

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to POTUS and Leon Panetta re: 1994 DNC Expenses (3 pages)	10/21/1994	Personal Misfile
002. memo	Ickes to POTUS and Panetta re: Generic Media for November Election (2 pages)	10/20/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4891

FOLDER TITLE:

November 1-5, 1994

2018-0662-S

rs3109

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR HAROLD ICKES

FROM: JOHN PODESTA 

SUBJECT: SENATOR PAUL SIMON'S RE-ELECTION BID

Senator Simon will be taking a few days of vacation starting Wednesday, November 9. During that time, he and his wife, Jean, will discuss whether he should run for re-election. On Monday, November 14, he intends to announce his decision. If you think it is important to try to influence his decision, a call probably needs to be made in the next couple of days.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 3, 1994

94 NOV 3 P5:18

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM:

MARK MILLER *MM*

SUBJECT:

MESSAGE REQUEST

We received a request ^{to} ~~do~~ prepare a message for "Old Newsboys Day," sponsored by the Suburban Journals in St. Louis. We turned this request down, because they wanted to print the message in a special edition newspaper that will be sold on street corners to raise money for agencies that benefit children -- violating our general guideline that messages are not to be used for the purpose of raising money.

However, the group making the request pointed out that we gave them a message last year, and to our surprise, we found that we did. (None of us can figure out why we would make this exception to our rules.)

We sent the attached package to Marvin Krislov, who agreed that last year's message was used for fundraising, but suggested that we check with your office for another opinion.

- ☒ Prepare message similar to last year's
- ☐ Prepare message but advise them that it cannot be printed
- ☐ Do not prepare a message

*printing date has
passed
may be moot
ppl*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1994

94 NOV

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA
STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: ABNER J. MIKVA *ajm*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Letter of Congratulations to Lawrence Wallace

Attached is a letter of congratulations for the President's signature to Deputy Solicitor General Lawrence Wallace. The occasion is that General Wallace recently set the record for most cases argued in front of the Supreme Court.

Please take appropriate action on this matter. Thank you for your assistance.

11/4
OK
con
AZURE?

yes

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: November 4, 1994

94 NOV 5 P12:23

Date of Request: 10/24/1994

Request for: POTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Patron

Requestor Name: Ms. Wilhelmina Cole Holladay

Title: Chair of the Board

Organization: The National Museum of Women in the Arts
1250 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-3920

Contact Tel. #: 202/783-5000

Event Date: 4/07/1995

Event Description: Annual gala benefit

Notes: Event coincides with the opening of an
exhibition of Sofonsiba Anguissola, a
Renaissance artist. The Italian Ambassador
and Mrs. Bianchieri are participating.

Recommendations:

JP



EB

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: November 3, 1994

94 NOV 3 P5:04

Date of Request: 10/13/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Message
Requestor Name: Mr. John Wiebusch
Title: Vice President, Creative Services Division
Organization: National Football League Properties, Inc.
6701 Center Drive West
Suite 1111
Los Angeles, California 90045
Contact Tel. #: 310/215-1606
Event Date: 1/95
Event Description: Super Bowl XXIX

Notes: The NFL would like a message from the President for the showcase program of the Super Bowl. There is a writing fee of \$2,000, which can be donated to the charity of the President's choice. President Carter wrote the introduction to the program last year.

Recommendations:

JP

EB

Marvin Krislov/Counsel's Office: Could you please provide your office's opinion regarding whether the President should provide such a message?

Please return to Room 457.

CC. Dorskind
Dreyer

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: October 21, 1994

94 OCT 25 A10 : 03

Date of Request: 10/07/1994
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Member
Requestor Name: Corporal George D. Matthews
Title:
Organization: Sons of the American Legion
American Legion Post #288
P.O. Box 288
Coinjock, New Jersey 27923
Contact Tel. #: 919/453-2079
Event Date: n/a
Event Description: No event.

Notes:

Recommendations:

JP

EB

NO
what does ERSKINE think

Foreword
Public Papers of the President
August 1 through December 31, 1993

During the second half of 1993, the American people continued to confront vast changes around the world and here at home. We found the courage to move forward as a Nation, striving to build better lives for ourselves and our children and to chart America's course into the 21st century.

As these papers document, we continued to make the changes necessary to empower the American people to move ahead with confidence. The Congress enacted our Administration's economic plan, providing the largest cut in the Federal budget deficit in history and increasing investments to help hardworking Americans meet the challenges of the world economy. After a vigorous debate, the Congress enacted the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico, forging ties among our countries that will help us all compete and win around the world.

As business responded favorably to the changes in our country's economic policy, we strove to change the way our government does the people's business as well. Following Vice President Gore's recommendations in the National Performance Review, we began to reinvent our government to make it more efficient and more effective for the American people, streamlining the Federal workforce, giving more responsibility to frontline workers, and making the regulatory process less costly, more accountable, and more efficient.

We recognized, too, that government can only do so much. The greatest responsibility for renewing the American Dream and restoring our spirit of community belongs to the American people themselves. In signing legislation creating a new national service program, AmeriCorps, I asked all Americans to seize the opportunity "to reach beyond themselves and to reach out to others and to make things better." In the final analysis, the most lasting changes must come from the individual acts of all Americans. At the Church of God in Christ in Memphis, Tennessee, where the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., had delivered the last speech of his lifetime, I asked our fellow citizens to remember that, without spiritual renewal, "none of the things we seek to do will ever take us where we need to go."

We all were reminded of the hopeful possibilities of our times when we witnessed an historic act of reconciliation that American diplomacy helped foster. The Prime Minister of Israel and the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization came to the White House for a handshake of hope and a declaration of principles to put an end to their ancient conflict. America and the world saw how much we can all accomplish when we decide to move forward together.

William J. Clinton

10-26-94

Dorland
see re
John
NJC
WMM

FR: ANDY

RE: PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL GUARD AND RESERVE -- SIGNATURE REQUESTED

DT: October 25, 1994

William Bowen, former CoS to President Clinton in Arkansas, and Chair of the Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve, has requested that President Clinton sign the attached statement. Per Mark Middleton, this should be done ASAP.

The statement has been signed by every president since 1972, with the exception of President Clinton. It expresses support for the National Guard and Reserve, and states that Guard or Reserve service will not hinder employment opportunities and that leaves of absence will be granted for training, without sacrifice of vacation time.

Apparently a request for signing made last year was "lost in the shuffle." If you approve, the statement will be prepared for signature.

Approve

✓

Disapprove

John
11-3-94

- John,
This has been cleared by
mil. office and NSC as is
(any edit significantly slows up
its release).
Ok to go? - Jimmy M.

URW 11/3



United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers
of America, AFL-CIO, CLC — Local Union 911

ROGER K. WILLIAMS
President

Budget

172 Longfellow Street
Providence, RI 02907-2621
Bus. 401/461-7997 • Res. 401/942-9061



INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
PRES KEN COSS
V.P. MICHAEL STANLEY
SECRETARIES GLENN ELLISON
POLITICAL DIRECTOR LARRY EAINES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 24, 1994

send to
Dan
Burkhardt?
yes

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: Harold Ickes (HIS)

SUBJECT: Request that the President become an honorary
Chairman of the Committee for Roosevelt History
Month.

John, attached is a self-explanatory 21 September 1994 letter from Peter B. Kovler to the President requesting that he become honorary chair of the Committee for Roosevelt History Month. Please advise me on the process for determining whether or not the President will honor this request.

Harold
I think it
is premature
given the
state of Kovler's
efforts to date
John

Committee for Roosevelt History Month

1250 24th St. NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20037 (202) 857-7810 Fax: (202) 467-2781

21 September 1994

*Ann - Find out the
powers to letter me*

Peter B. Kovler
Chairman

Committee Members
(In Formation)

Linda Aaker
Mary A. Bain
Michael Barone
Michael Beschloss
Livingston Biddle
Charles Blitzer
Alan Brinkley
James MacGregor Burns
David Cohen
Sheldon Cohen
Marian Wright Edelman
Sara Ehrman
Hugh Gregory Gallagher
David Ginsburg
Philip Kaiser
Paul Kirk
Jon Kovler
William E. Leuchtenburg
John Lewis
Ernest May
Harry McPherson
Richard Moe
Robert Nathan
Richard E. Neustadt
Verne W. Newton
Norman Ornstein
Marcus Raskin
M. J. Rosenberg
James H. Rowe III
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
Richard Norton Smith
Ted Van Dyk
Geoffrey Ward
Roger Wilkins
William vanden Heuvel
Sidney Yates

Suscha Freudenheim
Executive Director

President William J. Clinton
The White House
East Wing, Suite 200
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

With the scheduled dedication of the Roosevelt Memorial in the fall of 1996, a group of us believe that it is a unique opportunity to have a Roosevelt History Month that September, much as we now have Black History Month, Women's History Month, etc., etc.

I believe it would be an innovative and unique way to teach younger generations about the great deeds of FDR and his generation. I also believe that the month would resonate with people because so many of the challenges you face have similarities to those encountered by FDR.

If you would join us as an Honorary Chairman, we would be most grateful. Such a designation would require no time or energy on your part, but it would allow us to promote more easily this idea.

If I can answer any questions for you or your staff, I'd be delighted.

Sincerely yours,



Peter B. Kovler

cc: Sara Ehrman

Committee for Roosevelt History Month

1250 24th St., NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20037 (202) 857-7810 Fax: (202) 467-2781

24 September 1994

Ms. Debbie Bird
Fax: 456-1799

Peter B. Kovler
Chairman

Committee Members (In Formation)

Linda Anker
Mary A. Bain
Michael Barone
Michael Beschloss
Livingston Biddle
Charles Blitzer
Alan Brinkley
James MacGregor Burns
David Cohen
Sheldon Cohen
Marion Wright Edelman
Sam Ehrman
Hugh Gregory Gallagher
David Ginsberg
Philip Kalser
Paul Kirk
Jon Kovler
William F. Leuchtenburg
John Lewis
Ernest May
Harry McPherson
Richard Moe
Robert Nathan
Richard E. Neustadt
Verne W. Newton
Norman Ornstein
Marcus Raskin
James Roosevelt, Jr.
M. J. Rosenberg
James H. Rowe III
Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
Richard Norton Smith
Ted Van Dyk
Geoffrey Ward
Susan Ware
Roger Wilkins
William vanden Heuvel
Sidney Yates

Sascha Freudenheim
Executive Director

Dear Ms. Bird,

Last night I gave a copy of this letter to Mr. Panetta, but if Mr. Ickes might be of assistance that would be great.

As I said, many people thought he would be the right person with whom I should speak on this matter, and I thank you for returning my phone call.

Sincerely yours,



Peter B. Kovler

Dads vs. the Devil

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

By DAVE SHIFLETT

The proliferation of fatherless felons has done society very little good, but that phenomenon and other aspects of our social breakdown have worked at least one miracle. This summer, nearly a quarter-million apparently virile men gathered throughout the West and Midwest to cheer stadium-orators who passed along these unpleasant notions:

- "Somehow, many men got the idea that the definition of manhood has to do with how many women they have conquered and the number of children they have sired. Somebody told these entrepreneurs of pleasure that sex without love or commitment is appropriate today."

- "Far too many men are functioning like dogs—living simply to satisfy their lusts, no matter what the cost to themselves, others, or society at large."

A thorough scolding by most measures, and at \$55 to \$65 a head every bit as expensive as a ticket to a Rolling Stones concert. But there is no sympathy for the devil at these huge stadium events, which are the brainchild of University of Colorado football coach Bill McCartney (whose Buffaloes Hail Mary-ed Michigan into submission on Sept. 24). Mr. McCartney is an evangelical Christian committed to defeating the devil and his understudy, the "feminized male"—defined as the man who has surrendered his family leadership duties to women, often to the point of abandonment.

Outdrawing Mick Jagger

Oddly enough, the message is so popular that Mr. McCartney's organization, called Promise Keepers, has a hard time keeping up with demand. When Mr. McCartney gathered his troops in Boulder's Folsom Field this summer, 52,000 men attended. When Mick Jagger brought his Rolling Stones to Denver's Mile High Stadium last month, he came in second with just over 47,000. No offense meant, but Mr. McCartney isn't quite so dynamic as Mr. Jagger. So what's going on here?

"We are seeing a great awakening, a huge hunger among men who want to learn to live successfully in today's world," says Randy Phillips, a self-described former sensualist and current president of Promise Keepers. "Throughout biblical history, there have been distinct periods when men responded in obedience to God. This is one of those times, and it is our responsibility to seize the day." Along the same lines, Mr. Phillips agrees that Mr. McCartney and other PK speakers, while inspiring, are hardly stadium packers. "This is not about celebrities. You are seeing the Holy Spirit at work," he says.

Those who do not share Mr. Phillips's theology cannot but be impressed by his numbers. When Mr. McCartney had the original vision to create Promise Keepers—it happened on March 20, 1990, on the road between Boulder and Pueblo—he hoped that perhaps by the year 2000 the organization could attract 50,000 men during the course of a summer.

O, he of little faith.

The first gathering, in 1991, drew 4,000 men; the next year, 22,000 attended. Six conferences drew 233,600 this summer:

The gathering in Anaheim drew 52,800 and is being billed as the largest non-sporting event in Southern California history. An add-on event is scheduled for late October in Texas. Promise Keepers also hopes to gather one million men in Washington in 1996, and may go international within a year or two. The biggest dream: to simultaneously pack stadiums in all 50 states, for a total gate of two million. The staff is expected to grow to 170 by the end of the year, with a budget of \$22 million.

Gathering 52,000 Christians in a place like Boulder is somewhat similar to gathering a similar number of beer guzzlers in downtown Tehran—not the sort of thing you'd expect in ordinary times.

But as Mr. Phillips notes, we find ourselves in a troubled era, even in Colorado, a state far to the interior from both coasts (1,800 miles from New York; 1,000 miles



Men leave these rallies with the tools to keep their promises to God, their wives and their communities. In short, no more catting around.

from Los Angeles) that has nonetheless been torched by the social mayhem common in the major coastal metropolises.

Police estimate that there are 6,000 to 7,000 young gangsters in the Denver metro area, many of them Bloods and Crips imported from California, who have involved themselves in the usual pastimes, including drug trafficking, rape and random killings. Meanwhile, 38% of Denver children are born to an unwed mother, recent Census data show, and 30% of children live with one parent (12% live with neither parent). Then there are always the sideshow crimes that suggest a breakdown in authority: Just recently a 17-year-old was convicted for trying to kill his stepmother with a crossbow.

Promise Keepers' own literature cites a nation in "steady decline," with the number of violent crimes since 1960 increasing 570%, illegitimacy up more than 400%, and the "highest rates of teen pregnancy, abortion and childbirth in the industrialized world." Our age is compared to the decline in England in the 18th century,

when Bishop Berkeley wrote: "It is to be feared that the age of monsters is not far off."

The only way total disaster can be avoided, Promise Keepers believes, is to retol the American male and his family, an effort that has raised alarms among the usual suspects. Columnist Ellen Goodman, who is clearly the sort of person who inspired the creation of stag rooms, has awarded PK a "Backlash" award for the doctrine of the feminized male. Ms. Goodman, among others, fears that when men "take back" their traditional leadership roles, they will enslave women in the process. Ms. Goodman, in fact, charges Promise Keepers with hoping to install the sort of social system popular in places like Bangladesh.

Not so, says Mr. McCartney. "We as men are wanting to take responsibility—as we should have been all along." Mr. Phillips, when asked if members of Promise Keepers get to go home and boss women around, shakes his head no. "We teach men to be humble servants and to offer spiritual leadership to their families."

Besides that, Promise Keepers urges adherents to form small accountability groups to make sure members stay on the straight and narrow. Mr. Phillips tells of one group that persuaded a member to return to his family and also offers testimonials from wives who say that the man of the house was greatly reformed after attending one of the Promise Keepers rallies, which start on Friday nights with an altar call (the closest thing to a mosh pit these events offer) and go all day Saturday.

Meanwhile, the omnipresent Arthur Kropp of People for the American Way has complained that he sniffs a political agenda, while Joseph Conn, spokesman for Americans United for Separation of Church and State, has warned that Promise Keepers is destined "to become a full-fledged part of the religious right." These comments are inspired in part by Mr. McCartney's earlier statement that homosexuality is an "abomination," which also caused Colorado Rep. Pat Schroeder to label the coach a "self-anointed ayatollah."

Yet PK policy takes pains to invite homosexuals into the fold, and in an interview Mr. Phillips refuses to enter a political discussion, even to acknowledge that tax and welfare policies may be partly to blame for the sorts of social ills his organization has set out to counter.

Instead of rising to that plump bait, he emphasizes the need for men to become more "vulnerable" and "sensitive" to the needs of women and minorities. Mr. McCartney's chief emphasis, in fact, is racial reconciliation, and he has made no secret that his unmarried daughter bore a child by a black CU quarterback.

Crying and Embracing

If this sounds a bit touchy-feely, it only gets worse. Though Mr. Phillips laughs when asked if PK adherents ever go into the mountains and beat drums, he does believe that America's love of individualism has been a harmful aspect of the national character. "If the Berlin Wall can come down," says Mr. Phillips, "so can the wall of isolation around American men." It is not unusual for men at PK rallies to cry and embrace one another, asking forgiveness for such things as harboring racist or similarly odious beliefs. If all that adds up to right-wing behavior, so does knitting socks for the Sandinistas.

The result of PK gatherings, according to Mr. Phillips, is that men leave with the tools to help them keep their promises to their God, their wives, their families and their communities. In short, no more catting around. And while there will always be critics—a letter writer to the Rocky Mountain News called Mr. McCartney an "idiot savant" before calling for his resignation—there is also praise, even from Newsweek, whose coverage of the Boulder rally, reported by a female staffer, was nothing short of angelic.

In fact, Mr. Phillips is amazed by the steadily improving reception his organization is enjoying. "When we started out," he says with some understatement, "the media coverage wasn't always so friendly." Another sign, no doubt, that our growing corps of fatherless felons is having its effect.

Mr. Shiflett is deputy editorial page editor of the Rocky Mountain News.

