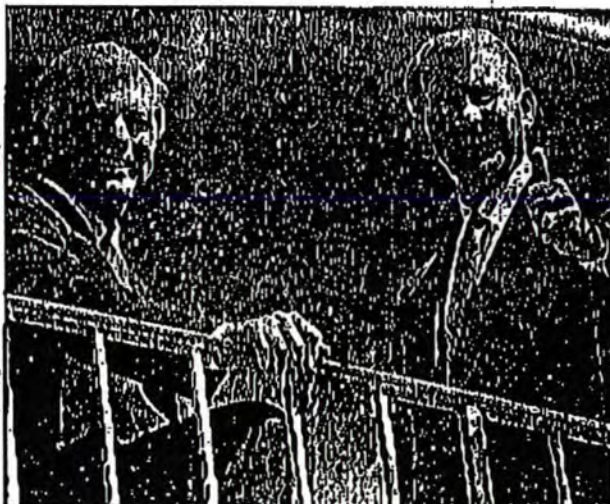
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SEN ROBB - D.C.
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battle for Virginia candidates



THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

STUMPING. Vice President Al Gore (left in photo at left) and Sen. Charles S. Robb campaigned last night at the Ronnieke City Market. About 200 supporters shouted as Gore, who is suffering from an Achilles tendon injury, cast aside his crutches to unload on Robb's opponent, Oliver L. North. Former Vice President Dan Quayle (at left in photo at right) campaigned in Lynchburg for North, who gave a thumbs-up sign at Oakwood Country Club.

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99TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Post

October 2, 1994, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: METRO; PAGE B3

LENGTH: 393 words

HEADLINE: North Accuses Robb of Being Va. Campaign's Real Liar

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Peter Baker, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: RICHMOND, Oct. 1, 1994

BODY:

Republican Oliver L. North, whose truthfulness has been questioned throughout the U.S. Senate campaign in Virginia, tried to turn the tables today by labeling his Democratic opponent the campaign's true liar.

Sen. Charles S. Robb has perpetuated "the big lie," North said, by masquerading as a centrist Democrat who's fiscally conservative and a defender of the military when in fact he's a Bill Clinton liberal who voted to raise taxes and allowed damaging defense budget cuts.

"Being attacked on the character issue by Bill Clinton and Chuck Robb is a little bit like being called ugly by a frog," North said.

The tough rhetoric -- North used the words "lie" or "lying" repeatedly in the space of a 10-minute statement -- reflects the increasingly nasty tone in one of the nation's most watched Senate races. Last week, Robb lashed out at North for denigrating his military service, saying he was more than the ceremonial Marine the Republican described.

North today appeared particularly upset by comments made by Vice President Gore while campaigning for Robb in Roanoke on Friday night. Gore called North "the colonel of untruth" and suggested he was a demagogue "willing to bend the truth and falsify [his] statements."

At an evening news conference, North called Gore's comments "slander" and termed the vice president "the nation's number one environmental extremist."

"Chuck Robb's whole record in the United States Senate ... has been the big lie," North said. "It's a cynical attempt to deceive the voters of Virginia about what he stands for. And, of course, Chuck Robb's lying about my record and what I stand for."

North has admitted to lying about the Iran-contra operations to a congressional committee during a closed briefing before the scandal erupted publicly. North was later convicted of three criminal charges, including obstruction of Congress, but his convictions were overturned on appeal.

The Washington Post, October 2, 1994

Susan Platt, Robb's campaign manager, retorted tonight that it is North's veracity that has been questioned by no less than former president Ronald Reagan and a host of other conservative Republicans North once worked with.

"The people of Virginia know Chuck Robb's consistent record for nearly two decades," Platt said. "The people who work with Chuck Robb respect his integrity. The same can't be said for Ollie North."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 2, 1994

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Roanoke Times & World News

October 1, 1994, SATURDAY, METRO EDITION

SECTION: VIRGINIA, Pg. A1

LENGTH: 829 words

HEADLINE: GORE BLASTS AWAY AT NORTH;
VICE PRESIDENT LEADS PARTY'S ATTACK

BYLINE: DWAYNE YANCEY STAFF WRITER NOTE: above

BODY:

Vice President Al Gore, battered Oliver North with the verbal punches Democrats have longed to hear this campaign, blasting the Republican Senate nominee Friday night as a "liar" with a long "record of deceit" that would make him unfit to hire for any job, much less the Senate.

An uncharacteristically feisty Gore, speaking to a Democratic rally in downtown Roanoke, appealed to Virginians' sense of honor to reject North as the "colonel of untruth" whose felony convictions were overturned on what he labeled a "technicality."

"This is the state of Thomas Jefferson," Gore told more than 200 people who paid \$ 25 per person to hear him pitch Sen. Charles Robb's re-election at the Roanoke City Market Building. "This is the commonwealth that has always put a premium on personal integrity and honor. Now you're being asked to hire someone to represent you in the United States Senate who comes not recommended by his former employers, who when asked what they think about you hiring him, say 'no way.'"

Gore ticked off a long list of former Reagan and Bush administration officials - including former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell and retired Desert Storm Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf - who have publicly expressed doubts and misgivings about North.

Gore likened North to a job applicant who comes in "like a ball of fire" and initially impresses an employer with his "slick" talk.