OPTIONAL FORM 99 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages **1**

To **Linda Lader**

From **Fran Wessel**

Dept./Agency

Phone # **456 2702**

Fax # **638-4141**

Fax #

NSN 7540-01-317-7368

5099-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Boysen to
Iger

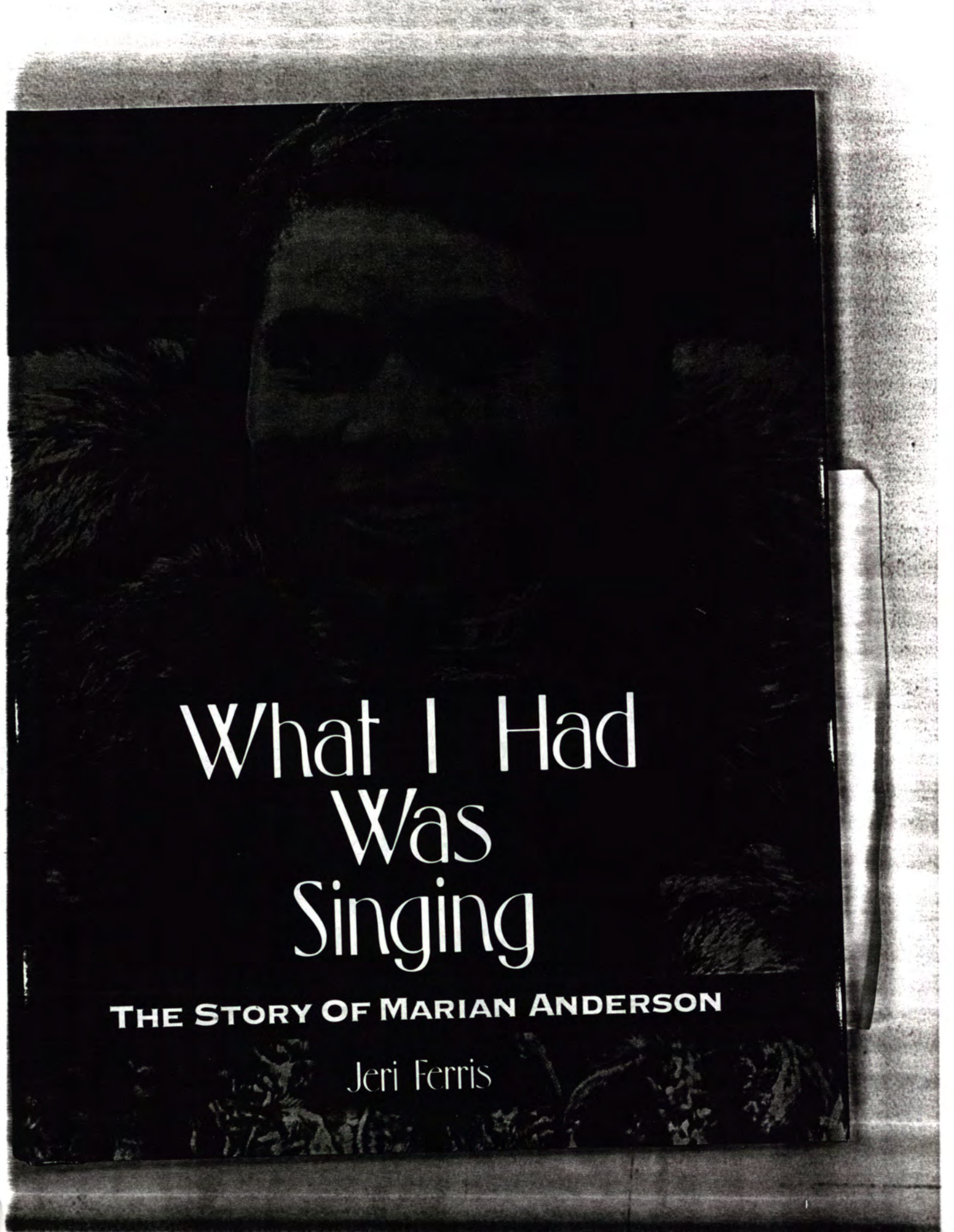
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-2-94

Alcher

↳ in our discussion
from March

BC



What I Had Was Singing

THE STORY OF MARIAN ANDERSON

Jeri Ferris

When the concert was finished, Marian could not remember one song she had sung or one word she had said. Fortunately, all the music and all the words were written down. The next day, when she felt calmer, Marian read the report in the newspaper. She read the names of the people who were there, what they said, what she said, and what she wore.

Marian read the introduction that Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, gave her. "Genius, like justice, is blind," Mr. Ickes had said. "Genius draws no color line."

Marian read that other members of the Supreme Court, representatives of her mother were there on the platform that she sang "America," "O mio Fern," "Ave Maria," and the spirituals "My Lord," "Gospel Train," and "Train" that the audience would not stop applauding for her until she returned to the



CURT WELDON

7TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

2452 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3807
(202) 225-2011

1554 GARRETT ROAD
UPPER DARBY, PA 19082
(610) 259-0700

30 SOUTH VALLEY ROAD, SUITE 212
PAOLI, PA 19301
(610) 640-9064

MIGRATORY BIRD
CONSERVATION COMMISSION



Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-3807
October 17, 1994

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

READINESS
MILITARY ACQUISITION
NATO PANEL, VICE-CHAIRMAN

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE
AND FISHERIES

OCEANOGRAPHY, VICE-CHAIRMAN

THE ENVIRONMENT AND
NATURAL RESOURCES

CO-CHAIRMAN:

CONGRESSIONAL FIRE SERVICES CAUCUS

US FSU ENERGY CAUCUS

CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS FOR THE WHITE

HOUSE ON RECYCLING

THE EMPOWERMENT CAUCUS

The Honorable Leon Panetta
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Leon:

Over the past year, I have contacted the White House on behalf of a constituent who forwarded a card collection to President Clinton for signature. Regrettably, no one has yet been able to locate the cards for return to the sender.

Mr. Ernest Schwartz has collected presidential signatures for decades and is deeply upset by the loss of his cards. Despite continued efforts by staff to locate the cards, no one has yet found them.

As you can see, this issue has now been publicized in a collectors' magazine. I am hoping that under your direction, a rejuvenated effort will enable the return of the presidential signature cards to Mr. Schwartz and his family, and the White House will be able to correct the record. Any assistance you can provide in this regard would be deeply appreciated.

Thank you for your consideration of this unique request.

Sincerely,

CURT WELDON
Member of Congress

send to
cc: Ann
Lee Ann
Doriskin

11-1 94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1994 ⁹⁴NOV 11 P6:37

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: JOHN EMERSON
MELANNE VERVEER

SUBJECT: Reconsideration of Honorary Chair Turn Down

LIBERATION 1945-1995 will be commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the liberation of the death camps of Nazi-occupied Europe in November 1995 by holding a memorial concert in Los Angeles. This summer their request to have the President serve as Honorary Concert Chair was turned down.

Would you please reconsider that decision? Jan Levine, a good friend to the President as well as the wife of Mel Levine has weighed in strongly with us both on this one.

Thanks for your help.

enclosure

↓
Dan Burkhardt

OK
JEP

11-1-94



May 20, 1994

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Enclosed is a brief presentation of LIBERATION 1945-1995, detailing our exciting plans for commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of the death camps of Nazi-occupied Europe.

We have received broad based support from Jewish organizations throughout the country as well as political figures including our own Mayor Richard Riordan to former Congressman Mel Levine.

We would be privileged to have you as Honorary Concert Chair for this project and would be very appreciative of any brief letter of support.

If you have any questions or need further information, please feel free to contact me at (310) 459-2328.

Thank you so much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Cantor Chayim Frenkel
c/o Kehillath Israel
16019 Sunset Blvd.
Pacific Palisades, CA. 90272

Enclosures

JAN GREENBERG LEVINE
251 South Roxbury Drive
Beverly Hills, California 90212

310-
556-7707

Fax Transmittal Sheet

Date: Sept. 23 1994

To: John Emerson

Company

202 456-5558

FAX Number of Receiver

From: Jan Levine

Subject: Liberation Concert
1994

11/6/95

If you do not receive all pages in good condition, please
call (310) 446-7702.

Total number of pages (including cover sheet): 6

Time sent: 11:20 AM PM.

Notes:

John -

Here's the information
I promised about my Cantor's
event (which Billy Crystal has
agreed to host) - It's a concert
in commemoration of the liberation
of the death camps 50 years ago -
Thanks so much -
J.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1994

Cantor Chayim Frenkel
Liberation 1945-1995
c/o Kehillath Israel
16019 Sunset Boulevard
Pacific Palisades, California 90272

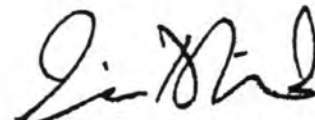
Dear Cantor Frenkel:

Thank you so much for your letter requesting that President Clinton serve as Honorary Chair for the Liberation 1945-1995 Concert.

It is a great honor to be considered for such a role, and the President sincerely appreciates your interest. Unfortunately, he is unable to accommodate your request at this time and cannot lend his name to your cause.

President Clinton does, however, wish you the greatest success in your efforts. Thank you again for your interest.

Sincerely,



James A. Dorskind
Special Assistant to the President
Director of Correspondence and
Presidential Messages



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 11/01/94

TO:

LEON PANETTA

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



The attached has been forwarded
to the President.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1994

INFORMATION

94 NOV 1 10:39

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Ireland

We were able to get interagency agreement today on additional \$10 million for each of FY 96 and 97 bringing the total for each year to \$30 million. We spoke to Obey who is fine and Leahy who can live with it but wants to sit down soon with the Administration and figure out from where the money will be cut. We will follow up with him.

In addition, AID came up with an additional \$1 million for a business training program which will be well received.

The increase to \$10 million will please the Irish followers on the Hill and ensure the package the package is well received in Ireland.

You should know that Senator Mitchell has not yet agreed to our proposal on his serving as a Special Adviser. He wants the role to be larger and focus on Ireland in general; we believe it must be limited to economic initiatives. Otherwise, the British will see the effort as a backhanded way to send a special envoy to push them on substantive issues relating to the peace process. In any case, George has asked that we delay the announcement until after the election. We will try to come to closure with him by then. You should be aware that there is a chance his possible role will leak.

Attached for your information is the press release we released today on the announcement.

Tab A Press Announcement

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 1, 1994

SUPPORTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

The United States attaches great importance to the search for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, both in the context of our world-wide commitment to end terrorism and our desire to promote democratic solutions to conflicts. Our close bonds of history, culture and tradition with Ireland and the United Kingdom provide us with a unique role in helping to achieve those goals.

We have encouraged and supported the courageous efforts of Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major to establish a new framework for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. For the first time in a generation, both Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries have declared cease-fires. Each day that passes without terrorism strengthens the hope that the bomb and the bullet are gone for good from the politics of Ireland.

The President has pledged to do all he can to support the building of peace in Northern Ireland. The United States wants to do its part to ensure that peace brings to Ireland new opportunities for job growth and economic prosperity, which in turn will help ensure that this newfound peace is a stable and lasting one.

The promise of peace will allow Americans to build on the strong business, trade, political and cultural links we already enjoy with Ireland, north and south. The United States is the most important source of internationally mobile investment in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. Forty U.S. companies are already operating in Northern Ireland, providing some 9,000 jobs. In addition, the Administration strongly supports the International Fund for Ireland, which funds a broad range of economic and social development projects.

This present opportunity for lasting peace in Ireland is the chance of a generation; it must be seized and supported. The President therefore has directed his Administration to undertake the following initiatives in the coming months to increase our support for the political and economic revitalization of Northern Ireland and the border counties:

White House Conference for Trade and Investment

The President will host a White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The Conference is planned for April 1995 in Philadelphia. He has instructed the Department of State to name a coordinator to work with Secretary Brown and his staff, the International Fund for Ireland, the Irish and British governments and private sector and political groups to organize and support the conference. The President looks forward to participating in this Conference, which will aim to show U.S. companies that sustained peace is dramatically improving business opportunities on the island of Ireland and, particularly, in Northern Ireland and the border counties. American businesses should be in on the ground floor of these new opportunities; this will be good for us and good for Irish peace and reconciliation.

Commerce Secretary Brown to attend Belfast Investment Conference

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown will travel to Belfast in December 1994 to lead the U.S. delegation to Prime Minister Major's Investment Conference for Northern Ireland, where the President has instructed him to identify concrete new opportunities for increased business links between Northern Ireland and the U.S. Secretary Brown will also travel to Dublin for consultations. In both cities, he will prepare the groundwork for the White House Conference for Trade and Investment in Ireland. The President has also asked Secretary Brown to present the new initiatives he identifies at the White House Conference in April.

Increased funding for the IFI

The President is committed to continued strong U.S. support for the International Fund for Ireland. In addition to our planned obligation of almost \$20 million to the Fund in Fiscal Year 1995, we will seek Congressional concurrence to increase IFI funding by an additional \$10 million in Fiscal Year 1996 and in Fiscal Year 1997, for a total of about \$30 million each year. This increase will bring the total commitment of this Administration to the Fund to roughly \$100 million. The IFI has steadily strengthened and adjusted its programs and management over the years. We expect such progress to continue. This additional funding will support the IFI in undertaking the vital new initiatives that are needed to consolidate the gains of peace in Northern Ireland and the border counties and to build cross-community economic and political cooperation. We will work with it to strengthen its programs even further and particularly to address such entrenched problems as the high rates of long-term unemployment in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

Department of Commerce programs

The President has directed the Department of Commerce to

enhance our cooperation with Northern Ireland in science and technology, especially through strengthened collaboration with our Manufacturing Extension Partnerships and other programs to encourage technological innovation. The Commerce Department will also establish a Business Information Center for Trade and Investment and review other ways to promote business opportunities in Northern Ireland and the border counties.

The Department of Commerce will also initiate a business intern training program to bring managers and business technical experts to train with U.S. companies. This program will expedite the learning of advanced management and production skills and begin operating in Fiscal Year 1996 with approximately \$1 million in bilateral economic assistance funds. It will help improve the productive abilities of industry in Northern Ireland and the border counties and will also generate increased business between U.S. firms and companies in Northern Ireland -- creating more jobs both there and here.

USIA programs

The President has instructed the United States Information Agency to expand its programs in Northern Ireland in view of the changing political climate, increasing exchanges of persons as well as planning speakers and seminars on such topics as conflict resolution. In addition, USIA will open its grant competitions in such areas as conflict resolution to allow American non-profit organizations to submit proposals for projects in Northern Ireland to support the momentum for peace and reconciliation.

National Endowment for Democracy

The President will encourage the National Endowment for Democracy, which is presently funding a political party training program in Northern Ireland, to seek additional opportunities to strengthen and expand its programs there.

U.S. Agency for International Development

The President has asked USAID to explore ways to work with the IFI to increase the impact of its business enterprise program on small and micro-enterprises. Thomas A. Dine, USAID Assistant Administrator for Europe and the New Independent States, will travel through Northern Ireland and the border counties beginning November 19 to review existing IFI programs and determine whether approaches used by USAID elsewhere may have application in Northern Ireland.

Trade and Development Agency

The U.S. Trade and Development Agency will lead a technical delegation to Northern Ireland to identify infrastructure and industrial projects that represent mutually beneficial trade and

investment opportunities. Depending upon the findings of the delegation, future activities might include the funding of feasibility studies and/or the sponsorship of reverse trade missions.

A Continuing Commitment

We will continue to look for opportunities to support the efforts of the British and Irish governments and of democratic leaders in Northern Ireland to build on peace. We encourage the millions of Americans who want to contribute to peace in Ireland to do the same.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/31/94

TO: *Sandy Berger, Bo Luttich*
more important

FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary *George S.*
Sandy
Kristoff
Sylvia
Mathews

JP

J O B S
★
G R O W T H
★
W O R K E R
R I G H T S
★
C L E A N
E A R T H

AFL-CIO
Task Force
on Trade

94 OCT 31 All : 17

October 28, 1994

John D. Podesta
Assistant to the President
Staff Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear John:

As promised, enclosed is information on Indonesian human rights leaders. Hopefully, it will prove to be of some value. Please let me know if anything else is needed.

Sincerely,



Mark A. Anderson, Director
Task Force on Trade

Enclosure

MAA/kc
opeiu 2, afl-cio



Asian-American Free Labor Institute

1925 K STREET, N.W., SUITE 301, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • TELEPHONE: 202/778-4500

FAX: 202 7784525

COMPUSERVE: 73353, 1552

CABLE: AAFL DC

EASYLINK: 62903495

LANE KIRKLAND, *PRESIDENT* • THOMAS R. DONAHUE, *SECRETARY-TREASURER* • KENNETH P. HUTCHISON, *EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR*

October 28, 1994

Mr. Mark Anderson
Director, Taskforce on Trade Issues
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

Ref: KPH-6640

Dear Mark:

Per your request, attached is a prioritized list of human rights leaders who administration officials may want to meet with during the APEC conference in Indonesia.

As you know, Valentin B. Suazo, Jr. has worked in international development for 35 years, 20 of those for AAFLI as director in a number of Asian countries, the last 3 years spent directing our programs in Indonesia. The attached list was compiled by Val and his staff in Jakarta. He can be reached at the following address or phones:

Valentin B. Suazo, Jr.
Country Program Director, AAFLI/Indonesia
CIK's Bldg., 2nd Floor
84-86 Cikini Raya, Jakarta 10330
Indonesia
Office Tel: (011-62-21) 336-635; 326-902; 323-408 Ext. 34
Office Fax: (011-62-21) 326-081
Home Phone/Fax: (011-62-21) 799-0072

Please let us know if we can forward any additional information.

With best regards,

Sincerely and fraternally,

for Kenneth P. Hutchison
Executive Director

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**Proposed Human Rights Leaders
For APEC Meeting
(all speak English)**

1. **Mr. Adnan Buyung Nasution, lawyer**
Director, Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH) and prominent human rights campaigner.
2. **Mr. H.J. C. Princen**
Director, Institute for the Defense of Human Rights
Born in Holland, came to Indonesia to fight for Dutch in Indonesia's war of Independence. He switched sides and became national hero in Indonesia, but has been jailed by the Dutch, Sukarno, and Soeharto for human rights activities. Although partially paralyzed by a stroke, he is still very much in the forefront of human and trade union rights advocacy and demonstrations.
3. **Mr. Muchtar Lubis**
Famous writer, publisher, and human rights campaigner, has been jailed and had his newspaper shut down.
4. **Mr. Pramoedya Ananta Toer**
Indonesia's most famous writer, jailed for 14 years on Buru Island and directly credits President Carter for freeing him and other Buru prisoners, now under city arrest in Jakarta. All his books are banned in Indonesia (including *The Fugitive*, *Girl from the Coast*, *This Earth of Mankind*, *Child of All Nations*, *Footsteps*, *House of Glass*). (Also, Pramoedya's editor and publisher, Joesoef Isak and Hasjim Rachman, are former prisoners of Buru Island, but are presently still under city arrest in Jakarta)
5. **Mr. Tohap Simanungkalit, lawyer**
Director of Studies and Research, Indonesian Prosperity Labor Union (SBSI); journalist.
6. **Mr. Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, lawyer**
Director, Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy and prominent human rights campaigner; Former director, Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH) and prominent human rights campaigner.
7. **Mr. Muchtar Pakpahan, lawyer**
National chairman, Indonesian Prosperity Labor Union (SBSI); he is presently on trial, charged in connection with the April riots in the city of Medan.
8. **Mr. Frans Hendra Winarta, lawyer**
Prominent human rights attorney at the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute who has handled several controversial political and human rights cases last year, including 21 students charged with defaming the head of state under an old Dutch law.

TRADE UNION REPRESSION IN INDONESIA



Photo: Jan Ridder

MUCHTAR PAKPAHAN is standing trial in Medan.
The detained leader of Indonesia's only independent trade union,
SBSI, faces a prison sentence of 6 years.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
Boulevard Emile Jacqmain 155, B - 1210 Brussels, Belgium
Tel. 32 2/ 224.02.11 - Fax 32 2/201.58.15 - 203.07.56

October 1994

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Introduction

Repeatedly in recent years, the ICFTU had expressed serious concern about the continuing restrictions on basic trade union rights in Indonesia, and has complained to the International Labour Office (hereinafter: ILO) about the situation. The restrictions include:

- * persistent interference by Government authorities, the military and employers in trade union activities,
- * on-going restrictions in collective bargaining and strike action
- * the denial of the right to organise in free trade unions in the public service, in public undertakings and in enterprises owned fully or partly by the central Government or by regional or local authorities.

The continuing harassment of trade unionists has culminated in a show trial of the leaders of the only independent trade union, the SBSI, who were allegedly involved in the violence which occurred during a strike in April 1994 in Medan when an anti-government demonstration turned into ethnic violence and left one Chinese businessman dead.

The present report shows that it has been government policy to stop workers from organising in free trade unions and that the present trials constitute a flagrant breach of internationally-recognised standards on freedom of association and the right to organise.

The current trade union situation

There is only one registered national trade union centre in the country - the SPSI -which claims to negotiate with employers on behalf of workers. The Government is also on record for only wishing the SPSI and the Indonesian Teachers' Association (PGRI) to function as the officially recognised trade unions. A number of other organisations operate as quasi-unions, and organisations other than the SPSI have been set up in recent years to defend workers' interests.

To bargain collectively, however, registration as a trade union is required, and the Indonesian Government maintains that many professional federations such as the Indonesian Teachers Association (PGRI) and the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) function as unions. In fact, however, such organisations are Government monopolies; professionals have no choice but to join; members cannot bargain over wages and working conditions and annual congresses of these bodies have practically no other option but to endorse government policy.

Army officers are active in mass organisations including unions, on the basis of an official State ideology of "dual functioning" of the army in society ("Dwi Fungsi"), according to which, the country's armed forces should be involved not only in defence issues, but also in the nation's socio-economic development.

According to senior SPSI officials interviewed by the ICFTU, "Military personnel who retire at the age of 55 often look for job opportunities and those with local influence are able to get elected to positions in organisations like the SPSI at regional and branch levels".

Thus a significant number of retired army officers hold leading positions in the trade union movement at local and regional levels with the aim of exercising control over the movement, which clearly is not conducive to free and democratic functioning of the trade union movement.

The fact that the military hold such functions has clear implications for the settlement of labour disputes, which are meant to be mediated primarily at the same local and regional levels. When retired military officers, who hold positions within SPSI structures at these levels, deal with a state administration which in itself is influenced by military structures, the settlement of industrial disputes is not likely to be favourable towards the strikers.

The establishment of a new union

The Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union, the SBSI, was established at a meeting on 24-26 April 1992. The meeting, attended by 104 participants, of whom 88 were factory workers, adopted the new union's programme of action and elected its Central Management Board (Dewan Pengurus Pusat). From its foundation it was open about its intention of trying to organise as many workers as possible so that it could formally register as a union. But it was also clear that the Government had no intention of letting it do so.

Numerous instances of interference by the authorities in the internal affairs of the independent trade union organisation SBSI indicate a pattern of systematic violations by the Government, viz., the right of workers to establish and join organisations of their own choosing; of workers' organisations to draw up their constitutions and rules; of workers' organisations to elect representatives; to organise their administration and activities and to formulate their programmes. (These are all in breach of articles 2 and 3 of the Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (ILO Convention n_ 87).

The SBSI started facing government hostility almost from its inception. On 28 October 1992, the police detained the SBSI General Chairman Muchtar Pakpahan and 8 other SBSI leaders, as well as one foreign diplomat, at a police station, after having disturbed a meeting of the SBSI Central Management Board and a local body of the SBSI in Tangerang, an industrial township 30 km. west of Jakarta.

While the diplomat was released shortly afterwards, the SBSI leaders were detained until the next morning. On the day that the arrests took place, the

SBSI had submitted an application for registration to the Ministry of Home Affairs. The ICFTU believes the two events are directly related.

The SBSI has reported that since it was set up, military officers have been present virtually every day at SBSI offices. Most branch leaders have been intimidated by the military and the police to pressurise them to resign from the union. More than 2,000 workers have reportedly been dismissed for belonging to the SBSI in Tangerang, East Jakarta, North Jakarta, Bogor (West Java), Medan (North Sumatra) and Lampung (South Sumatra).

On 20 April 1993, the SBSI again submitted an application for registration as a trade union, on the grounds that it comprised 75 branches in 27 provinces, with a membership of 36,427. It is still waiting for official recognition.

On July 19 the SBSI, who had invited the President and the Vice-President of the Republic to open their first Congress, had applied for a permit to hold the Congress, but had received no reply from the authorities. On the contrary, the police forced the managers of Taman Mini - the place where the Congress was originally to be held - to cancel the SBSI's reservation. Under Indonesian law, any mass gathering needs to have a police permit.

On 29 July 1993 Congress opened at the Lembah Njiur Hotel in Cisarua, West Java, but was disbanded after forty minutes by soldiers. Earlier that morning, soldiers had occupied the SBSI office and the Lembah Nijur Hotel threatening Congress delegates at gun-point. Delegates were prevented from staying at the hotel, and room keys impounded. Three months later the SBSI sued the National Police Chief for banning this congress.

In the months preceding the Congress, many SBSI members and officials were harassed, dismissed, arrested and detained for varying periods.

On 3 August 1993 the government again refused to recognise the SBSI, saying that the organisation did not represent workers and so could not be considered a labour organisation. On 7 September, the Minister of Manpower said that it would not be considered as a trade union as it was "established by individuals with political motives in mind".

Government officials have also interfered with their efforts to organise in the workplace at local and regional level. In many enterprises, management's first reaction on learning of an attempt to organise an SBSI section is to call in the Manpower Ministry, whose representatives usually immediately attempt to persuade workers, and especially their leaders, to resign from the SBSI and, sometimes, from the enterprise altogether. Concrete cases of official interference in the SBSI's affairs at local level are as follows:

i) A memo from the Southern Cross Textile Company (Jakarta) dated 23 November 1992 states that action will be taken against any worker in the company found to be a member of SBSI or openly or covertly organising for SBSI.

ii) On 2 June 1993, the SBSI Medan branch organised a committee at the PT. Tambaksari Jalorejo sea-food processing plant. The SBSI plant committee elected officers: Sugiono (Chairman), Evendi (Vice-chairman), Umiyati (Vice-chairwoman), Abdul Maha (Secretary), Nurhasanah (Deputy Secretary), Mustafa (Treasurer) and Tuginem (Deputy Treasurer). One week later, on 9 June 1993, an official of the Manpower Ministry visited the plant and attempted to persuade Sugiono to resign from the SBSI and form a SPSI section at the plant instead, which he refused. The official then met the firm's management.

The same day, the seven SBSI leaders at the plant were sacked from their jobs, so the workers went on strike. On 17 June, the SBSI Medan Branch president, Amosi Telaumbanua, and vice-chair, Soniman Lafau, were detained for ten days, assaulted and accused of having masterminded the strike at PT. Tambaksari Jalorejo.

iii) In July 1993, and twice again in the following months, the president of the SBSI Jombang branch, Adi Wiyono, was denied a new Indonesian identity card unless he resigned from the SBSI. This document is of capital importance in all contacts with the state's administration, including the bearer's working life.

iv) On 27 December 1993, in Bandar Lampung, Southern Sumatra, at the Bumi Waras company, an SBSI leadership was elected from amongst the 600 SBSI members at the plant. Later that day, 11 SBSI branch leaders and members were dismissed: Ujang Komara (Chairman), Sontris Wibono (Deputy Chairman), Deliman (Secretary), Asdiana (Deputy Secretary), Sobirin (Treasurer), Hanifah (Deputy Treasurer), Sabirin (Co-ordinator Rajut I), Julianto (Coordinator Rajut II), Ersondy (Coordinator Assoy), as well as Dodi and Umar, both SBSI staff members.

The following month, Ujang Komara, Deliman, Sontris Wibowo and Sabirin were interrogated on a number of occasions and warned by the police and military to resign from the SBSI.

v) A similar event took place at PT. Sinar Laut in Bandar Lampung, where an SBSI section had been established on 27 December 1993. On 6 January 1994, the management dismissed Irwantanto (Chairman), Lita (Secretary) and Nawi (Treasurer).

The SBSI general strike of 11 February 1994

Eventually, the national SBSI leadership decided to call a national general strike for 11 February 1994, to press for the respect of trade union rights and improved living and working conditions. The strike was designed to obtain Government respect for freedom of association, including the removal of Manpower Ministry's regulation PER.O1/MEN/1994 (enforcing the SPSI's monopoly on trade union representation), the establishing of an adequate

minimum wage (of Rp. 7,000/day per person), full recognition of the SBSI. It asked for these demands be met by 1 April.

On 9/10 February 1994, the authorities raided a number of SBSI meetings. At least seventeen SBSI leaders and activists were detained in three cities. The SBSI General Chairman, Muchtar Pakpahan and two senior SBSI officials, Sunarty (SBSI Central Management Board Member) and Trisjanto (a regional SBSI board member) were detained at the police station in Semarang (Central Java; approx. 400 km. east of Jakarta). Police officials told them that they were being held in connection with the SBSI's call for the general strike and they were charged with violations of Indonesia's Penal Code Art. 155, prohibiting dissemination of materials expressing feelings of hostility, hatred or contempt towards the government. This carries a penalty of up to 4 1/2 years in jail.

At least 14 other regional and local SBSI officials were arrested on 9/10 February in Tangerang and Bekasi (West Java), two industrial areas outside Jakarta. In Tangerang the twelve SBSI detainees included the Tangerang SBSI Branch Chairman Raswan and two local activists: Sudjono and Kojaksi. All twelve were reported to have been taken to the city's District Military Command (KODIM Tangerang).

In Bekasi (West Java), 4 activists (Muchsin, Wandu, Lodang and Rohman) were detained and brought for interrogation at the Bekasi police station (POLRES Bekasi). By the end of the day, on 11 February, they were still all detained. Initial reports indicated that the strike had not been successful. In a statement issued on 11 February, the SBSI leadership vowed to continue to press for the full respect of internationally-recognised labour standards in Indonesia.

Practically all SBSI detainees, including Muchtar Pakpahan, were released on 12/13 February. However, the ICFTU is still concerned that, under Indonesian law, all persons released are still likely to be re-arrested at any time and brought to court in order to respond to the initial charges until the latter have been formally dropped. Pakpahan and his colleagues thus still face possible penalties of up to 4 1/2 years in jail. Moreover, Muchsin, Wandu, Lodang and Rohman, the four released SBSI activists from Bekasi (West Java) remained under orders to report to the police twice a week until further notice.

It is clear that the SBSI activists were held in order to crush the general strike planned for 11 February. Conflicting information was reported about the outcome of this industrial action. The government claimed that no work stoppages took place, while the SBSI stated that 750,000 workers took part in the strike. According to the SBSI, over 50 companies were affected in Java and Sumatra, including 12 in Tangerang (East Java, where 14 SBSI members had been arrested), 10 in Surabaya, 13 in Solo and 10 in Semarang. In one enterprise, PT Kenco Furnindo (Tangerang), an SBSI-led strike reportedly forced management to raise wages up to the government-set minimum daily

wage of Rupiahs 3,800 (\$US 1.80), as well as to grant workers transportation allowances.

No violent incidents were reported. However, numerous government and military officials visited factories in Jakarta and Java immediately prior to the strike, appealing to workers to ignore the SBSI call for a work-stoppage. The Director General for Industrial Relations and Labour Standards at the Manpower Ministry, Mr. Soewarto, denied that officials were sent to intimidate the workers, saying that they were merely dispatched to convey the message that strikes were disruptive to national stability and the economy (Jakarta Post, 12 February). He also denied that strikes reported in various cities had anything to do with the SBSI's call for the general strike.

Another official branded the SBSI demand for an increase of the minimum wage to Rp. 7,000 as unrealistic, and the Central Java Governor Soewardi stated that. "Muchtar's demand is not rational and the strike call is aimed solely at agitating workers against the government". The Manpower Minister, Mr. Abdul Latief called the SBSI strike appeal "agitation and propaganda, which would only cause losses for the workers, entrepreneurs, society and the government". At the same time, the government embarked on a major public relations exercise, claiming 97.4% of Jakarta companies now abided by the government's minimum wage, and that those who did not were being prosecuted. This contradicts ICFTU information that in nearly all the 200 strikes which took place in the country throughout 1993 and in the two first months of 1994, payment of the minimum wage featured at the top of the workers' demands.

The Medan strike of 14 April 1994

On Thursday, 14 April 1994, several thousand workers went out on strike and took part in mass demonstrations in the North Sumatran city of Medan, Indonesia's fourth largest city, and in the nearby port of Belawan. Armed police and soldiers were used to disperse the demonstrators. More than a hundred people were reported to have been arrested; over two dozen, including a number of trade union leaders, were taken into police and army custody. There were fears for their safety as torture is routine for anyone arrested during such actions.

Strikes involving up to 40,000 workers reportedly took place in many factories located in the Medan Industrial Complex, ten kilometers from the city; in the Belawan port area 19 miles to the south; and in Binjai, also south of the city. During a strike of 600 workers in Pematang Siantar, 75 miles south-east of Medan, seven women workers were injured when protesters clashed with the police.

The striking workers in Medan gathered peacefully in the city's main square on the first day of the action; their ranks quickly swelled to over 25,000.

They were demanding a more equitable minimum wage and freedom of association. Many carried SBSI banners.

They were also protesting against the death on 12 March 1994 of Rusli, a 22-year-old SBSI member, who died while he was leading a strike, and whose battered body was recovered from the river a day later. Rusli fell or jumped into the river after being severely beaten by police who attacked hundreds of people striking for higher wages, and used tear-gas to disperse them. Rusli worked at a rubber factory, PT Industri Karet Deli, which produces sandals and tyres.

Since early March 1994, industries in the city and surrounding regions had been paralysed by strikes involving tens of thousands of workers. On some days, as many as 30,000 workers were reportedly on strike in different factories. Many of the strikes were organised by local branches of the SBSI which the government refused to recognise.

On Friday, 15 April 1994, the regional military commander, Major-General R. Pranowo, announced a ban on all demonstrations. The Medan military commander, Lieut-Col. Agus Ramadan said he had "four battalions (about 2,600 men) of police and military personnel on alert to deal with the disturbances". The next day, President Suharto ordered 'firm action' against the protesters and declared: "The government will not tolerate violence". He accused the workers of being led 'by people using the moment for their political interests'.

Despite all the warnings, protests continued on 18/19 April, and many people were taken into custody, including Riswan Lubis, Secretary-General of the Medan branch of SBSI and Hayati, the branch treasurer. Another SBSI activist, Amosi Telanbuana, was sought by the police. All were later charged.

In Jakarta, the SBSI's Secretary-General told the press that the main purpose of the strike was to fight for more freedom of association, including recognition of the SBSI. Meanwhile the SBSI called on the government to pay more attention to workers' problems.

Organised labour in Jakarta and other parts of the country had been warned by local military commands not to take solidarity actions in support of the workers in Medan.

The Aftermath of the Medan Strike

The strikes which started on 14 April in an orderly fashion, subsequently degenerated into anti-Chinese riots in which an ethnic Chinese factory owner died and about 150 Chinese-owned stores were destroyed, and banks and businesses ransacked. According to reliable sources the rallies

were entirely peaceful until the security forces attacked and arrested protesters. It appears that the violence was deliberately engineered with a view to "de-politicising" the demonstrations, thus allowing the authorities to focus largely on violence and destruction and detracting attention from the workers' legitimate demands.

Labour activists rightly feared at the time that the events in Medan would trigger a military clampdown on future strikes, in spite of the repeal in January 1994 of a regulation legitimising military intervention in labour disputes. Moreover, other laws authorising this intervention remain in place. Reportedly the majority of strikes in Indonesia continue to be broken up through intervention of the security forces.

When questioned on 16 April by the police in Semarang, the SBSI chairman Muchtar Pakpahan declared that the mass protests launched on 14 April were an initiative of the SBSI branch in Medan, jointly with a number of local NGO's. He acknowledged that his organisation had been behind the initial labour protest and its demands but denied instigating the ensuing violence. He said the workers' rallies in Medan and the surrounding areas had been used by others, including local thugs, to manipulate the strike and create riots with racial overtones. The SBSI also believe that the event was hijacked by provocateurs who played on tensions between the Indonesian workers and the minority Chinese who dominate the local economy.

This did not prevent the Government from singling out the SBSI as the main perpetrator of the riots and accusing it of having masterminded the demonstrations. Mr Suwanto, Director General for Industrial Relations and Labour Standards said the Medan rallies were illegal and the organisers should be prosecuted. In turn, the army claimed the SBSI was responsible for fomenting "race riots" and vandalism.

More than 100 people were reportedly arrested in connection with the events in Medan and the surrounding areas, including Amosi Telaumbanua, chairman SBSI-Medan, Fatiwanolo Zega, Deputy Secretary, SBSI-Medan, Hayati, Treasurer, SBSI-Medan, Riswan Lubis, Secretary, SBSI-Medan, Soniman Lafao, Vice-chairman, SBSI-Medan, as well as Ardin Zega (from PT Gunung Gahapi Sakti), Ridwan (from PT Unibis) and Sudiaman Zega. In addition, nineteen SBSI local leaders and activists were arrested on 26 April in Medan and charged with conspiracy against the Government. Following his arrest in mid-August 1994, SBSI Chairman Pakpahan and other leaders of his organisation are now on trial for having called the Medan strikes (see next section: *The Medan Trials*).