"You're tempted" to hire him, Gore said, an allusion to the momentum North has developed during the summer and the slight lead he holds in the most recent polls. "But then when you check with the last person he worked for, and his previous employer says, 'He's a liar. He disgraced himself in his last job.' And when you ask his immediate superior, his immediate superior says 'no way'" - the latter a reference to former National Security Adviser Robert "Bud" McFarlane.

"Then, you ask the head of the organization," a reference to former President Reagan, "and he says, 'I'm sick and tired of this. I'm getting pretty steamed by his lies.'"

(Actually, Reagan didn't call them "lies," merely "statements," but he did say earlier this year he was getting "pretty steamed" at North for saying

Roanoke Times & World News, October 1, 1994

Reagan had authorized his covert actions during the Iran-Contra affair).

It was the strongest denunciation that Democrats have leveled at North so far - and certainly the most high-profile. Gore was trailed by an entourage of out-of-state reporters, and at least one from the other side of the world. New Zealand, to be exact..

Gore also made a point of praising Virginia's Republican senator, John Warner, who has bucked his party to back independent Marshall Coleman. Warner's rejection of North, Gore said, "means the most to me" because, unlike the former Reagan and Bush officials, Warner "has something to lose" by attacking North.

"We disagree on a lot of things," Gore said of Warner, "but he's a man of integrity. And it's John Warner who has said that no one in the history of the United States Senate has ever sat in that chamber who was convicted of a felony."

Granted, Gore said, North's convictions were set aside on a "technical reversal." But at a time when the nation's top concern is crime, Gore asked, "what kind of message that does send to the young people" if Virginians elect North?

Democratic leaders across the state have complained lately that Robb's campaign has been too sluggish - and that their own party activists haven't been energized yet to work on his behalf. That didn't seem to be a problem Friday.

Robb himself showed new signs of life, at one point pounding the lectern and declaring "it's time we start telling it like it is." He then proceeded to blister North for "pandering" to voters by promising to cut taxes, while increasing defense spending and protecting Social Security and other popular entitlement programs.

"We'd all like to live in that kind of world," Robb said. "That's Ollie's world. That's not the real world."

The long-awaited tough talk about North was greeted with a roar of approval by party activists.

"The real campaign has started," said Susan Swecker, a Richmond lawyer who traveled across the state to have Gore sign her copy of his book "Earth in the Balance" at the \$ 1,000-per-person fund-raiser he attended earlier in the evening at an office building on the City Market. "This is a really enthusiastic crowd."

That's something Robb hasn't seen much of this year, especially in Southwest Virginia, where polls show North doing his best, and Robb his worst.

It's no accident that Robb's campaign arranged to have Gore come to Roanoke, rather than somewhere else, said Debbie Jordan, a Buchanan secretary and longtime Democratic activist who was one of the event's organizers.

"Al Gore did so well in the Super Tuesday primary (in the 1988 presidential race) in this part of the state, he'll do a great job for Robb here, because people here feel close to Al Gore."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Bill

Alexis
on the 10:00
B

Bill -

Native Hawaiians were not included among the groups of indigenous peoples of the US whose representatives met with federal government officials in the Rose Garden. They want to be heard.

While there are many sovereignty organizations, the one most organized and with goals most aligned with federal policies is Ka Lāhui Hawaii. The elected leader of that group, Mililani Trask, asked me to convey to you her request for a meeting with Janet Reno. She will come to Washington any time at her own expense for that meeting. She is not asking that such a meeting be an endorsement of Ka Lāhui. She just wants the opportunity to

present her case to the federal government.

From my own perspective, one of the great legacies of your presidency could be political recognition by the US government of Native Hawaiians as a people. I have learned the Hawaiian language and a lot about the culture and have informed myself on Hawaiian issues. I would be happy to share my knowledge and insights with you at any time, should you care to hear my views.

Please give the Native Hawaiian plight your serious attention.

Mahele me ke ala,
Nāke Ka'iuwailane
(808) 945-2549

Nahikeaopono Ka'iwailani
ATTORNEY AT LAW

PO Box 1101
Honolulu, Hawai'i 96808

Telephone
(808) 945-2549

65
can we get
out of it
Mr. President

fyi
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COLUMNISTS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

Whitewater: Nobody did wrong

Let me commend to you an article in the October issue of *Harper's* magazine, "Fool for Scandal" by Gene Lyons, which finally answers the question, "What the hell is the Whitewater scandal about?" Nothing, it turns out.

Bill Clinton didn't do anything wrong, Hillary Rodham Clinton didn't do anything wrong, Clinton appointees didn't do anything wrong, and even the federal regulators didn't give any breaks to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. The *New York Times* ran some misleading stories furnished by Clinton's old political enemies, and the rest of the press — which had militantly ignored the savings and loan scandal during the 1980s — rushed in and affected to find "suspicious circumstances" everywhere they looked.

The official Whitewater inquiry is now in the hands of a conservative zealot who may yet manage to make something of nothing, but odds are, he, too, will wind up muttering, "Oh, never mind." The most interesting part of the story will come when the media have to acknowledge that there is no there there. Then what will we do?

How many hours of television time and acres of print space would it take to balance the damage done to the Clintons? Like children made to stay after school, shall we write on our various blackboards 1,000 times "The Clintons did nothing wrong"? Or, as I suspect, will the media shrug knowingly and say, "Well, of course, there was never anything much to all that Whitewater business, but let me tell you what's really wrong with Bill Clinton?"