According to ICFTU information the military authorities have been stepping up pressure on the SBSI since then. Their offices in several parts of the country have been placed under close military surveillance. (On 27 April, the members of an ICFTU/APRO mission was harassed by security officers (Kodim) when they were visiting the SBSI's branch office in Tangerang. They were told to produce their passports, visas, and permission for their

activities in Indonesia). On 24 April, police broke up SBSI anniversary celebrations in Jakarta saying the meeting was illegal since the organisation lacked a permit to conduct a gathering of more than five people.

On 25 April, the Ministry announced that the SBSI had been banned and that by "the issuance of the ban the SBSI was prohibited from carrying out any kind of activity". After instructing the Ministry's regional administrations and making the prohibition known to the security authorities throughout Indonesia, Mr Subrata, Secretary General of the Home Affairs Ministry was reported saying "It is up to the security officers to act if the union ignores the ban".

The main point of contention - next to the workers' demands - was the unexplained death of 22-year old Rusli, a worker of PT Industri Karet Deli, after he took part in a strike that was broken when troops were sent in.

The Medan Trials

The government has been organising show trials of SBSI leaders allegedly involved in the violence during the strike. All are being charged with "inciting workers", although the indictments do not seem to specify what they might have been inciting the workers to do. The trial took on an international dimension with the arrest of SBSI chairman, Muchtar Pakpahan, on 13 August, currently on trial in Medan. His lawyers have complained that his arrest was in breach of the country's law and practice. In particular, they pointed out that it was unusual to arrest a presumed offender as long as he responded to summons to appear before a court. In the event, Pakpahan had already flown three times in as many weeks to Medan, for a total of five days of questioning in relation to the Medan events.

On 2 August, the ICFTU wrote to the ILO about the continuous detention of all the SBSI Medan branch leaders, including Riswan Lubis (secretary), Hayati (treasurer), Amosi Telaumbanua (chairman), Soniman Lafau (vice chairman) and Fatiwanolo Zega (vice secretary). The trials in Medan of the last four are still continuing. Hayati appeared in court on 2 August, and SBSI activist Andian Zega on 4 August. In the meantime, Medan SBSI leaders Fatiwanolo Zega and Soniman Lafau are still detained awaiting trial.

The trials of the Medan SBSI branch

As of early October 1994, five SBSI Medan branch executive members were still on trial: Amosi Telaumbanua, 33 years old, chairman of the SBSI branch in Medan, Hayati, 22 years old, the branch treasurer, Riswan Lubis, 26 years old, Secretary, Fatiwanolo Zega, Deputy Secretary and Soniman Lafau, Deputy chairman. Amosi, Hayati, Riswan and presumably Fatiwanolo and Soniman as well, are all being charged under Article 160 of the Criminal Code which allows a sentence of up to six years for "inciting others to engage in punishable offences, to oppose the authorities by means of violence, or to incite them not to comply with the law or legal order issued in accordance with the law". In other words, although under Indonesian law

it is not illegal to strike, it is now in effect an offence to organise a strike and call on co-workers to take action in defence of their rights.

At the beginning of October 1994, their situation was as follows. Amosi's and Soniman's trials were still at the stage of hearing witnesses. Riswan's verdict was due for 6 October (though a postponement was possible); the prosecution had asked for one year in jail; Hayati's verdict was due on 13 October; the prosecution had asked for one year also. Fatiwanolo's trial was also under way; the prosecution was to do its summing up and demand of sentence on 11 October.

The ICFTU is also concerned about the circumstances of three NGO activists involved in the defence of workers' rights and also under arrest: Maiyasyak Johan, a human rights lawyer who is associated with the Lembaga Advokat Anak Indonesia, the Child Advocacy Unit and Janes Hutahean, of the Yayasan Pondok Rakyat Kreatif, the Creative People's Foundation, both arrested in June; and Parlin Manihuruk, of the Yayasan Kelompok Pelita Sejahtera, the Group for a Prosperous Way, arrested on 18 September. All these NGOs are active on the question of workers' rights and were involved with organising the workers' action in Medan on 14 April and the following days. In protest at his arrest, Maiyasyak immediately started a hunger strike and refused to answer any questions.

Peaceful protest a criminal offence

The indictment against Amosi Telaumbanua whose trial opened at the Medan District Court on 24 August, accuses him, in cooperation with the other leaders of the branch and NGO activists, of calling out the workers [it does not say what they were called out to do], of displaying posters calling on workers to go on strike and take part in a demonstration in support of workers' demands for higher wages. He is accused of attending several preparatory meetings during the twelve days leading up to 14 April, meetings, which were attended by dozens of workers from various factories.

The prosecutor also accused Amosi of distributing leaflets to workers on the day before the action and of organising 25 people to make posters and banners at his home or at the office of the SBSI branch. The indictment goes on to spell out the way in which Amosi led the workers on their march to the provincial governor's office, held up posters and banners and made use of a loudspeaker during the march. Together with 22 other workers, he tried to meet the governor and when this was refused, he got up onto a wall and, speaking through a loudspeaker, said: "Now you know what was said to your delegates. It's up to you to go home or remain here for the rest of the day".

The indictments against the other branch leaders follow much the same pattern. Each of the defendants was called as a prosecution witness to testify in their colleagues' trials though their testimony actually supports the defendant.

Use of "Agents provocateurs"

In June, the head of the North Sumatra public prosecutor's office in Medan, Martin Basiang, agreed that there was no evidence as yet that the SBSI either masterminded or encouraged the attacks on property that occurred during the demonstration in Medan on 14 April, and that he recognised that there were many non-workers among the rioters.

A number of sources, including labour sources interviewed by the ICFTU in Indonesia, have alleged that military officers were involved in the demonstrations, acting as "agents provocateurs". Moreover, according to one report, local gangsters publicly admitted having been paid by the police to stir-up anti-Chinese feelings. Soldiers also confessed to having infiltrated the protest movement. These are not new tactics - back in March '94, an army lieutenant in civilian clothing was picked out by a video camera shouting anti-government slogans such as "Suharto Bubarkan", ("Suharto resign!").

An investigation by two teams of lawyers, from the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation [YLBHI] and the Forum of Labour Advocates has also found that the attacks on property were the result of provocation by third parties. They said that several people claiming to be factory workers came to the house of a labour activist on the morning of 15 April urging him to "hold a violent strike". "What's strange is that these people were not found among the workers who were arrested", the Jakarta Post reported on 7.9.1994.

The Opening Trials in August

The opening of Riswan Lubis' trial on 8 August 1994 was marked by a solidarity demonstration outside the courthouse. Dozens of people from several human rights NGOs, from the Forum of Labour Advocates in Jakarta and from Medan protested against the trial because they were convinced that Lubis was not guilty of breaking any laws. After presenting their views to an official of the court, the demonstrators dispersed peacefully.

SBSI chairman, Muchtar Pakpahan, was in court at the time, along with the team of defence lawyers. There have since been hints that the authorities may hold him responsible for this peaceful demonstration and may even include this among their charges against him.

In Jakarta, dozens of human rights activists held a demonstration at the Public Prosecutors Office on 31 August, protesting against the arrest and forthcoming trial of Muchtar Pakpahan. They made public an open letter to the Public Prosecutor stressing that holding a strike cannot be used as the reason for an arrest. Law No 13 of 1969 stipulates that strikes, demonstrations and lockouts are regulated by law and that workers are entitled to organise strikes and demonstrations.

Workers charged for rioting

Meanwhile, 77 workers are being tried or are awaiting trial on charges of criminal damage. They were arrested on 14 or 15 April and the charges relate to the rioting that broke out after the workers' action had ended. The workers are being tried in groups.

In some of the trials, the defendants withdrew powers of attorney they had already given to lawyers from the local legal aid institute, giving the impression that they had been under pressure not to use these lawyers. On one occasion, ten workers who were being tried in four separate trials (in groups of threes and twos) that commenced on the same day all withdrew the powers of attorney they had given before the trial.

So far ICFTU sources, notably the London-based Indonesia Human Rights Foundation, (TAPOL), have been able to monitor the verdicts for seven of these workers : Arifin, 18 years old, sentenced to 20 months; Irawadi, 24, sentenced to 18 weeks; Jamian Marpaung, 36, sentenced to 5 months; Mulyadi, 24, sentenced to 20 months; Nobel Samosir, 22, sentenced to 20 months; Ridwan Lubis, 22, sentenced to 5 months; Sugiono, 20 months, Usahanta Ginting, 20 months.

A team of fifty or so lawyers has been formed to handle the dozens of trials in Medan. The lawyers include Adnan Buyung Nasution of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), Harjono Tjitrosoebono of the bar association, Ikadin, and Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara of the Social Advocacy and Study Institute (ELSAM). A number of lawyers from the Medan Legal Aid Institute (LBH) are also members of the team.

Muchtar Pakpahan's trial

The trial in Medan of SBSI chairman Muchtar Pakpahan, which had been scheduled to commence on 21 September, was unexpectedly brought forward at the last minute to 19 September. Pakpahan was charged under art. 160 of the Penal Code, carrying a maximum sentence of 6 years' detention (see above) and Art. 161, covering "incitement in writing", carrying a maximum penalty of 4 years in jail.

The trial started under heavy security. More than 1,500 troops and police had been deployed across the heavily-industrialised city to guard against possible demonstrations triggered by the trial. Pakpahan was led into the court building by dozens of plain-clothed security officers who hustled foreign journalists and tried to prevent them from taking photographs. Earlier, the road to the court had been blocked-off by police forces. Hundreds of people waited outside the court.

At the opening of the trial, the Medan District Court Prosecutor, G. Marbun, said Pakpahan was to answer two charges of inciting workers in the lead up to Indonesia's worst riots in years. According to the indictment, which was read out by Marbun but withheld at that stage from the defendant's lawyers, "the accused engaged in activities in Medan aimed at inciting workers and helping the SBSI in Medan to hold demonstrations."

"There is evidence that Pakpahan gave courses and bribed workers. The accused also produced writings which incited people to make criminal actions," Marbun added. He also said that Pakpahan's comments earlier this year that Manpower Minister Abdul Latief was not taking any notice of workers' rights were "provocative". According to the Prosecutor, Pakpahan had also manipulated workers by saying the SBSI was legal and that they had the right to strike if negotiations with employers over wages and working conditions broke down. Lawyers for Pakpahan complained they were not given a copy of his indictment. They also said a suit they filed against Medan police for allegedly arresting Pakpahan unlawfully in Jakarta last August should have been heard before his trial.

Before proceedings started on the first day of the trial, Pakpahan said he would not continue unless his mother was allowed in. The court-room was packed and many seats were occupied by plain-clothes security officers, but the defendant's mother had not been allowed to attend. After Pakpahan's protests, his mother was allowed inside.

At the second hearing, on 22 September, Pakpahan collapsed as he was presenting his demurrer, challenging the legality of the trial. He slumped in his chair and had to be rushed to hospital. Observers had earlier noted that he had looked unfit during the first hearing, although a medical team had found him well enough to go on trial. His request for a medical examination on the day before the hearing was ignored. While in hospital, Pakpahan rejected medical advice to undergo surgery in order to clear breathing problems, as he felt that would delay trial proceedings.

Following his illness, Pakpahan returned to court on 29 September to reject charges he incited workers to riot in Medan. "I reject being tried in Medan because I did not incite workers to demonstrate. At that time, I was in Jakarta", he told the court. "If any action is brought against me it should take place in Jakarta, because I am the head of the SBSI which is based in Jakarta", he added. Apparently, the court refused to give suit.

Meanwhile, the defence team had obtained details of Pakpahan's indictment. It reads like a virtual record of Pakpahan's activities since the SBSI was established in 1992. According to ICFTU sources, the indictment alleges:

- that Pakpahan set up an SBSI Branch in Medan in August 1992, composed of "problem workers" who had been dismissed;
- that he held a "training course" for 100 workers in Pematang Siantar at which he talked about the right to strike and the army's brutal intervention in labour disputes, "insinuating" that they should join the SBSI;
- that he held a meeting in December 1993 at the SBSI office in Medan where he called on the workers to go on strike and demonstrate against inadequate wages and said that police permission was unnecessary;

- that he issued a circular on 29 January 1994 arguing that the Manpower Minister had acted against the law by issuing a decree only recognising the SPSI, and calling on SBSI members throughout the country to down tools for an hour in protest;
- that he convened a meeting on 2 April in Medan where he "inflamed passions", urging workers to take part in SBSI demonstrations;
- that he prepared a speech for the union's second anniversary calling for workers to be freed from arbitrary curbs so as to achieve better conditions; these documents were "incitements" to workers to commit criminal actions or not to obey the law [the celebration, in Jakarta, was dispersed and Pakpahan did not attend];
- that, in Jakarta on 14 April 1994, he was kept informed by phone of the demonstration under way in that city.

The Medan trials and international law

On the basis of the elements above, as well as the indictments against other members and leaders of the SBSI, the ICFTU is concerned that the authorities have put Muchtar Pakpahan and his colleagues from the Medan Branch on trial solely for the legitimate exercise of their internationally-guaranteed trade union rights.

The indictments in the Medan trials make it clear that the charges relate to normal, peaceful action undertaken when workers go on strike to improve their working conditions. There is no mention of the anti-Chinese rioting and property damage. The trials are a blatant move to criminalise strikes and other trade union activities, a flagrant breach of international labour standards, including Convention N° 87 of the International Labour Organisation. Furthermore, the right to strike is guaranteed by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Art. 8 (d)).

Although neither of the two instruments have been ratified by Indonesia, the ICFTU considers that the Government of Indonesia is bound by both for the following reasons: by virtue of its membership of the ILO, it is forced to implement the internationally-agreed principles on Freedom of Association, as specified in ILO Convention 87. Secondly, Indonesia was present and agreed when the World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna (Austria) in June 1993, adopted its Final Declaration and Programme of Action. In a special section on trade union rights, the World Conference called on all Governments to abide by international trade union rights, specifically referring in this process to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Vienna Declaration, paragraph 77).

Beyond the issue of strikes, the elements of Pakpahan's indictment mentioned above would, should he be sentenced on this basis, constitute clear breaches of ILO Convention N° 87, which guarantees the right for all workers (and employers), "without distinction whatsoever" to

- "establish and, subject only to the rules of the organisation concerned, to join organisations of their own choosing without previous authorisation. (Art. 2)

- *Workers' ... organisations shall have the right to ... organise their administration and activities and to formulate their programmes.* (Art. 3 §1)
- *The public authorities shall refrain from any interference which would restrict this right or impede lawful exercise thereof.* (Art. 3 §2)
- *Workers' ... organisations shall not be liable to be dissolved or suspended by administrative authority.* (Art. 4).

With respect to Indonesia's domestic legislation governing the registration, activities and programmes of trade unions as well as laws and regulations pertaining to public order, the ICFTU observes that ILO Convention N°87 stipulates that "in exercising the rights provided for in this Convention workers ... and their ... organisations, like other persons or organised collectivities, shall respect the law of the land (Art 8 §1). However, the same article also specifically indicates that "the law of the land shall not be such as to impair, nor shall it be so applied as to impair, the guarantees provided for in this Convention (Art. 8 §2).

Repression continues unabated

Tangerang

In the Tangerang area the SBSI is facing continuous harassment and intimidation from the authorities, the employers and the military. For example pressure was put on SBSI activists to resign from their organisation or else lose their jobs. SBSI plant level leaders I Cang and Suryadi from PT Mega Warna were taken into custody by the local military unit - KODIM - in early June, accused of belonging to a communist organisation and interrogated with electric devices. Mulyadi, vice-chairman of the SBSI Solo branch employed by PT Golden Overseas Textil, and F.X. Setiawan, employed by YBKS, a non-governmental organisation close to SBSI, were also dismissed on account of SBSI membership.

PT Sumatra Tobacco Trading Company (STTC NV), in Pematang Siantar

Severe repression was used to quell another industrial dispute at a cigarette and match factory owned by PT Sumatra Tobacco Trading Company (STTC NV) in Pematang Siantar (North Sumatra). The conflict spread quickly to three other factories in the same industrial compound also owned by PT STTC NV. According to ICFTU sources, it started on 1 June 1994, when workers protested against the non-payment of wages. When they were paid on the next day, the amounts were not in accord with the daily wage and overtime pay fixed in the relevant collective labour agreement. Wages range from Rp 90,000 to Rp 150,000 a month (US\$ 30 to 50).

On 3 June, workers met the management but reached no agreement so they staged a sit-in outside the office. Without warning, security guards attacked them with sticks and knives. Eight people were injured and taken to hospital. A few hours later virtually all the workers at the four companies (about 6,000 people) walked out,

demanding an end to the violence. Senior officers from the local district military command arrived and a worker, Abdul Siagian, was arrested. The workers then marched to the police command calling for his release.

On 4 June, the workers went on strike and on 6 June the 6,000 workers marched to the local office of the Department of Labour, the local police station and the military command demanding his release. On 7 June they held another rally outside the police station but he remained in custody.

The next day the workers went back to work but a worker named Effendi Simbolon was taken away by a plainclothes military after a scuffle, which led to further clashes with security guards. Some 3,000 workers then occupied the factory for 30 hours while troops blockaded the factory making it impossible for the workers to leave. The compound was surrounded by troops.

Early on 9 June, a military helicopter transporting an anti-terrorist squad landed in the factory compound. Later, anti-terrorist troops backed by other security units attacked the workers, causing many injuries, in an unprecedented level of violence. Two hundred workers were detained. All but thirteen of them were released, but while in detention they were reportedly maltreated, i.e. kicked, given electric shocks and beaten with sticks or rifle-butts.

The following were reportedly still under arrest in Pematang Siantar:

Abdul Ikhwan Siagian, Effendi Simbolon, Helen Sigalingging, Tobasan Siregar, Sardin Saragih, Rosmawati Sipayung, Kolil Siregar, all STTC employees; Roince Sagala, SSU employee and SBSI member, Togar Marbun, STTC employee and SBSI member; Khairiani Lubis, SSU employee and deputy secretary of the SBSI Pematang Siantar branch, Roslince Nainggolan, SSU employee and SBSI member; Hotmauli Situmorang, SSU employee; Roncen Purba, lawyer and vice-chair of the SBSI Pematang Siantar legal aid group

In addition, Sari Dasmeria Purba, a woman activist of a labour NGO, was also reportedly detained in connection with these events. We understand furthermore that police and military have lately been looking for Daulat Sihombing (secretary of the SBSI branch in Pematang Siantar) for his role in the strike at PT STTC. All the above-mentioned men and women are likely to be charged and tried.