Because reform is in the air now — Congress is going to do a sunset review on the CIA, Congress itself is in such disgrace that it may finally have to reform its own rules, that good populist Kevin Phillips has

Molly Ivins



several pages in the current *Time* magazine outlining what needs to be done — maybe even the media will start to take a look at their conduct. Perhaps we, too, will sicken of getcha journalism and start talking of reform, of how institutions and mores can best and most sensibly be changed, including our own. (Yes, I am optimistic to the point of idiocy, but I believe that despair is a sin, and besides, this is more fun.) I am a great believer in perpetual reform; it seems to me that most government reforms are good for only 10 years before some greedy citizen figures out a new way around the rules and we have to start all over. I don't find this disheartening — just part of the human condition.

Clinton, to my satisfaction, is already gearing up for Round Two on health care reform. Good for him. Just what I expected. Every time you tump him over, he pops back up.

All the they-sayers are saying that there will be blood at the polls in November, which isn't necessarily a bad thing. True, it's foolish for a set of voters in Oklahoma to throw out a clearly superior guy like Rep. Mike Synar in favor of a clearly inferior guy, but when all we do is return the Usual Suspects to office, they always seem to take it as permission to go right on doing what they've been doing. Getting the message to Washington that the current state of affairs is something up with which we will not put

seems to require drastic action.

Of course, the Republicans have come with a hoary set of bromides, (a constitutional amendment to balance the budget while cutting taxes and increasing military spending — one is almost awed by the sheer stupidity of it) that they are pretending is reform. This leads to the always timely question: Just how dumb do they think we are?

My favorite part of the Declaration of Independence says, of government, "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." Damn right. And high time. There are lots of good ideas for reform dancing around — have been for some time — and I plug once more the one that I still think has to come before all the others: We have to change the way political campaigns are financed.

In the field of reform, there are two mistakes one needs to avoid. The first and most common is the simple solution to a complex problem; term limits is a perfect example of this approach. Nothing wrong with term limits — they're just beside the point. Proposing a constitutional amendment to balance the budget is another example. You balance the budget by balancing the budget (a goal toward which Bill Clinton is making actual progress and is even ahead of schedule), not by passing an amendment.

The second mistake is, of course, the opposite of the first, overcomplicating a simple problem. The fault here lies not so much with legislation as with bureaucrats, so what we need in this regard is a way to make bureaucrats more accountable. No shortage of great projects to be undertaken. Let's get cracking.

Molly Ivins is a columnist for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

Handwritten: Susan G. ...
Handwritten: Nina ...

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
Handwritten: 10/10/94

94 OCT 7 P2:50

October 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. VERONICA BIGGINS
RE: TALKING POINTS ON PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

- Throughout the Presidential campaign, I promised to create an administration that looks like America. Now, as President, I have succeeded in making this goal a reality. The appointees serving in this administration reflect the American mosaic of excellence, depth, experience and diversity.



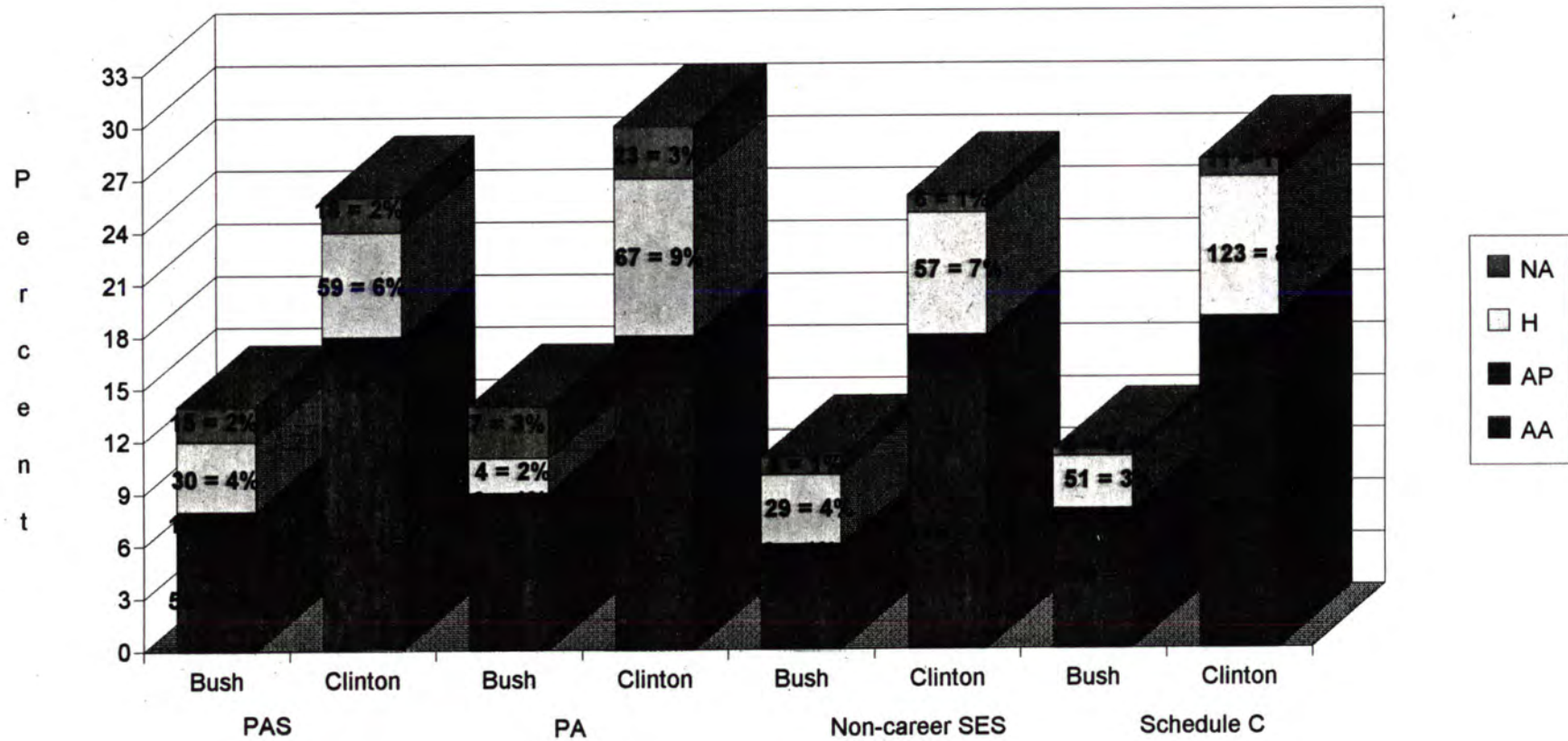
This Administration has set the standard for diversity at the very highest levels of government. 25% of the Cabinet are African American, 13% are Hispanic and 31% are female. That means that over 60% of the Cabinet is minority or female. Individuals such as Hazel O'Leary, Secretary of the Energy, Ron Brown, Secretary of Commerce, Lee Brown, Director of the Office of Drug Control Policy, Janet Reno, our Attorney General, Henry Cisneros, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services and Frederico Pena, Secretary of Transportation, have made outstanding contributions to this Administration and our country.

- We have continued to maintain this standard throughout the Administration. We have doubled, and in some cases tripled, the representation of African Americans, Hispanics and Asian Americans working in government. Of all the political appointees who served in the Bush Administration, 6% were African American, 3% were Hispanic and 1% Asian American. Under this Administration, 15% of the political appointees are African American, 7% are Hispanic and 3% are Asian American. Women represent almost 50% of the political appointees in this administration. Native Americans' representation in this administration is higher than their actual representation in the country.
- We have been careful to ensure that veterans and members of the disability community are well represented throughout this government.

- In addition, you should know that throughout this process, we have retained our commitment to staffing the government with the very best people this country has to offer.
- Let's just look at one example of the quality of people we have serving in the Clinton Administration: federal judges. We have nominated 60% more judges than both Reagan and Bush had appointed by this time in their Presidencies. Our judges are also more diverse. While 58% of our judges are women and minorities, only 13% of Bush's appointees, and 8% of Reagan's appointees, were women and minorities.
- In addition to being the most diverse set of judges this country has ever seen, it is also the most qualified. The American Bar Association rates all of the judges that a President appoints. They gave a "well qualified" rating to 53% of President Reagan's judges, and to 52% of President Bush's judges. Under this administration, they have given a "well qualified" rating to 63% of our judges.
- In appointing judges, in naming Members of the Cabinet, in choosing people to serve at every level of this Administration, I have remained committed to the ideal of creating an administration that looks like America. And as these numbers prove, I have succeeded in making this goal a reality.
- We are providing role models for children from every background. And we are training a young, diverse generation of Americans to serve in strong leadership roles in the next century.
- This administration was elected to serve America. We can only represent the American people if the government itself reflects their rich diversity of interests and backgrounds and experiences. That is why I am proud that this administration has set the standard for diversity and for excellence in Presidential appointments.

Comparison of Minority Appointees in Bush and Clinton Administrations
Snapshot of Bush Sept. '90 versus Clinton Sept. '94*

9/16/94



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MARKING INITIALS: RM DATE: 10/31/94