Further Restrictions on workers' freedom

The local authorities have put further measures in place to control workers and to prevent them from establishing organisations of their own choosing:

- * military security officials now have to vet workers' applications for identification documents;
- * cars and pick-ups transporting workers to or from work have to be followed by military vehicles, thus rendering union activities impossible even outside working hours;

* workers visiting detained colleagues in jail are interrogated by the military and pressured to resign from their jobs.

Trade unionists murdered

(i) The abduction, torture and murder of Marsinah

The case of Marsinah, a young female labour activist at the PT Catur Putra Surya (CPS) watch factory in Porong, Sidoarjo (East Java), who was murdered in May 1993 after her involvement in a strike, serves as a good illustration of the authorities' and employers sometimes ruthless manner of dealing with industrial disputes, and also cast doubts on the government's willingness to bring all those responsible to justice. Procedural mismanagement of the case, manipulation of the official investigation and pressure on those accused of involvement in the murder provoked an strong outburst of public criticism both in Indonesia and abroad. The case has become a major international embarrassment for the Government.

On 5 May 1993 at about 4:30 pm, a group of CPS managers met in the office of the plant's director, Yudi Susanto, and decided that Marsinah, who had written a letter protesting the dismissal of thirteen of her CPS colleagues, should be eliminated. These thirteen had taken and/or organised industrial action to demand that their daily meal allowance to be included in the regular wage, which would roughly correspond to a 20% increase, bringing the daily wage to the equivalent of \$US 1.20. Independent sources allege that earlier, the workers had been visited and threatened by a military official, Captain Kusaeri, commander of the Porong subdistrict military command, who presented the workers with the alternative of voluntary resignation or indictment for "illegal meetings" and "incitement to strike".

That evening, a CPS security guard named Suprpto went to the dormitory where Marsinah lived and asked her out to eat. He took her on his motorcycle, and stopped close to a CPS company-car parked at an intersection. In the car sat Ayib alias Karyonowongso, CPS Head of Production, Babang Wuryantoro, CPS general supervisor, Captain Kusaeri, and two others. Marsinah was told she was being driven to Yudi Susanto's house on Jalan Psupita 8, Surabaya, to discuss her letter. She was gagged and bound and was detained at Susanto's house for three days, without food nor water.

She was also severely beaten and repeatedly raped. According to one defendant in the case, Suw the chief of the security guards at CPS, Yudi Susanto himself raped Marsinah while she was held at his house, and ordered Suw and three other guards to torture the young woman by beating her with an iron bar and batons and thrusting a stick into her vagina. "I saw her private parts were bleeding and swollen", Suw reportedly told the Sidoarjo Criminal Court on 29 November 1993.

On 7 May, she was taken by car, apparently on Ayib's orders, to Nganjuk, East Java, approx. 200 km. from Porong, and strangled; however, some reports claim that the autopsy established hemorrhage as the cause of death. According to

witnesses' reports, Yudi Susanto ordered his men to insert a stick into her body, so as to make the murder appear as rape-murder rather than a labour-related case.

(ii) The authorities' investigation

Several months later, on 1 October 1993, 8 or 9 CPS directors and staff were detained by officials in civilian dress, acting without arrest warrants. Those detained included Mrs. Mutiari, Head of Personnel at CPS, who was accused by co-defendants of attending CPS management meetings where Marsinah's fate was sealed, a charge she vehemently denied. Others detained included Ayib Karyonowongso, Babang Wuryantoro, Yudi Susanto, Suprpto, a member of the CPS quality control team, as well as Agus and Sugianto, two security guards at CPS. It is not clear whether CPS security guards Suw, Wid, Sup, Bam and Pra, who later appeared as court witnesses were also among those detained in early October.

Several violations of Indonesia's Criminal Procedure Code were reportedly involved in the detention of the above, including their arrests without warrants by unidentified officials and their incommunicado detention for nineteen days. A reputable human rights lawyer, Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, described it as "the police kidnapping the company staff".

(iii) The trial

The trial opened on or around 3 November 1993. The charges included abduction, torture, murder and aiding and abetting.

As soon as the trial opened, the public and lawyers were dumbfounded by the striking similarity in the defendants' testimonies. Lawyers claimed that the conditions of detention of the alleged murderers and their accomplices had paved the way for a cover-up of the military's role in Marsinah's death. They said the defendants' statements clearly indicated that these had been carefully prepared; some defendants claimed that they were pressured by their army interrogators about the evidence they should give in court. One lawyer commented that the evidence was "so detailed that it's difficult not to believe that this story was concocted".

Eventually, the court handed down stiff prison sentences to most of the accused, as follows:

Yudi Susanto, CPS Director: 17 years;
 Ayib alias Karyonowongso, CPS Head of Production: 13 years;
 Babang Wuryantoro, CPS General Supervisor: 12 years;
 Mutiari, Head of Personnel at CPS, 7 months;
 Suprpto, member of the CPS quality control team: 12 years;
 Widyat, CPS security guard: 12 years;
 Suwono, CPS security guard: 12 years;

Kusaeri (Captain), Commander Porong military subdistrict: 9 months;
 Proyogi, CPS security guard: 12 years;
 Yudi Astono, CPS security guard: 4 years

ICFTU sources stated that the verdicts were viewed with much skepticism in Indonesia, and that even the state-sponsored National Commission on Human Rights had expressed doubts. Other sources alleged that an earlier statement by that Commission, critical of the Marsinah case and its treatment by the judiciary, had previously been vetted and edited by the country's armed forces' leadership.

(iv) Responsibility of military officers involved in Marsinah's death

The implication of the military in the case illustrates the close connections in Indonesia between employers and the authorities. While the payment of money by the CPS enterprise to military officers seems to be established, the word "collusion" describes such connections even better. According to one report by Asia Watch, Captain Kusaeri admitted having been paid sums of money each month by the director of PT Catur Putra Surya. Moreover, Captain Sugeng, member of the intelligence unit of the Sidoarjo district command, was reportedly paid Rp. 250,000 (\$US 125) for his role in firing the thirteen workers at CPS. ICFTU sources expect to see Captain Sugeng indicted before a military court, and his superior, the KODIM commander, transferred.

Indonesian human rights circles believe that the military's role may have been even more extensive than has been officially revealed. In particular, they allege that the nineteen-day incommunicado detention of the CPS directors and staff was designed to allow the military to thoroughly cover-up their responsibility, on the basis of false confessions extorted from those detained. Several sources believe the officials arresting Mutiari and her colleagues belonged to military intelligence, not the police. In the following weeks, a number of key officials of military intelligence were transferred out of the area in order to protect them from media and from human rights groups' questions and investigations.

It is said that a lawyer for one of the CPS staff received threatening telephone calls when he made it known that he was going to argue for the dismissal of his client's case on the basis of the above information. Captain Kusaeri is believed to be still detained and has or will be tried by a military court, the proceedings of which are not accessible to the public. According to the ICFTU's information, although his direct responsibility in the murder is in little doubt, he will be tried not on murder-related charges, but for having failed to report illegal acts to his superiors.

And what of the fate of the thirteen workers dismissed by CPS for their involvement in the May 1993 strike? According to one report by Amnesty

International, the thirteen were not only fired, but also arrested, and Marsinah's abduction took place after she had enquired at local military headquarters about their whereabouts. However, other sources state that the thirteen workers were promised "jobs in other places" by military officials. ICFTU human rights sources indicate that the thirteen workers have indeed disappeared from the Sidoarjo area.

(v) The murder of Titi Sugiarti

The ICFTU received reports of the murder of the female labour activist Mrs Titi Sugiarti, 23 years, whose body was found on 30 April in a waste pond near her factory PT Kahatex in Bandung where she was employed since 1989. She is the third labour activist to be killed after Mrs Marsinah and Mr Rusli. Two weeks before she died Mrs Titi Sugiarti was known to be active in planning a strike for higher wages and social security benefits. An autopsy suggested that she had been tortured before being murdered.

According to the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH), there have recently been several cases of other labour activists disappearing under mysterious circumstances.

Conclusions

Repeatedly over the last few years, the Government of Indonesia has been requested by the Committee on Freedom of Association and the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Organisation to respect its obligations in the field of trade union rights. This has had little or no effect, and the ICFTU has continued to identify countless cases of violations of trade union rights:

- * *only the officially-recognised workers' organisation, SPSP, is able to bargain collectively with the employers;*
- * *all efforts of the independent trade union organisation, SBSI, to obtain legal registration have been thwarted by the Government; the latter also disbanded the founding Congress of the SBSI as soon as it opened, in Jakarta, on 29 July 1993; the SBSI had earlier formally applied for a police permit to hold this important statutory activity;*
- * *in the months preceding the Congress, SBSI members and office-bearers were harassed, dismissed, arrested and detained for varying periods; since that time, SBSI activists and leaders at all levels continue to face hostility from the administration of the state, the army and employers alike;*

* in particular, SBSI leaders and members appear to be systematically arrested whenever a major strike is under preparation. For example, 17 unionists were arrested and detained for several days in February 1994 in Tangerang, Semarang and Bekasi; the charges against them have not yet been dropped.

* the armed forces have continued to intervene on a regular basis in industrial disputes; on several occasions using threats and/or violence against the workers;

* excessive use of force against peaceful industrial action - including full-scale attacks on factories by airborne troops supported on the ground by heavily armed riot-squads or other crowd-control units - has been documented, for instance in the June 9, 1994 attack of striking workers at the Sumatra Tobacco Trading company in Pematang Siantar;

* the Government of Indonesia is also ultimately responsible for numerous instances of beatings and torture of protesting workers by the military or the police that have been reported; for instance, the workers' rights activists of PT Mega Warna, were interrogated using electric devices in June 1994;

* at least three independent workers' activists, Marsinah, Rusli and Titi Sugiarti, met a violent death following their involvement in industrial disputes or other peaceful protests by workers; available evidence strongly suggests that the authorities, especially members of the armed forces, may be connected to these deaths, or that they have failed to take proper remedy action and/or to compensate the relatives of the victims;

* provocation and excessive use of force transformed the legitimate, peaceful workers' protests of April 1994 in Medan into bloody riots; evidence suggests that the authorities were intent from the start on making the workers' strike and demonstrations degenerate into open confrontation, in an effort to crush all attempts at independent union organising and, in effect, destroy a nascent, nation-wide trade union organisation, the SBSI;

* at the same time, the authorities have so far provided no credible evidence to substantiate the charges of "incitement" against Muchtar Pakpahan and the other SBSI office-bearers; on the contrary, all available evidence suggests that there is no connection between the SBSI and the riots that came after the SBSI-led strike, and that they are being tried solely for leading legitimate industrial action.

Recommendations

The ICFTU therefore recommends the Government of Indonesia to take the following steps:

- *release immediately and unconditionally all detained SBSI leaders, activists and supporters detained as a result of industrial action and about whom there is no solid evidence of any connection with criminal acts.*
 - *recognise, formally and without delay, the independent trade union organisation SBSI and allow it to function freely, in accordance with internationally-agreed labour standards, such as Conventions 87 and 98 of the International Labour Organisation and other relevant international legal instruments;*
 - *lift all restrictions against freedom of association, the right to organise and the right to bargain collectively, in accordance with the relevant requests and suggestions of the International Labour Office;*
 - *ensure, in particular, that military structures and officials refrain from intervening in industrial disputes;*
 - *ensure that the physical and psychological integrity of all citizens, including independent trade unionists, be protected at all times, in line with international human rights standards.*
-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 OCT 13 P 6 : 06

October 13, 1994

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Representative Henry Waxman

DATE: Next few days

RECOMMENDED BY: Secretary Donna Shalala
through Jennifer O'Connor, Cabinet Affairs *me*

PURPOSE: To thank the Congressman for his support of the
Vaccines for Children program.

BACKGROUND: Congressman Waxman took the lead and was personally
committed to the program throughout the past year. The
progress we have made in implementing the VFC
program, despite a year of struggle with those who
sought congressional intervention to delay its start or to
repeal the program entirely, would not have been
possible without his commitment and assistance.
Currently, although not all private providers are
receiving vaccine in all states, we are making substantial
headway to have more children immunized.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: Warm thanks.

CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBER: Phil Schiliro (202) 225-3976

DATE OF SUBMISSION: October 13, 1994

ACTION:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1994

94 OCT 31 All : 14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA
CHIEF OF STAFFFROM: ABNER J. MIKVA
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENTJOEL I. KLEIN
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENTSTEPHEN R. NEUWIRTH
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENTRE: United States v. Nathan Jim

You asked for background information on the above case, which involves a Native American who was prosecuted for killing rare birds (bald and gold eagles) and who is defending on the ground that he needed the feathers for religious worship and thus his actions are protected by the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. In response to this claim the United States argues (1) that the law does not seriously burden religion since there is a legal permit process that allows Native Americans to get the requisite feathers, and (2) that, regardless of the burden, the United States has a compelling interest in protecting these rare species.

We have reviewed the papers and spoke to people in the religious community. We believe that the United States' position is essentially sound and that no action is currently warranted by us. While the United States' argument that there is no substantial burden here on religion ultimately depends on the actual facts about how the permit system works -- the defendant claims there is a two-year wait, which the United States disputes -- in the end it certainly seems reasonable to argue that there is a compelling interest in protecting rare birds. If the United States were barred from prosecuting this kind of case the real-world effects could be very significant: in this case alone the defendant killed eleven eagles.

Based on our discussions with interested constituencies, we believe that the United States' position here is relatively non-controversial.

cc: Jennifer O'Connor

1 agree w/ US position
pt 1 makes pt 2 stronger - just
have to make sure, on the facts,
pt. 1 is the case →

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1994 94 OCT 31 P 8:26

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH JOHN PODESTA
COPY: LEON PANETTA
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
HAROLD ICKES
DEE DEE MYERS
FROM: JOEL KLEIN
CLIFF SLOAN
SUBJECT: Decision in Guantanamo litigation

The trial judge in the Guantanamo litigation today granted the plaintiffs' request for a Temporary Restraining Order. The Order provides (1) that the U.S. Government must not deny lawyers "reasonable and meaningful access to the detained refugee plaintiffs"; (2) that the U.S. government must not repatriate to Cuba any "detained plaintiff refugees" (including the 23 who were scheduled to return earlier this week) until counsel and information have been provided to them; and (3) that both sides must submit, within 5 days, a plan for the visitation of the lawyers.

We expect to file an emergency appeal tomorrow.

If there are press inquiries, it is appropriate to refer them to the Department of Justice because this involves a pending case.

Handwritten notes:
Gave to the
Meyers
U.S. govt
in Guantanamo
plaintiffs
complaints
visitation
noting

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to POTUS and Leon Panetta re: 1994 DNC Expenses (3 pages)	10/21/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4891

FOLDER TITLE:

November 1-5, 1994

2018-0662-S

rs3109

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11/1/94

LEROY D. JONES

See Mr. N. T. B.

INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT
& NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE
BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W., SUITE 850
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Bill Meeker

NITSB

The Washington Spectator.

Ben A. Franklin, Editor

(ISSN: 0887-428X)

August 15, 1994

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Volume 20, No. 15

UNDER ATTACK

The President Has Made Important Progress—But We're Not Shown Much of It

Putting aside, for the moment, Whitewater and Paula Jones—the alleged peccadilloes that the polls keep showing most Americans *do* put aside—the media carnival greeting Americans each day with a grimy gala of partisan grievances, amplified now by the piety of the Christian right, has drowned out the accomplishments of the Clinton Presidency. Lest we forget, there are some.

I should say that I voted for Clinton and probably will again. As another sinner, I have not lost confidence in him. Here is an applicable passage from the book *Heroes of My Time*, by a celebrated editor, the late Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times*, who was a hero of mine:

"I harbor deep distrust of obvious heroes. I have seen too many raised to pedestals, only to expose their feet of clay. I have not found many statesmen, national leaders, or colleagues who do not have their weak points. That is natural. I expect people to be human, and if they display nothing but virtue my instinct warns that something must be wrong."

Bob Woodward's highly critical new book, *The Agenda*, psychoanalyzes a Clinton White House described as in chaos. Yet, according to James Fallows, the Washington editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, even Woodward includes "many illustrations" of the President's "intelligence, his resilience, his energy, his deftness at every political operation from backroom arm-twisting to speech-making on TV, and his determination to make the most of his years in office."

And Anthony Lewis, the widely read *New York Times* columnist, says "President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton deserve credit—much more than they have been getting—for moving reform this far."

Yet in their competing reach for hot copy on human frailties, television and the major newspapers—which have the space to do the job of informing us in detail—are not succeeding at telling us, or explaining, or reminding us, of the intelligent things that Clinton does. It may not be the long list that he, and we, have wished. But it is so overlooked and forgotten that it needs a periodic review.

THE ECONOMY—Clinton's first important and typically

hairbreadth victory came last August. A 218-to-216 vote in the House—and with Vice President Al Gore's tie-breaking help, a vote of 51-to-50 in the Senate—cleared an economic plan that raises taxes on the wealthy and applies billions in added revenue to reducing the national debt. This self-disciplining five-year plan severely limits the scope of Clinton's own dream of a variety of "incentive investments" in social programs. And because Senate Republicans filibustered many of the more modest reforms he tried to get, the result has been a major reduction in the national debt.

That's good. Thanks to stronger than expected economic growth, the national debt—which Republicans like to demonize as a Clinton "tax-and-spend" disaster but which is mostly a legacy of the Reagan years—is being reduced faster than Clinton himself predicted.

According to Leon Panetta, the President's former budget chief, who is now the White House chief of staff, the national debt will be \$220 billion this year instead of the \$235 billion Clinton predicted in February. Increased tax revenue

from economic improvement means not only a lower interest burden on a smaller annual debt but also less new borrowing by the government.

A recent issue of *Business Week* says that because government numbers-crunchers don't keep up with non-governmental data, government statisticians have been reporting a rise in the price of "new technology" communication equipment—telephones, computers and their accessories—when there actually has been a 35 percent price decline.

This reduction in the cost of doing business has been steep enough over the last year, according to *Business Week*, to cause "serious errors" in two of the government's main measures of the overall economy. The rise in private investment in new equipment is higher than officially reported—and that means jobs. And the rise in the inflation rate is far lower than the government has been reporting. Inflation is "down to only 1.6 percent a year, the lowest level since 1963," the magazine says. Even as officially reported, inflation is running at the lowest level since the 1960s—2.8 percent, versus a postwar average of 3.6 percent.

Unemployment is coming down, too. Non-farm jobs rose

The Idealist's Enigma Is Centuries Old

"It must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies . . . and only lukewarm defenders."