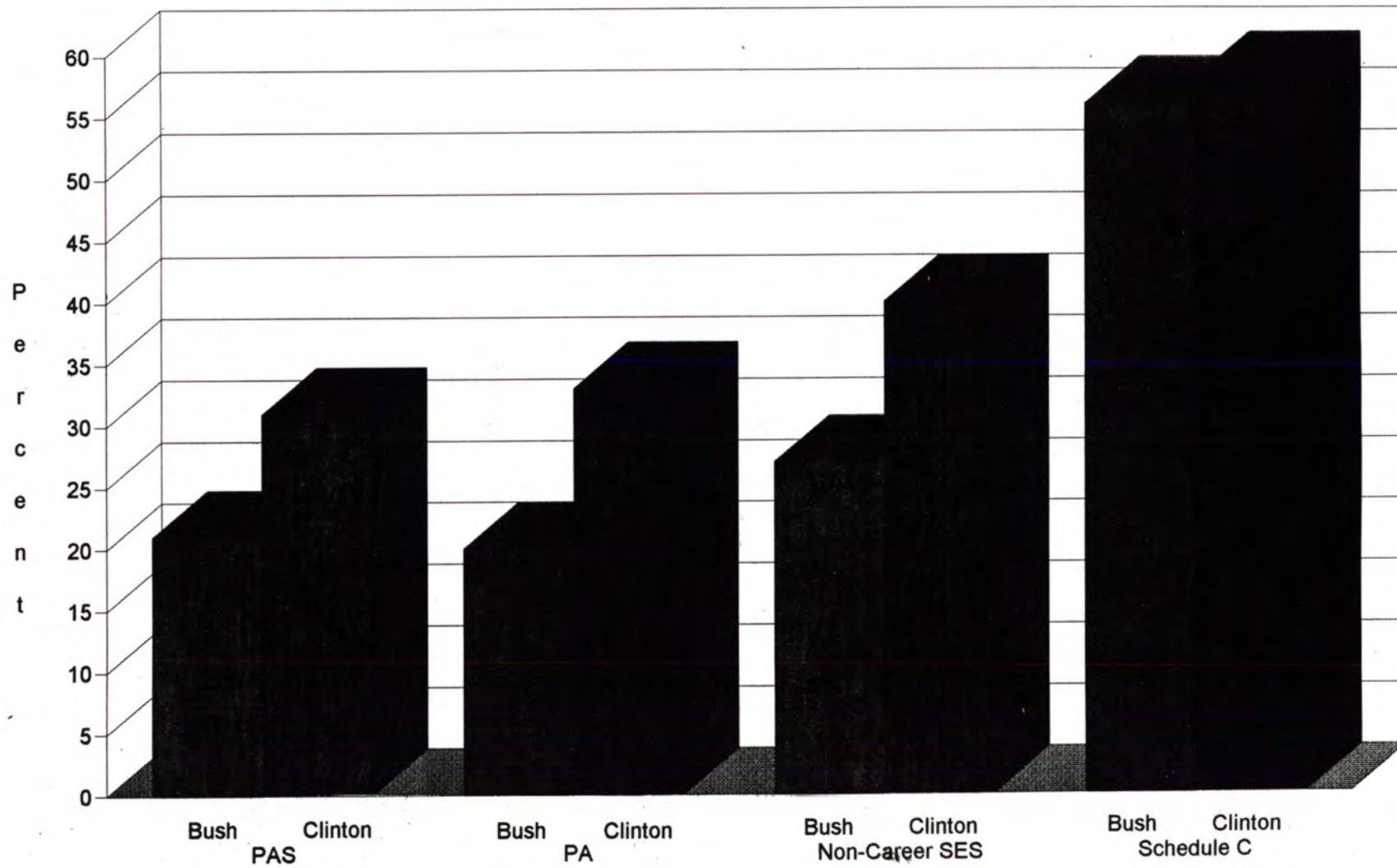
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* PAS numbers do not include Ambassadors or unknowns.

* PA numbers do not include the White House Office or Office of the Vice-President.

Private and Confidential

Comparison of Female Appointees in Bush and Clinton Administration
Snapshot of Bush Sept. '90 versus Clinton Sept. '94*



* PAS numbers do not include Ambassadors or unknowns.

* PA numbers do not include the White House Office or the Office of the Vice-President.

Administrative Judicial Appointments

	Clinton	Bush	Reagan	Carter
Nominations	143	80	84	56
Female	44	8	4	6
African-Am.	31	2	1	9
Hispanic	12	2	1	1
Women and Minorities	58%	13%	8%	27%
% rated "well qualified"*	63%	52%	53%	57%

*Note: The ABA data reflect all nominations by Presidents Bush, Reagan and Carter.



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

✓ bc
memo

As Requested

September 29, 1994

GS
As review
for my good
idea

PERSONAL

Secretary of State Warren Christopher
US Department of State
2201 C Street NW Room 7226
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Chris:

Right along it has been much anguish for me to watch the various hits on you--as well as on the President. This obviously has all been intensified by the events surrounding Jimmy Carter's doings and sayings in the past ten days or so. It won't give you enough comfort but it is remarkable how universal the negative comments are about what so many people consider his bizarreness, especially in this last go around.

This is not directly related to the point of my letter but in very indirect way I am partially responsible for his having gotten to the Presidency in 1976. I had not known him prior to that, but it must have been about 1975 when I was asked by Marge Benton of Chicago to host a dinner for Carter, this relatively unknown Governor of Georgia who was thinking in terms of making the run. I did so and had about 40 movers and shakers of my general stripe as guests. For reasons I can explain in the future both Betty and I turned off on him. That was not true of most of the other guests. In particular, Max Palevsky made a judgement that really was far more responsible for Carter getting the nomination. He determined that Carter, being a southerner, would be the only one who could beat George Wallace in Florida. This being the time before campaign finance limitations Max apparently shoveled a lot of money his way. The rest, as we say, is history.

All that aside, to put it mildly I have been very discomforted over time with what I describe as the hits on you both with regard to your style and to your responsibility for US foreign policy in general. As you well know the common cry is that there is no vision. That irks the hell out of me. Once the pet enemy, that is, the USSR, dropped from the scene that convenience for the foreign policy establishment was gone. Anti-communism had become a too easy rationale for most foreign policy judgements. I am aware that I don't have to tell you of all this. Now that the true complexities of this very complex world are confronting our own foreign policy establishment they literally are at a loss--despite a lot of fingers pointing at you.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher
September 29, 1994
Page 2

Early in the Gorbachev days Georgy Arbatov was speaking at RAND and was ridiculing--somewhat validly, I thought--that establishment. He likened it to a game of tug of war in which one side, the USSR, had dropped the rope leaving the other side, the US, in total disarray.

The editor of *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Nathan Gardels, and I contacted a number of your critics with the question "Okay, so what is your vision?" In almost every instance (of about two dozen letters that went out) the responses were vacuous, and our conclusion was they were not themselves equipped to deal with this new complex world.

You and I never knew each other too well--and not for long. But I feel I have a good sense of your intelligence and thoughtfulness, and thus, to repeat, the criticisms being thrown at you pain me.

In another vein I am equally disturbed by the attacks on the President. I think I have a good insight into all his pimples, and I attribute a lot--but certainly not all--of the problem to the media which is a very complicated subject. You may have already seen it but *NPQ* devoted its last issue to the media. I am sending along another copy.

I know you must be very tired from the travel and from this unnecessary stress. There are a lot of people who feel the way I do but I assume that that never gets expressed to you. Thus this letter.

My warmest to both you and Marie.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Warren Christopher, is written over the typed name and extends upwards and to the right.

SKS/kc
chris29
enclosure

cc: President Bill Clinton
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

65 - That isn't right
need to keep pushing back -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

Pennsylvania Avenue

By Morton M. Kondracke

we need a response to
this or this - at least in our
back room

Clinton's Lucky Streak May End With Cuba, Haiti

In spite of serious flaws at the core of his foreign policy — demonstrated anew with Cuba and Haiti — President Clinton has managed to avoid overseas disaster for nearly a year now. But with the impending invasion of Haiti, his luck may run out.

Polls show that the public disapproves of Clinton's handling of foreign policy by about 55 percent to 40 percent. The lack of strategy displayed in Cuba and Clinton's pattern of allowing domestic pressure groups to decide both Cuba and Haiti policy fully justify the public's dismay.

Polls show that the public disapproves of Clinton's handling of foreign policy by about 55 percent to 40 percent. The lack of strategy displayed in Cuba and Clinton's pattern of allowing domestic pressure groups to decide both Cuba and Haiti policy fully justify the public's dismay.

At the same time, Clinton in 1994 has avoided the disasters of 1993 — in Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti — that threatened to make foreign-policy competence a key election issue in 1996.

If Clinton's luck holds for the next two years, he actually might be able to seek re-election claiming that he's skillfully navigated the treacherous shoals of the post-Cold War world, keeping the US out of war in Bosnia, Korea, and the Caribbean while securing peace in the Middle East and Ireland and with Russia, Vietnam, and China.

But Haiti represents a dire threat to Clinton's lucky streak. A US invasion now seems inevitable, and a good outcome is hard to foresee. And Cuba represents a potential gnawing reminder that Clinton has been outfoxed by the Cold War's last relic, Fidel Castro.

Administration officials admit that their Haiti strategy — scaring the Haitian military into absconding — shows little sign of working.

They say it's primarily because top Haitian leaders are afraid of being killed by subordi-



Photo by Laura Patterson

President Clinton: The public thinks he "just reacts" to events. They're right.

nates or colleagues if they are suspected of making preparations to flee. But on the basis of Clinton's record, the leaders also may believe that his invasion threats are merely bluffs.

On that point, they are wrong. The Administration has gone so far in saying that it will invade if the military remains in power that to back down would destroy US credibility all over the world.

So, the invasion appears unavoidable. A fresh US Marine expeditionary unit is stationed offshore, and the US is training a multinational peacekeeping force in Puerto Rico. One national security official predicts the invasion before the end of this month.

The invasion itself will be "a cakewalk" as the Haitian military "crumbles in six hours," a White House official said, although he ac-

knowledge that some Americans will get killed.

That's the beginning of the Administration's trouble. If Clinton has not made a persuasive case for the invasion to Congress and the American people — and, so far, he hasn't even tried — then Republicans will blame any casualties directly on him.

Clinton will try to justify the invasion on the basis that Haiti's proximity, refugee flows, and the need to secure democracy in the hemisphere make intervention a vital national interest.

But Republicans easily will be able to portray it as Clinton's caving to pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus.

The President can survive this politically — provided US casualties are few, US forces are out quickly, and the post-invasion transition is smooth.

The Administration plan is for most US forces to be out "in a matter of weeks, not months," a White House official said, with Latin allies and reconstituted and retrained Haitian police taking over security duties.

High-ranking Administration officials say that \$500 million in proffered international aid will provide leverage to ensure that a restored President Jean-Bertrand Aristide fulfills his promises to reconcile his country.

Still, class divisions in the country are so deep, poverty and corruption so pervasive, and violence so ingrained that it's hard to see how Haiti can be made governable. To the extent that remaining Americans are targeted in the unrest, Clinton will get the blame.

Cuba does not represent the immediate hazard to Clinton that Haiti does, but it reflects a deeper failure — the lack of any capacity for thinking ahead.

Cuba's quickening economic collapse has made political change inevitable, but the Ad-

ministration barely paid any attention to the place until Castro sent his latest boat people to sea.

Clinton said he would not allow Castro to make US immigration policy, but then he promptly reversed the decades-old policy of free admission for Cuban refugees as a way of appeasing Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles, a fellow Democrat up for re-election.

Administration officials are optimistic that

A US invasion of Haiti now seems inevitable, and a good outcome is hard to foresee.

US-Cuban negotiations eventually will lead to a compromise on legal immigration and cessation of the boat flow, but what's really called for is for the US to seize the initiative from Castro and offer gradual lifting of the US economic embargo in return for release of political prisoners and other democratic openings.

Polls show that, by 75 percent to 12 percent, Americans think that Clinton "doesn't plan" foreign policy, but "just reacts" to events.

Unfortunately, the voters have it right.

Clarification

Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan) informs me that, contrary to my Sept. 5 column, she is not at all a "good bet" to join Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa) and other liberals in their effort to achieve a health care compromise.