—A favorite Clinton quote, from Machiavelli's *The Prince*

by 379,000 in June for a total of just over 1 million new jobs in the second quarter of the year. The total gain was 1.7 million new jobs in the first half of the year. Jobs are growing at the fastest rate since 1987, and the average non-farm wage, while down a few cents, was \$11.08 an hour in June. In manufacturing, wages were higher. The unemployment rate has remained at a low 6 percent.

The finding that the economy is even stronger than the government's official report is a discovery that, *Business Week* adds, has "implications for the current administration that appear positive." It needs them. A different and more blatant kind of disinformation and distortion is becoming the language of the 1994 election campaign.

Clinton's narrowly passed five-year economic plan kept some of his social reform innovations intact—important both to disadvantaged Americans and to the prospect of a second Clinton term. They are important to Clinton because, as *Business Week* says, the Brookings Institution economists have statistically confirmed that "over the last half-century voters have rewarded the incumbent party for expanding social regulation."

Foremost among incumbent Presidents rewarded by reelection—rewarded three times, in fact—was Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yet, as Clinton is now, FDR was passionately despised by a noisy minority that included some well-to-do Democrats. And similarly today, among middle- and upper-income voters there may be political negatives for Clinton in pressing for social reforms.

In his recent book *A Journey Through Economic Time*, Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith wonders whether some groups with powerful political influence really prefer social reform through government investment in economic recovery, or whether they may actually view recession as advantageous to them.

Those who are bullish on recession are unlikely to say so publicly, but Galbraith notes that a recession is "not deeply felt or feared" either by corporate tycoons insulated by wealth or by retirees on pensions and Social Security (who may actually benefit from a recession's lowered cost of living). These groups, says Galbraith, may prefer economic stagnation to Clinton's proposals for costly government corrections.

The "corrections" have been fewer than Clinton planned and would have liked and, indeed, fewer than some of his liberal critics, without joining the right-wing denunciation, have allowed him. *The Nation* recently called the President "merely a mushy centrist."

At this writing—and probably at your reading—we do not yet know the outcome of the most important Clinton initiatives—a health care program and welfare reform. But the prominence the media have given the long health care debate—for the most part not well explained—and media preoccupation with sensationalism have obscured the judgment of some scholars that no President since Eisenhower has had such a productive first year in office as Clinton.

The national fixation on a punitive crime bill may be a misplaced priority, but the House and Senate have passed a \$30 billion crime statute that will recruit 100,000 new police as well as adding a "safe schools initiative" to combat juvenile crime, a new drug treatment program and some limited provision for "three strikes and you're out" lifetime prison terms.

By narrow votes, we also have the Brady Law, an initial effort to keep guns from criminals, and the first automatic-assault-weapons ban. There has been an increase in the funding of the Head Start program, which provides opportunities for poor urban pre-schoolers. There is now a National Service Corps for teenagers, a Goals 2000—Educate America Act to improve public schools and an improved student loan program for college tuition. A limited Clinton program of "empowerment zones" will give, as a start, economic development funds to 65 run-down urban areas and 35 impoverished rural communities.

Forgotten by now are passage of the President's Family and Medical Leave program, the still administratively troubled child immunization program, and the so-called Motor Voter Law, designed to broaden and encourage voter registration.

INVISIBLE PROGRESS—Among the least-known successes are the reforms pushed through Congress by one of Clinton's most productive and least-noticed Cabinet members, Secretary of Education Richard Riley, the former governor of South Carolina.

You may have barely heard of Riley, but according to the well-regarded *National Journal*, a governmental affairs magazine not seen much outside Washington, by determination and through the wide respect he has in Congress, Riley has won bipartisan support for "a remarkable array of reform legislation" and is "selling his ideas for revitalizing the nation's schools to state and local school administrators."

Using the presidential executive order, which does not require Congressional consent, Clinton has begun "reinventing government" by reforming the bureaucracy and making major personnel cuts. He has accelerated the worldwide nuclear weapons non-proliferation effort and is extending the U.S. nuclear weapons testing moratorium to September 1995, and almost certainly beyond. He has appointed a special White House committee to review previously undisclosed

The Washington Spectator

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Your dues payment to The Public Concern Foundation, Inc., is used entirely to forward the task of sharing information and stimulating discussion. Your \$10 dues are used for publishing *The Washington Spectator* and sponsoring research, symposia and other Foundation activities. *The Spectator* is available only to members of the Foundation.

The Spectator is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

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The Washington Spectator (ISSN 0887-428X) is published semi-monthly except monthly in July and December by The Public Concern Foundation, Inc., 668 Greenwich St., #607, New York, NY 10014, for \$10 per year. Second-Class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Washington Spectator*, London Terrace Station, P.O. Box 20065, New York, NY 10011.

EXTRA COPIES: 1-10 copies, 50¢ each; 11-20 copies, 40¢ each; 21-50 copies, 30¢ each. For larger quantities please write or call our New York office.

government radiation experiments conducted on unknowing Americans.

Clinton rescinded the executive order "gag rule" of the Bush Administration which barred Federally supported social work agencies from referring women to abortion clinics. He authorized the Environmental Protection Agency to repeal a Bush concession to polluting industries that allowed them higher emission levels.

And he won Congressional approval of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Act—so far with few of the predicted baleful effects on jobs here at home. He has ended the trade embargo against Vietnam—but mistakenly not tried to lift the embargo against Cuba.

Y'ALL COME—Asked if he thinks an ultraconservative takeover of the GOP is under way, Senator Bob Dole (R-KS), the Republican floor leader, who wants his party's presidential nomination in 1996, says, "Let's not read anybody out of the Republican Party." This in spite of the recent warning from the Republicans' reformed former right-wing guru, Barry Goldwater, that "the radical right has nearly ruined our party."

As Rush Limbaugh demonstrates daily, not all the right-wing agitprop comes from evangelicals. One of the most radical proposals of the self-styled patriots is a call for vague changes in "the system." "We are hearing the infant voice of a movement that is disgusted with the kind of President the system continues to serve up," says Michael Harrison, a talk show host and editor of a magazine called *Talkers*.

In an Op-Ed piece in the *New York Times*, Harrison wrote that this "movement" is inspired by Americans who have "had it with welfare fraud and the invasion of illegal immigration eating up tax dollars. It is fed up with the coddling of criminals, the distorted justice system, the lockstep sameness of the sellout media and the dumbing of America's children. It is no longer intimidated by the intolerance of political correctness."

Dole, who is supporting Oliver North's nominally Republican but radically right Senate campaign in Virginia, tries to deny the ultraconservative raid on his own party by denouncing the Democrats' finger pointing at it as elitist bigotry. But to refute those who deny right-wing religiosity's invasion of the Republican Party there is *marketplace* evidence—the kind that conservatives say they believe in.

It turns out that Harper-Collins, publisher of former Vice President Dan Quayle's recent book *Standing Firm*, is also marketing it through its *religious book* subsidiary, called Zondervan. According to the *New York Times* Sunday book review, this "copublishing" of Quayle's dose of "family values" evangelism is designed to help the publisher "penetrate the Christian book market in which Oliver North's 'Under Fire,' the 1991 book of the Virginia Republicans' recently anointed candidate for the United States Senate, did so well." Book burners become book buyers.

THE O.J. CONGRESS SHOW—Preoccupied with Republican charges of presidential "flip-flops" on such complex foreign-policy crises as those in Bosnia and Haiti, the press has avoided any comprehensive review of the accomplishments of the Clinton domestic program. This summer's non-stop TV extravaganza, the O.J. Simpson courtroom

proceedings in Los Angeles, inspired the thoughtful *Washington Post* columnist E.J. Dionne Jr. to suggest that Americans could benefit from the same kind of all-day, blow-by-blow coverage of Washington.

They certainly don't get anything comparable now, so it's not surprising that the country doesn't know, or doesn't remember, what the President has accomplished, much less what is in the Clinton health plan or any of the dozen or so competing proposals.

C-Span, the indiscriminating TV monitor of the House and Senate, supported as a public service by the cable-TV industry, focuses its unfiltered, non-analytic eye on the often tedious and baffling legislative process. By contrast, on the network news, Dionne notes, "the emphasis is usually on whether the White House is 'succeeding' or, more likely, is 'in disarray' and on learned discourse over how Bob Dole will or will not rally Republicans against the president's health plan." It is all speculation on process, not explanation of content or consequences.

Columnist Dionne calls the assumption behind television news programs exactly the opposite of what was assumed in the O.J. Simpson TV coverage—that viewers are capable of understanding details and following legal commentators' arguments based on the evidence presented, most of which they had just seen.

Vice President Gore says the country's "willingness to believe the worst" of its institutions is a product of the world's unsettling transformation from the military-industrial age of the Cold War, compounded by a press that feeds "voraciously on the failures of government."

Niccolò Machiavelli, the 15th-century Italian politician whom Clinton likes to quote, is often cited as an emblem of crafty manipulation. But his patriotism and love of liberty are unquestioned by historians. Machiavelli would probably say that we, with Clinton, live at a time when political morality is becoming nearly nonexistent and when success and power justify any means by which they are attained.

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BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

11/1
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

*March 1969 - Present

Chairman of the Board:

Royal American Development, Inc.
Royal American Management, Inc.
Royal American Construction Co., Inc.

The Royal American group of companies were organized in early 1969 to become engaged in the development, construction and management of multi-family housing. Since 1969, the companies have been active in Florida, Alabama and Georgia, and presently have over 300 full-time employees. The primary product of the companies is government assisted housing under either Housing and Urban Development (HUD) or Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) programs. In more recent times, the companies have been engaged in the development of conventional multi-family housing.

Royal American Development and Construction have developed and built approximately 100 projects and Royal American Management currently manages approximately 9,000 units. In addition, Royal American Management manages HUD-owned properties in Florida and Kentucky. Royal American Management has been recognized not only for its competent day-to-day management, but also for its commitment to tenant issues and development.

*August 1983 - Present

Chairman of the Board:

Peoples First Financial Savings & Loan Association
Peoples First Properties, Inc. (1990)

In the latter part of 1982, Mr. Chapman organized a group, filed for and was granted a charter to open Peoples First Financial Savings & Loan Association in Panama City, Florida. Since that time, Peoples First has expanded into Pensacola, Fort Walton Beach, Destin, Tallahassee, Orlando and Jacksonville. Peoples First as of August 1994 has \$510 million in assets, meets all fully-phased in capital requirements, has been listed as one of the most safe and sound institutions in the country and has been profitable every single month since it opened.

On August 15, 1990, the stockholders of the Association approved a Plan of Reorganization which resulted in the Association becoming a wholly-owned subsidiary of Peoples First Properties, Inc. Under the reorganization, all of the outstanding shares of the Association's common and preferred stock were converted, on a one-for-one basis, into outstanding shares of common and preferred stock of Peoples First Properties, Inc. The effective date of the reorganization was October 1, 1990. In addition, effective January 1, 1991, Royal American Construction Company, Inc. and Royal American Development, Inc. were acquired by Peoples First Properties, Inc. and became wholly-owned subsidiaries. Mr. Chapman owns approximately 85% of the stock of Peoples First Properties, Inc.

***January 1967 - December 1972**

Engaged in the practice of law in Panama City, Florida, with the firm of Davenport, Johnston, Harris & Urquhart, and subsequently was a partner in the firm of Urquhart and Chapman.

During this period, Mr. Chapman ran for and was elected to the House of Representatives for the State of Florida representing Bay, Gulf and Calhoun Counties. He served for two terms in this capacity and chose not to run for a third term.

***January 1965 - December 1966**

Attorney for Florida Governor's Office - Haydon Burns, Governor

While serving as attorney to the Governor, Mr. Chapman, on behalf of the state, assisted Walt Disney with the development of what we now know as Disney World in Orlando, Florida.

Mr. Chapman also served as General Counsel to the State Road Board during this period. In addition, Mr. Chapman served on the State Installment Land Sales Board.

EDUCATION

***University of Florida in Gainesville, graduated 1963**

Degree in Political Science

Degree in Law

***Bay High School, Panama City, Florida**

President of Senior Class -- 1956

CIVIC CONTRIBUTIONS

***Founding Director of Bay County Council on Aging**

*Member of the Bay Medical Center Board of Trustees from 1977 to November 1989 and Chairman of the Board of Trustees from 1980 to 1989. Reappointed to the Board of Trustees in November 1991 by the Governor of Florida and elected as Chairman in March 1992. Also, serves on the Board of the Foundation of Bay Medical Center.

*Appointed April 1989 by the Governor of Florida to The Florida Council of 100, based on recommendation of Council. Elected to the Board of the Florida Council of 100 in December 1989.

*Member of Government Accountability to the Peoples Commission (GAP). Appointed by Governor Chiles in October 1992. A legislatively created commission to review state agency performance and report to the Governor, the Legislature and the people of Florida.

OTHER AFFILIATIONS AND AWARDS

- *President, Freshman Class, University of Florida
- *General Chairman, University of Florida Religion in Life Week
- *President of Social Fraternity - Sigma Chi
- *Member, Florida Blue Key
- *Elected to Who's Who in American Colleges & Universities
- *Member, Florida Installment Land Sales Board
- *Member, Florida Bar
- *Member, Bay County Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors
- *Recipient of Junior Chamber of Commerce Good Government Award and Outstanding Young Men's Award
- *Recipient of Leon Levy Award for outstanding service to Bay Medical Center
- *Recipient of Theola Blackwell Award for outstanding service to the Foundation of Bay Medical Center

PERSONAL

- *Born August 4, 1938 in Brewton, Alabama
- *Married, four children

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN "1/1

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN "1/1"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 17, 1994 04 OCT 17 P7:09

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gene Sperling

SUBJECT: The Economy Under President Clinton: The First Twenty Months

Attached you will find economic data analyzing how the economy has performed during the first 20 months of the Clinton Administration. We have divided up the data into a general "highlights" document, followed by short papers on different subjects, such as "Clinton vs. Bush," "middle class families," "jobs," "the economy since the budget" and "interest rates."

This will be an ongoing production. The "highlights" section will be updated daily and will be available from myself or my special assistant, Theo Lubke. This will allow any Administration official to always have up-to-date basic economic accomplishments for speeches and presentations.

We will also circulate new updated talking points monthly or biweekly which will include a "new developments" section describing useful facts that have been added. In addition, we remain receptive to doing new sections that people in the Administration find useful.

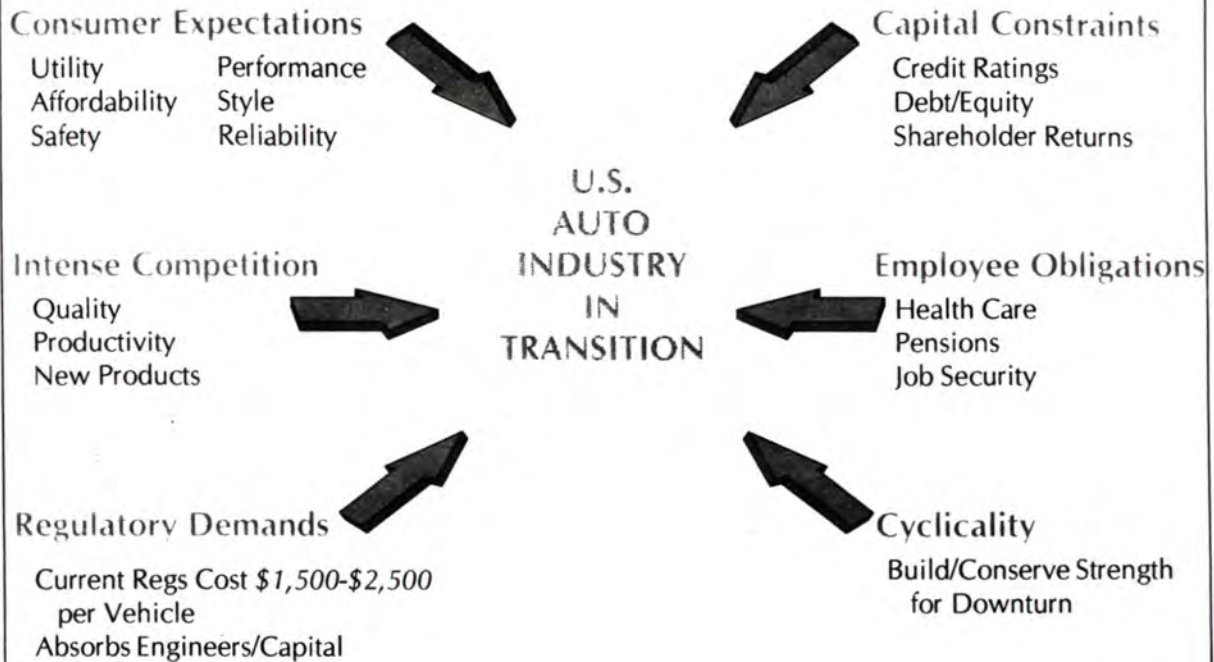
This analysis relies on the efforts of many people. The data presented here has been produced with the assistance and contributions of several economists on Laura Tyson's staff at CEA and Alice Rivlin's staff at OMB, as well as top economists at several of the departments: in particular, Rob Wescott and Michael Donihue at CEA, Joe Minarik and Barry Anderson at OMB, Ev Ehrlich and Lew Alexander at Commerce, Alicia Munnell and Brad DeLong at Treasury, and Larry Katz and Alan Krueger at Labor. Special thanks are also due to Sylvia Mathews at the NEC, as well as Theo Lubke, who put in considerable effort ensuring this recent effort was properly updated.