She says she doubts that any health care bill will pass this year, and it looks like that's the case.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~MEMORANDUM

TO: WJC
FROM: JMLyons *[initials]*
DATE: September 15, 1994
SUBJECT: Friends Retreat

Per our brief discussion yesterday:

You will remember our gathering in Little Rock in 1987, when you looked at the 1988 race, and the exploratory committee meeting in the late summer of 1991 in Washington. In that same vein, I suggest that you consider gathering a group of friends to have a private and general discussion about the current state of affairs, 1996, the maintenance and development of the Clinton network, and what can be done to best promote your objectives. Bruce, Kevin and I suggest that you and Hillary consider inviting some or all of the following: Al and Tipper Gore, Mickey Kantor, Harold Ickes, Jack Quinn, Susan Thomases, Ron Brown, Vernon Jordan, Gary Morrow, Senator David Pryor, Jim and Diane Blair, Ken Brody, and the three of us. *mauro*

We propose a time after the November election, but before Thanksgiving, perhaps the weekend of November 19-20. We would suggest that the venue be as private as possible and, preferably, outside the Beltway. We also believe that the group should be as intimate and trustworthy as you can make it to encourage frank discussion and avoid leaks. Assuming the event catches the ever watchful eye of the press, it can simply be described as a private get-together with personal friends.

Please let us know.

Attached is a note from Jim Lyons suggesting that you plan a retreat for personal friends/political advisors. He thought something like the meeting when you looked at the 1988 race or ^{the} meeting in Washington in the late summer of 1991.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: *DB* DATE: *5/17/8*

THE WHITE HOUSE

George Stephanopoulos

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/10/94

FOR THE
PRESIDENT

FROM
GS

Billie Wehly
and to do some
heart and stop
work or later
discuss
P.C.

9.27.94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

27-Sep-1994 07:49am

TO: Heather Beckel
TO: Christa T. Robinson
TO: Stephanie Streett
TO: Margo L. Spiritus

FROM: David Dreyer
Office of Communications

SUBJECT: PLEASE READ THIS WIRE STORY. SHOULD POTUS GO THERE?

Date: 09/26/94 Time: 08:39

In Sandoval, Reservoir of Good Will for Clinton Is Drier But Not

SANDOVAL, Ill. (AP) To read some newspapers, watch some television shows or listen to certain radio hosts, you could get the idea that there are people across America who hate President Clinton.

And there are. You'd just be hard pressed to find them here.

At first blush, little Sandoval 1,535 people huddled against a sea of corn stalks would seem a good place to tap into the groundswell of anti-Clinton feeling that seemed to rumble around the country this summer.

It's poor. People here hold to traditional values. They're Democrats, but conservative, in a small town, Harry Truman kind of way.

A lot of them lined the highway in 1992 when the Democratic campaign bus tour breezed through so many, in fact, that Clinton ordered the buses to stop so he could get out and speak.

He promised change. People believed him.

Do they feel betrayed now?

It seems a reasonable question to ask because there are people elsewhere who clearly feel a deep, personal loathing for the president a sense of betrayal if they voted for him, just plain anger if they didn't.

Oh, there are plenty of people who support him the president's approval ratings have stayed pretty close to the 43 percent of the electorate that voted him into office. But you don't have to go far to hear the others.

Every once in a while, a president comes along who, if he was a piece of gym equipment, would be the heavy bag. Franklin Roosevelt was one, if you were conservative. Richard Nixon was one, if you were liberal.

And Bill Clinton is one, if you believe what you hear and read. Just not in Sandoval.

Not at the Double D Hair Salon, where either Darrena or Darlene it isn't clear which, she wouldn't say looks up from washing hair clips and says, "I just think he's great."

Not at the Sandoval House Restaurant, where waitress Doris Lyons looks a bit dreamy when she describes how the president talks: "He's got a nice, soft voice. He's easy to listen to."

Not at Whitie's Barber Shop, where proprietor Steve Gregory whips out two Clinton-Gore campaign buttons from the wooden cabinet where he stores the combs and hair goop. "I think he's doing a great job," Gregory says.

The mayor, Gary Deadmond, likes Clinton. "Bill Clinton said he stood for change, and he is trying to change things," Deadmond says. "With all the problems in Congress, he's having a hard time."

In Sandoval, you will find people who are disappointed in Clinton, who strongly disagree with him. Who even dislike him.

But the sort of person who would believe Jerry Falwell when he all but accuses the president of murder? The sort of person who would own a popular bumper sticker that says: "Smoke dope, dodge draft, cheat wife, become President. ... The new American Way!"

Not here.

Bill Resch owns the local video store, a little cottage with white aluminum siding and a gravel parking lot. He voted for Clinton and has lived to regret it. "I've joined forces with those who think he's turned out to be a weak president. He's real wishy-washy."

Resch leans on the counter, a small, muscular man with sweptback bristles of red hair shading to gray. And he voices some complaints about Clinton that are common here, even among the president's most ardent supporters.

"After all the things he said he was going to do, the first thing he came out with was gay rights," Resch says, referring to Clinton's gays-in-the-military policy. "With all the problems we have, that just really turned me off. And his foreign policy he doesn't have a foreign policy."

But Resch expresses something else that's common here. He trusts Clinton, he says, and believes he means well. He isn't bothered in the least by Clinton's Whitewater investments or by the stories about the president's supposed extramarital affairs.

"I'm down on the press for that," he says. "It just seems like any subject, they go to extremes. ... It seems like once they got a guy down, they just keep stomping on him."

A customer comes in. Scott Magnus is a big, dark-bearded, 34-year-old grain farmer who voted for Bush, likes Rush Limbaugh and doesn't think much of Clinton's politics.

Still, he says, "I really, truly believe that in most of what he does, Clinton means well."

So he doesn't hate Clinton? "I don't hate anybody," Magnus says.

It's a friendly place, Sandoval.

On the evening of July 21, 1992, the Clinton campaign came rolling up Highway 51, the road that nicks the edge of Sandoval on its way from Centralia to Vandalia. Those are the big towns around here, where many people in Sandoval drive to work. There aren't a

lot of jobs in Sandoval. In fact, there's not a lot of very much.

What there were a lot of, at least on that night, were supporters of Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

The estimates range from 300 to 1,000 it doesn't much matter which is right. The point is that what seemed like the entire town was stretched out along the highway, everybody waving American flags and Clinton-Gore banners, singing patriotic songs, cheering in the warm Midwest night.

Clinton ordered the bus to stop. He and Gore and their wives got out, hopped onto the roof of a limousine and spoke. It turned out to be a magical moment, one of the most memorable of the campaign.

"When we are old men, Al Gore and I, we will say, you should have seen the crowd in Sandoval," Clinton declared.

For Sandoval, it was the most memorable moment since ever. Carolyn Hensen, Democratic committeewoman, had organized the rally. "It was something Sandoval will never forget," she says now. "Because that day we were somebody. We meant something to somebody."

Clinton went on to beat George Bush here by better than 3-to-1.

This town is almost all white, mostly Democratic and largely fed up with the whole lollygagging, tax-sucking, gossip-mongering Washington establishment.

They are people who didn't dodge the draft during the Vietnam War, whose children fought in Desert Storm. They are anti-immigration, anti-welfare, pro-gun, pro-flag. And despite it all, many are pro-Clinton.

Then there's Dave Schilling. Schilling owns a woodworking shop on North Main Street. He's gangly, 50 years old, with a long, droopy mustache. He wears suspenders hooked to his blue jeans. He is a registered Republican who voted for Ross Perot. And he doesn't like Bill Clinton.

"Him?" he says, his voice rising when the subject of the president is broached. "You mean her! President Clinton that's Hillary. He's just a figurehead. And they both ought to be impeached."

Schilling is standing outside his shop. He beckons a visitor inside, saying, "I'm probably the only person in Sandoval who doesn't like Bill Clinton."

"This town carried Bill Clinton," he goes on, his voice turning sharp with sarcasm. "Everybody in this town voted for him. ... He could have said he would have doubled the income tax and everything else, and they still would have voted for him. Because, hell, he stopped to talk to them."

Schilling missed the bus tour, quite intentionally. "I wouldn't walk across the street to see him if he came today."

He hates Clinton's health care plan. He hates his foreign policy. He hates Mrs. Clinton's role in the administration.

But hate Bill Clinton? "I hate nobody," Schilling says.

"Well, I got a few people who owe me money I kinda dislike. ...

No, hating's for young people. I'm too old to hate anybody."

APNP-09-26-94 0840EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/10/94

94 OCT 6 P3:48

OCTOBER 6, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MACK McLARTY

SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF ITEMS ATTACHED

- Memorandum from Bill Galston responding to inquiry concerning the Gallup/Bezilla article on core virtues and values. I had forwarded your handwritten notes to him and Dick Riley. We are already doing a great deal in these areas. Bill Galston's comments are right on point.
- Thank you note from Truman Arnold. I am staying in close touch with one of our good friends, in keeping with my new job responsibilities.

October 2, 1994

TO: Mack McLarty

FROM: Bill Galston *WAG*

SUBJ: Your inquiry concerning the Gallup/Bezilla article

Gallup and Bezilla make two basic points. One is clearly worthy of support, the other less so.

7/1
Galston
in
Pres.
It is certainly correct that Americans have reached a consensus on a set of core virtues and values (such as honesty) that could and should be taught in school. As you know, I hosted a White House meeting on character formation in July. At the President's direction, I have been working with a bipartisan "Character Counts" coalition led by Pete Domenici and Chris Dodd to insert a new character education program into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). That has happened, and the ESEA is now on the verge of final passage. Moreover, Sec. Riley has met with representatives of the Character Counts coalition and he strongly supports their efforts. So I'm sure he would be prepared to speak out on that subject, and I believe it would be a good idea for him to do so.

N
The second issue raised by Gallup and Bezilla--prayer at school graduation ceremonies--is much dicier. I don't doubt their statistics. But as you know, this issue was recently litigated all the way to the Supreme Court, which rejected prayer in these circumstances on constitutional grounds. I have been working with the Department of Education and our friends in Congress to ensure that language safeguarding "constitutionally protected" voluntary school prayer is included in the ESEA. But I don't think we should go much farther in that direction without a thorough review of the legal context.

Mr. President:

I have forwarded your handwritten notes and Gallup commentary to Dick Riley. I will follow But I think he ~~is~~ ^(we) already ~~are~~ ^{is} doing a great deal of it in these areas. I believe Bill Galston's comments are right on point.

WAG
10/2/94

poems - 5 minutes to lunch
much on that's my job
Truman Arnold

9/27/94

Donald Mack,

The flowers were a great
surprise - Thanks for remembering

Mack, lunch was a
special treat you always

have time for friends -

See ya'll soon

Don