*The Economy Under
President Clinton:*

The First Twenty Months

October 7, 1994

Major Challenges

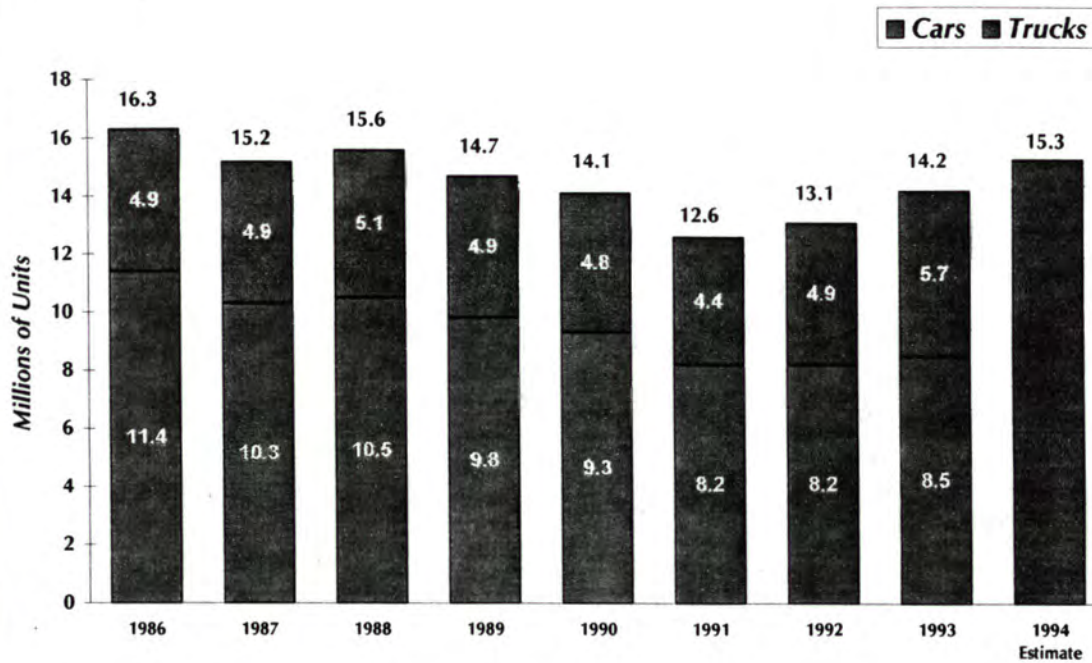


Positive Market Factors

- Pent-Up Demand
 - Over 35% of vehicles on road over 10 years old
 - Average age over 8 years – highest since WWII
- Used Car Prices Up
 - 20% increase since 1992
- Market Share Stable
 - Strong truck sales
 - Much improved quality
 - Price advantage from yen's rise
- New Products on the Way

① Chafe
 ② Used Cars
 ③ New Car

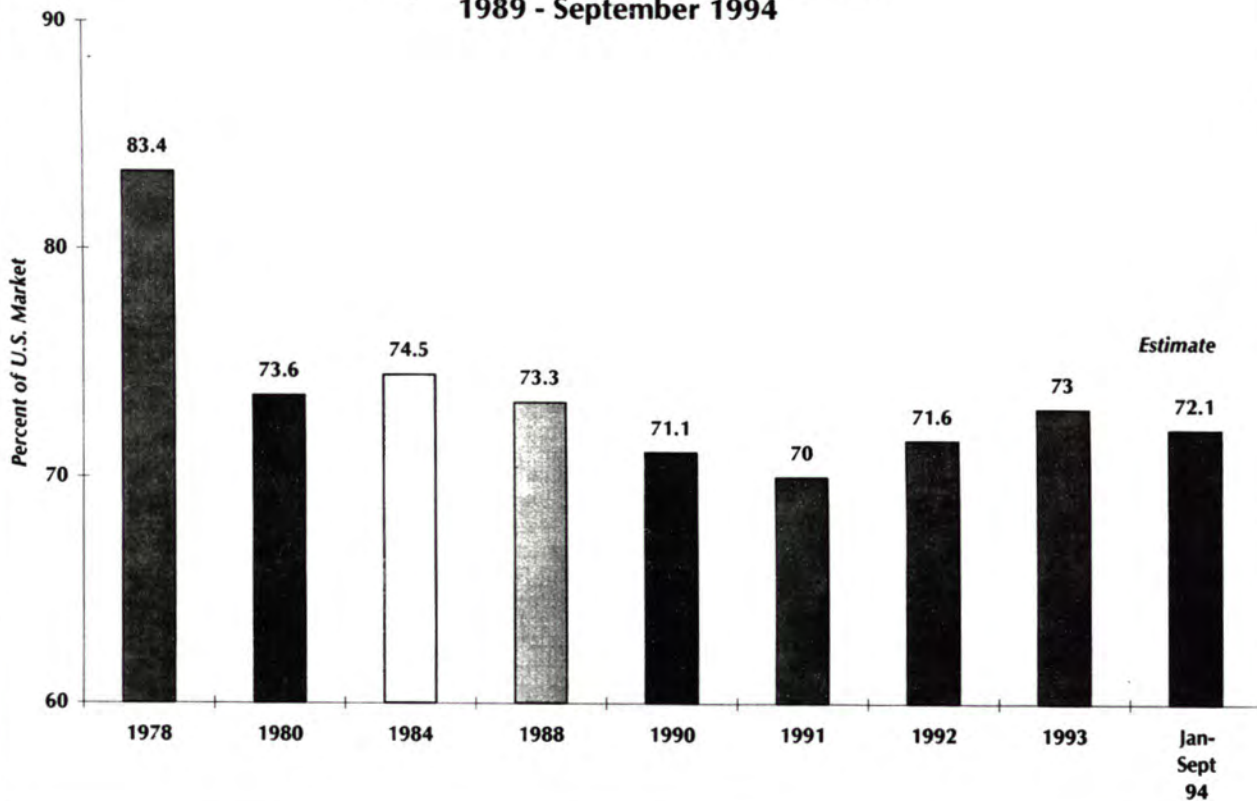
U.S. Car and Truck Industry Sales



Source: AAMA, October 1994.

U.S. Vehicle Deliveries

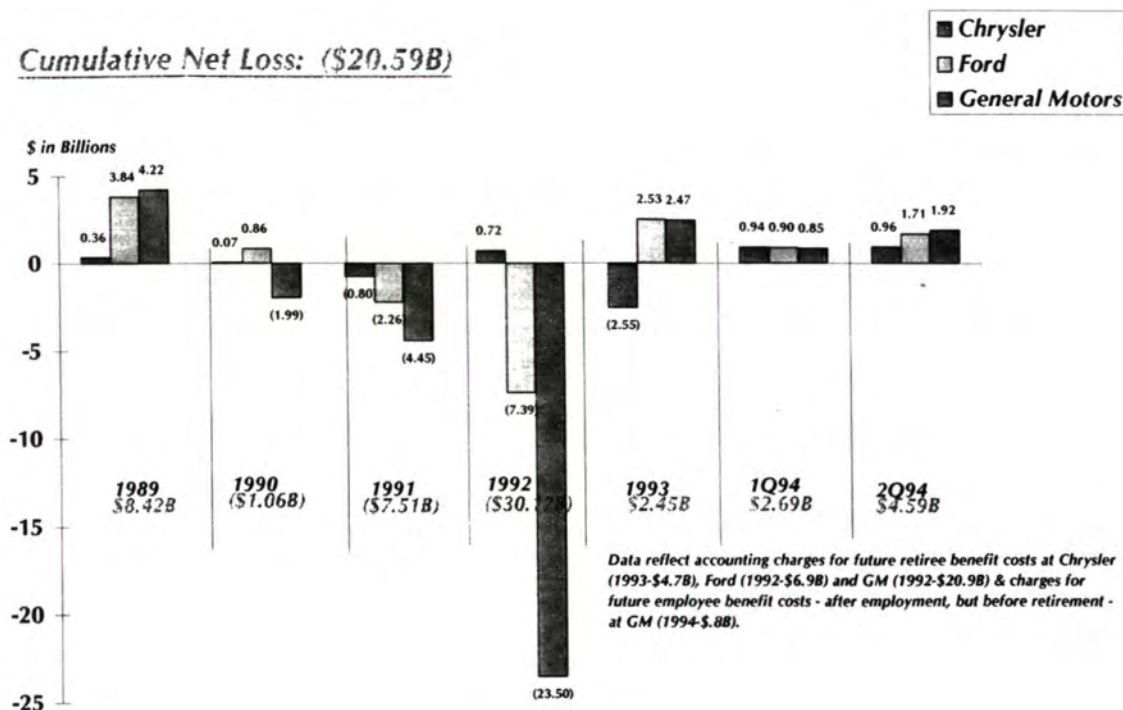
Big Three U.S. Market Share
1989 - September 1994



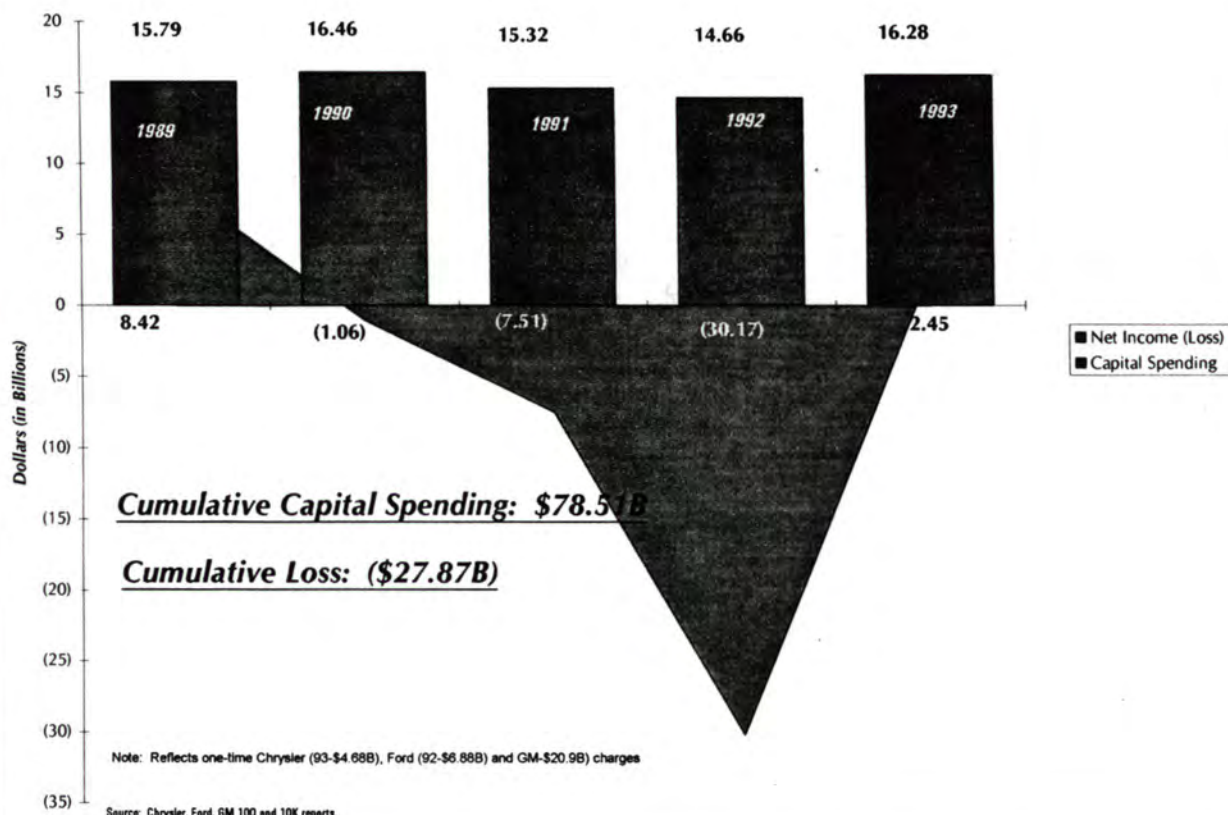
Big Three Income/(Losses)

1st Quarter 1989 - 2nd Quarter 1994

Cumulative Net Loss: (\$20.59B)

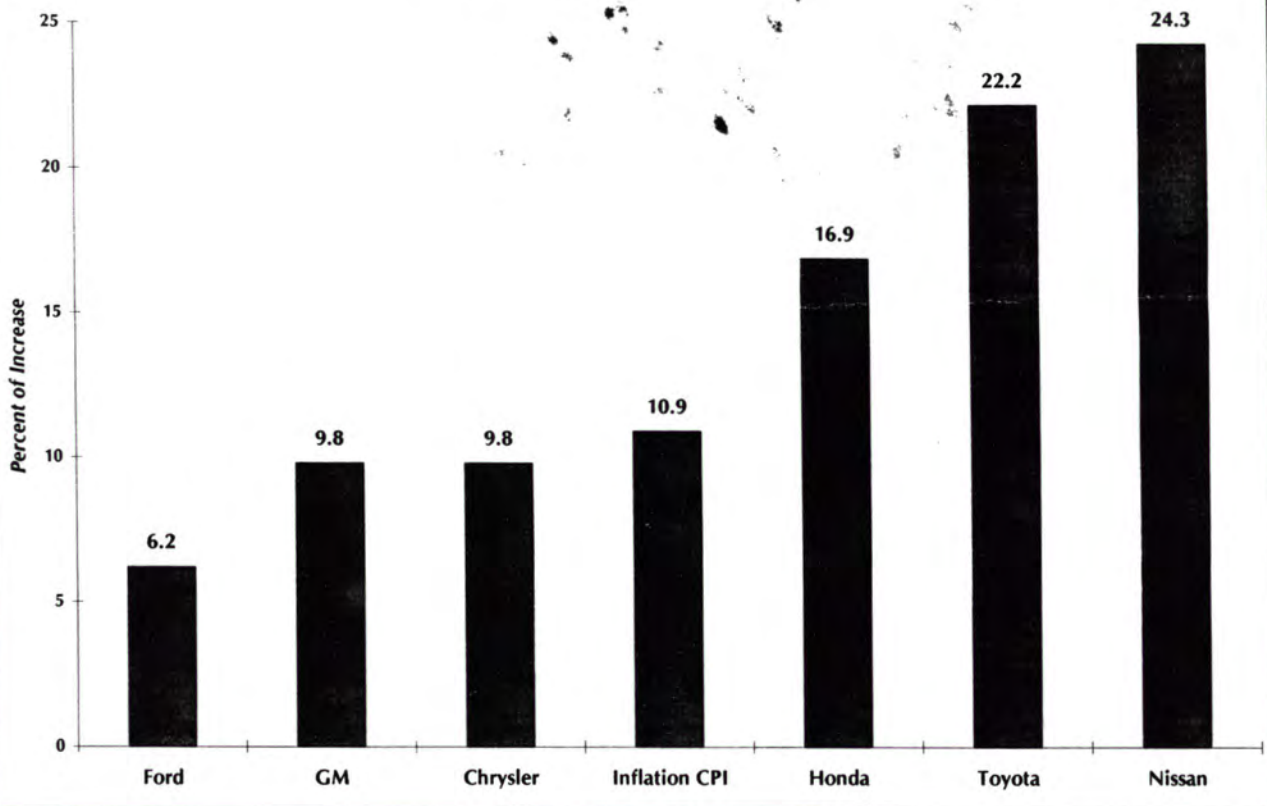


Big 3 Capital Spending/Net Income (Loss) 1989-93



U.S. Retail Car Pricing

September 1990 - March 1994



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/1/94

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1994

11/1

Dads vs. the Devil

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

By DAVE SHIFLETT

The proliferation of fatherless felons has done society very little good, but that phenomenon and other aspects of our social breakdown have worked at least one miracle. This summer, nearly a quarter-million apparently virile men gathered throughout the West and Midwest to cheer stadium-orators who passed along these unpleasant notions:

- "Somehow, many men got the idea that the definition of manhood has to do with how many women they have conquered and the number of children they have sired. Somebody told these entrepreneurs of pleasure that sex without love or commitment is appropriate today."

- "Far too many men are functioning like dogs—living simply to satisfy their lusts, no matter what the cost to themselves, others, or society at large."

A thorough scolding by most measures, and at \$55 to \$65 a head every bit as expensive as a ticket to a Rolling Stones concert. But there is no sympathy for the devil at these huge stadium events, which are the brainchild of University of Colorado football coach Bill McCartney (whose Buffaloes Hail Mary-ed Michigan into submission on Sept. 24). Mr. McCartney is an evangelical Christian committed to defeating the devil and his understudy, the "feminized male"—defined as the man who has surrendered his family leadership duties to women, often to the point of abandonment.

Outdrawing Mick Jagger

Oddly enough, the message is so popular that Mr. McCartney's organization, called Promise Keepers, has a hard time keeping up with demand. When Mr. McCartney gathered his troops in Boulder's Folsom Field this summer, 52,000 men attended. When Mick Jagger brought his Rolling Stones to Denver's Mile High Stadium last month, he came in second with just over 47,000. No offense meant, but Mr. McCartney isn't quite so dynamic as Mr. Jagger. So what's going on here?

"We are seeing a great awakening, a huge hunger among men who want to learn to live successfully in today's world," says Randy Phillips, a self-described former sensualist and current president of Promise Keepers. "Throughout biblical history, there have been distinct periods when men responded in obedience to God. This is one of those times, and it is our responsibility to seize the day." Along the same lines, Mr. Phillips agrees that Mr. McCartney and other PK speakers, while inspiring, are hardly stadium packers. "This is not about celebrities. You are seeing the Holy Spirit at work," he says.

Those who do not share Mr. Phillips's theology cannot but be impressed by his numbers. When Mr. McCartney had the original vision to create Promise Keepers—it happened on March 20, 1990, on the road between Boulder and Pueblo—he hoped that perhaps by the year 2000 the organization could attract 50,000 men during the course of a summer.

O, he of little faith.

The first gathering, in 1991, drew 4,000 men; the next year, 22,000 attended. Six conferences drew 233,600 this summer:

The gathering in Anaheim drew 52,800 and is being billed as the largest non-sporting event in Southern California history. An add-on event is scheduled for late October in Texas. Promise Keepers also hopes to gather one million men in Washington in 1996, and may go international within a year or two. The biggest dream: to simultaneously pack stadiums in all 50 states, for a total gate of two million. The staff is expected to grow to 170 by the end of the year, with a budget of \$22 million.

Gathering 52,000 Christians in a place like Boulder is somewhat similar to gathering a similar number of beer guzzlers in downtown Tehran—not the sort of thing you'd expect in ordinary times.

But as Mr. Phillips notes, we find ourselves in a troubled era, even in Colorado, a state far to the interior from both coasts (1,800 miles from New York; 1,000 miles



Men leave these rallies with the tools to keep their promises to God, their wives and their communities. In short, no more catting around.

from Los Angeles) that has nonetheless been torched by the social mayhem common in the major coastal metropolises.

Police estimate that there are 6,000 to 7,000 young gangsters in the Denver metro area, many of them Bloods and Crips imported from California, who have involved themselves in the usual pastimes, including drug trafficking, rape and random killings. Meanwhile, 38% of Denver children are born to an unwed mother, recent Census data show, and 30% of children live with one parent (12% live with neither parent). Then there are always the sideshow crimes that suggest a breakdown in authority: Just recently a 17-year-old was convicted for trying to kill his stepmother with a crossbow.

Promise Keepers' own literature cites a nation in "steady decline," with the number of violent crimes since 1960 increasing 570%, illegitimacy up more than 400%, and the "highest rates of teen pregnancy, abortion and childbirth in the industrialized world." Our age is compared to the decline in England in the 18th century,

when Bishop Berkeley wrote: "It is to be feared that the age of monsters is not far off."

The only way total disaster can be avoided, Promise Keepers believes, is to retol the American male and his family, an effort that has raised alarms among the usual suspects. Columnist Ellen Goodman, who is clearly the sort of person who inspired the creation of stag rooms, has awarded PK a "Backlash" award for the doctrine of the feminized male. Ms. Goodman, among others, fears that when men "take back" their traditional leadership roles, they will enslave women in the process. Ms. Goodman, in fact, charges Promise Keepers with hoping to install the sort of social system popular in places like Bangladesh.

Not so, says Mr. McCartney. "We as men are wanting to take responsibility—as we should have been all along," Mr. Phillips, when asked if members of Promise Keepers get to go home and boss women around, shakes his head no. "We teach men to be humble servants and to offer spiritual leadership to their families."

Besides that, Promise Keepers urges adherents to form small accountability groups to make sure members stay on the straight and narrow. Mr. Phillips tells of one group that persuaded a member to return to his family and also offers testimonials from wives who say that the man of the house was greatly reformed after attending one of the Promise Keepers rallies, which start on Friday nights with an altar call (the closest thing to a mosh pit these events offer) and go all day Saturday.

Meanwhile, the omnipresent Arthur Kropp of People for the American Way has complained that he sniffs a political agenda, while Joseph Conn, spokesman for Americans United for Separation of Church and State, has warned that Promise Keepers is destined "to become a full-fledged part of the religious right." These comments are inspired in part by Mr. McCartney's earlier statement that homosexuality is an "abomination," which also caused Colorado Rep. Pat Schroeder to label the coach a "self-anointed ayatollah."

Yet PK policy takes pains to invite homosexuals into the fold, and in an interview Mr. Phillips refuses to enter a political discussion, even to acknowledge that tax and welfare policies may be partly to blame for the sorts of social ills his organization has set out to counter.

Instead of rising to that plump bait, he emphasizes the need for men to become more "vulnerable" and "sensitive" to the needs of women and minorities. Mr. McCartney's chief emphasis, in fact, is racial reconciliation, and he has made no secret that his unmarried daughter bore a child by a black CU quarterback.

Crying and Embracing

If this sounds a bit touchy-feely, it only gets worse. Though Mr. Phillips laughs when asked if PK adherents ever go into the mountains and beat drums, he does believe that America's love of individualism has been a harmful aspect of the national character. "If the Berlin Wall can come down," says Mr. Phillips, "so can the wall of isolation around American men." It is not unusual for men at PK rallies to cry and embrace one another, asking forgiveness for such things as harboring racist or similarly odious beliefs. If all that adds up to right-wing behavior, so does knitting socks for the Sandinistas.

The result of PK gatherings, according to Mr. Phillips, is that men leave with the tools to help them keep their promises to their God, their wives, their families and their communities. In short, no more catting around. And while there will always be critics—a letter writer to the Rocky Mountain News called Mr. McCartney an "idiot savant" before calling for his resignation—there is also praise, even from Newsweek, whose coverage of the Boulder rally, reported by a female staffer, was nothing short of angelic.

In fact, Mr. Phillips is amazed by the steadily improving reception his organization is enjoying. "When we started out," he says with some understatement, "the media coverage wasn't always so friendly." Another sign, no doubt, that our growing corps of fatherless felons is having its effect.

Mr. Shiflett is deputy editorial page editor of the Rocky Mountain News.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Ickes to POTUS and Panetta re: Generic Media for November Election (2 pages)	10/20/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4891

FOLDER TITLE:

November 1-5, 1994

2018-0662-S

rs3109

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN "11

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Bluhm

October 28, 1994

94 OCT 28 P 6:05

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MARTIN N. BAILY *Made N Baily*

SUBJECT:

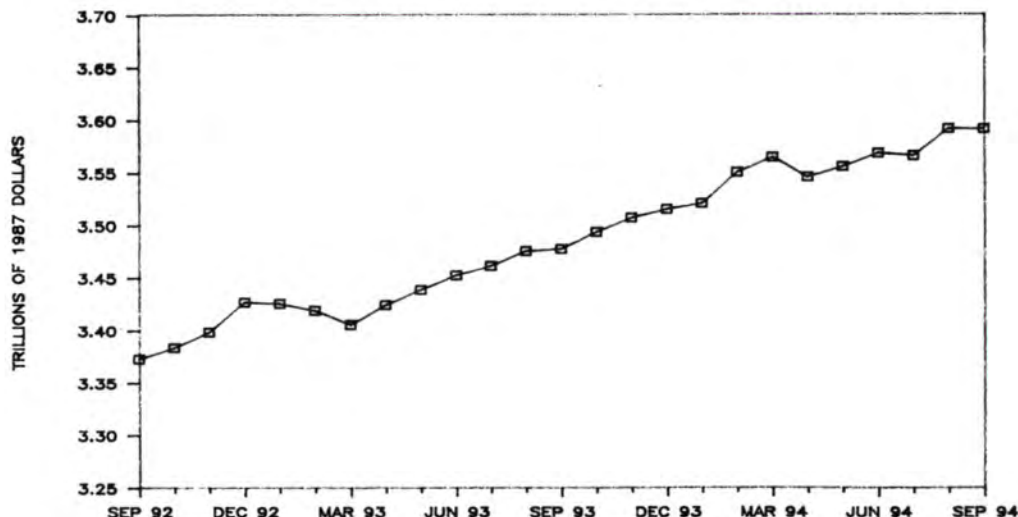
September Personal Income and Outlays, Commerce
Department Release, Monday, 8:30 a.m.

Personal income in current dollars increased by 0.6 percent in September, in line with market expectations. Real personal consumption expenditures were unchanged in September.

- Private wages and salaries increased by 0.6 percent in September. Over the past year they have increased by 6.7 percent.
- Real disposable income increased by 0.4 percent in September. Over the past year real disposable income has increased by 3.6 percent.
- Decreases in automobile purchases and expenditures on electricity led to the zero growth in real personal consumption expenditures in September.
- With income growth outpacing consumption in September, the personal saving rate increased from 3.7 percent in August to 4.1 percent in September.

*CEA says
salaries up 6.7%
4.3%
So what's
the deal w/
disinflation?
B*

REAL PERSONAL CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURES



Report to Congress on Child Support Enforcement. The report will show a 12 percent increase in child support collections from 1992 to 1993, to nearly \$9 billion, and the establishment of paternity for over a half million children. The report also shows, however, that nearly 3 million children do not receive the support that they should.

Upcoming SSI Press Story: John O'Donnell of The Baltimore Sun is preparing an extensive article on SSI disability payments to children. The story focuses specifically on payments -- negatively termed "crazy checks" by critics -- made to the emotionally disabled. This story has been covered widely, most recently last week on "Prime Time Live." SSA Commissioner Shirley Chater was interviewed for the Sun story. Newsweek has also interviewed Shirley Chater on this issue.

Upcoming Press Story on Gay Parenting: "NBC Today" is developing a segment on gay parenting. It plans to include an interview with NIH researcher, Dr. Michael Lamb, who reports that there is currently very little data on child development in gay households.

Housing and Urban Development

- **Political Travel:** Since Wednesday, Secretary Cisneros has been on a 12 day "Get Out The Vote" tour through Texas. On Saturday, he will participate in GOTV rallies with Senator Jeff Bingaman and Governor Bruce King in New Mexico. And on Wednesday he will announce with Governor Cuomo and Mayor Giuliani a partnership to improve the lives of homeless people who live in subway tunnels. Finally, between November 3-5, 1994, he will participate in a range of political events in California.
- **Official Travel:** On Tuesday, the Secretary will announce a \$613 million loan for improvements to the New York Hospital, with Governor Cuomo.

Veterans Affairs

- **Political Travel:** Today, Secretary Brown will be in Dublin, Georgia, with Democratic congressional candidate Craig Mathis for campaign-related events. On October 29, he will campaign in Tennessee with Senator Jim Sasser. On October 31, he will be in Palm Springs, California, with candidate Steve Clute. And, on November 1, he will participate in a campaign event in Long Beach, California, with candidate Peter Mathews.

Office of National Drug Control Policy

- Next week, on November 2, Director Brown will designate of a High Intensity Drug

B. Rubin

This is worth some serious

Thought -

B.

ARTICLE

In Search of Faster Growth in Productivity

Over the long term, the nation's standard of living depends on its productive capability. One key determinant of productive capability, or "potential output," is productivity—the amount of output that a worker can produce during an hour of work. Since the early 1970s, growth in productivity has slowed, and the standard of living of many American families has stagnated or declined. In light of this development, it is all the more important to re-examine what can be done to maximize the trend in productivity growth.

There are three main sources of improvement in productivity: increases in the quality and quantity of physical capital, improvements in the quality of the workforce, and advances in technology. In addition, other factors appear to influence the level of efficiency with which capital, labor, and other resources are used in the economy. Any attempt to boost the growth of productivity will have to operate through one of these channels.

Physical Capital. Increasing the amount of capital per worker historically has been the best-understood and most extensively exploited means of boosting productivity. When new investment is made to put in place an improved technology, the gains can be especially great. For example, output per hour in the telephone communications industry increased 5.6 percent per year between 1973 and 1992, owing mainly to investment in electronic equipment. In the economy as a whole, increases in capital per worker added about 1 percentage point per year to the growth of U.S. productivity between 1948 and 1992.

Higher levels of capital intensity could be achieved by increasing the economy's investment rate, although changes in the investment rate feed through to productivity only over a very long period of time. In the United States, a 1-percentage-point increase in the investment rate, sustained forever, would boost the level of productivity only about 0.2 percent in the first year, 0.4 percent in the second year, and so on. Eventually, however, the effect would cumulate to a rather substantial 4 percent. The CEA estimates that OBRA93 increased the investment rate in the U.S. economy by about 1 percentage point.

Most studies of productivity growth have ignored the role of public infrastructure capital, but evidence from some recent studies suggests that well-chosen public investment projects can have a productivity payoff at least as great as that from private investment.

Human Capital. Investment in human capital—the quality of the workforce—is the second major source of productivity growth. Here, education and worker training obviously play a key role. Over the post-war period, human capital investment has added an estimated 0.4 percentage point per year to the growth of

11/1/94

Discussions with Hans Blix, during his visit last week, showed a willingness by the IAEA to accept this unique tasking, despite IAEA's reservations about setting a precedent for allowing the DPRK to remain outside fullscope safeguards compliance over such a long period.

- **The Gulf Crisis:** In conjunction with the Joint Staff, the Service staffs, and the intelligence community, we are pulling together an assessment of near-term U.S. capabilities for the defense of Kuwait.
- **Drug Enforcement Policy and Support:** Dominant Chronicle is a DEA counterdrug (CD) program that has been using sophisticated computer hardware and software to perform financial analyses of seized documents from Medellin and Cali. Based on this information, on October 18, the FBI and Customs spearheaded a take-down of the Hugo Cuevas-Gamboa organization, effecting a series of arrests in Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, Panama, El Salvador and Honduras as well as the United States. This is the largest money laundering takedown in history.
- **Haiti:** U.S. forces currently number 15,779 personnel in Haiti.
- **FY 1995 Supplemental:** The Comptroller estimates that unfunded contingencies in FY 1995 could be as high as \$2 billion, counting the diversion of funds from training and maintenance to fund the contingency requirements. DoD expects to ask OMB to submit a supplemental appropriation request on the order of \$2 billion when the FY 1996 budget request is submitted to Congress in February.
- **Technology Reinvestment Program:** The latest round of TRP awards was announced on Tuesday, October 25. Information packages on the winners and losers were provided to all Members of the House and Senate, as well as the Governors.
- **Louisiana:** Deputy Secretary Deutch, accompanied by Senator J. Bennett Johnston, visited DoD facilities in Louisiana last week.

United Nations

- **Security Council:** The U.S. will assume the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. During the month, there are likely to be several mandate renewals, various reports, and debate over the resolution to lift the arms embargo against Bosnia and the extension of the mandate for the peacekeeping operation in Somalia.
- **Cuba:** As we anticipated, the resolution calling for the end of the U.S. embargo against Cuba received even greater support this year than last, despite our efforts to the contrary. The vote was 101 for, 2 against (U.S. and Israel), 48 abstaining and 33 absent. Last year, the vote was 88 in favor, 4 against, 57 abstaining, and 27 absent. According to some of the countries, they changed their votes from abstention or

Handwritten: **Very important to make sure the President and his staff are in the loop**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11/1

October 24, 1994

94 OCT 25 AM : 11

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

cc: Leon Panetta, Harold Ickes, Bruce Lindsey,
Joan Baggett

FROM: Pat Griffin and John Emerson *JS*

SUBJ: ERISA Preemption

California Carpenters Union leader Doug McCarran raised the ERISA preemption legislation with you this weekend, stating that its supporters had 60 votes in the Senate and complaining that the Administration failed to get the bill to the Senate floor. At your request, the facts are as follows:

Background:

ERISA preempts any State law or local ordinance that "affects an employee benefit plan." This provision has been used by employer groups to strike down State laws that require the payment of prevailing benefits or a cash equivalent on State public works projects, mechanic's lien laws that protect against the non-payment of contributions to employee benefit plans, and laws regulating apprenticeship plans.

[Over several Congresses, the Building Trades (and especially the Carpenters) have been pushing for enactment of Howard Berman's bill, which would clarify the ERISA preemption language and undo court orders striking down such laws. The bill (H.R. 1036) passed the House last year by a vote of 276 to 150.]

Administration Activities:

The ERISA issue came to our attention as follows: The Davis-Bacon provision in the House Superfund bill was going to kill it. Pat asked Bob Georgine if the Building Trades would agree to a deletion of the language, since both labor and the Administration wanted the underlying bill. He agreed for the "Trades", so long as we would help on ERISA preemption in the Senate. This was about two weeks before the end of the session.

Shortly thereafter, the Carpenters backed out of the Davis-Bacon Superfund deal. We continued to work the ERISA issue, however, even though the House never pulled the Davis-Bacon language and consequently never brought up Superfund. [Moreover, Sen. Dole's efforts to keep Superfund from coming to the floor in the Senate included the argument that Davis-Bacon made it too controversial.]

Specifically, Secretary Reich wrote every Senator and Member in support of H.R. 1036. The Administration's SAP supported the bill, and the Labor Department and the White House lobbied for it. In fact, Pat personally lobbied Senators on the issue and was able to secure three additional votes. The Vice-President and other Administration officials also made calls.

At the end of the session, Sen. Kennedy counted 58 votes for the bill, although the Building Trades believed they had 60 (the Leadership could not confirm this). The Majority Leader did not schedule the bill for the floor. Bob Georgine met with Senator Dole just before the Senate recess, but could not get his agreement to allow the Senate to vote. At the end of the day, Georgine thanked Pat for the Administration's help.

John is talking to McCarran, and will describe the White House effort and explain that the Leadership made the judgment that it did not have the votes.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 11/1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 OCT 31 AM : 14

October 27, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JOEL KLEIN
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

The enclosed newsletter of the Baptist Joint Committee is very positive. You dominated three of the four pages.

① cc HRC

② get Nader's bio - cf. p. 1

so if it's something we can support -



REPORT from the CAPITAL

Volume 49, Number 20

October 18, 1994

NEWS MAKERS

Rep. Jerrold Nadler, D-N.Y., introduced the Workplace Religious Freedom Act (H.R. 5233) that would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, strengthening its requirement that employers make a real effort to accommodate the religious practices of employees. Title VII requires employers to accommodate religious practices unless such action poses an undue hardship on the business. "This anti-discrimination statute was designed to ensure that religious Americans not be forced to choose between their jobs and their religious obligations — such as observing the sabbath or other religious days, or wearing religiously mandated articles — and their jobs," he said. "Title VII struck a reasonable balance between the religious rights of working people and the needs of private business. Unfortunately, in two separate decisions, the Supreme Court upset this delicate balance."

Libby Ivins, assistant to the general counsel and director of research services at the Baptist Joint Committee, resigned Oct. 14 to become the administrative assistant to the headmaster at the Barrie School in Silver Spring, Md. Ivins, whose husband Dan is the pastor of First Baptist Church, Silver Spring, has been with the BJC for 18 months.

Darreyl M. Young, a fired United Methodist Church minister, has lost her sex and race discrimination suit against the church's Northern Illinois Conference. The U.S. Supreme Court refused Oct. 11 to review lower court rulings that the First Amendment bars courts from reviewing employment decisions affecting clergy. Young, a female African American, served four years as a probationary minister. Δ

Faith impacts decisions, Clinton tells Baptist group

President Clinton prays and studies the Bible as he makes tough decisions and copes with the isolation of the presidency, he told a group of Baptist editors and leaders Oct. 3.

Stung by religious critics and what he called "the brutal polarization of debate" on moral issues, the president decried the meanness of those debates. And he wondered aloud why others have not defended him from harsh personal attacks by religious critics.

During the visit, organized by the Baptist Joint Committee, Clinton, a Southern Baptist, was asked how his faith informs his decisions. Contrary to his critics' claims, Clinton said, he bases decisions regarding the thorniest issues — such as abortion and homosexuality — on Scripture, as well as science and law.

"When I have some big decision and no one else can make it and my advisers are split, I try to spend a lot of quiet time, and I pray a lot about those things," said Clinton.

"Even more important is the kind of guidance I try to get on a daily basis. Since I've been here, I've spent a lot more time than I ever have in my life reading religious books. ... And it's made a huge difference, actually, in enduring what is the pretty significant isolation of this job."

Clinton grew animated discussing the "demonization" he had received at the hands of TV preachers such as Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. He also expressed frustration that he hasn't had

more help in fending off the attacks of Robertson, Falwell and others. "I have been surprised that they haven't been held accountable by other people."

The challenge for Christians, Clinton said, is to infuse the public debate with moral concerns "and still resist the temptation to demonize the opposition." He lamented that debates over

serious moral issues often are reduced to screaming matches. "If these problems were easy and could be screamed away, they would be solved already," he said.

Two issues that prompt thrashings from conservative Christians are abortion and homosexuals in the military.

"The real issue is not whether you think abortion is wrong or not, but whether government ought to criminalize the conduct in all cases," the president said.

The U.S. Supreme Court's landmark abortion case essentially maintained government cannot penalize a mother or her doctor for an abortion performed before the fetus is viable outside the womb, he said. That decision reflects the absence of a national consensus on when human life begins, Clinton noted.

"Until I know something from science or I feel the Scriptures are totally unambiguous, as a Christian, I must uphold the law," he added. "I have read all the verses cited by people who say that it is self-evident that the Scripture is against abortion and we



President Clinton makes a point at BJC briefing.

See President, Back Page

BJC healthy financially, Dunn tells agency's board

The Baptist Joint Committee is back on its feet financially after losing the support of its largest member-denomination three years ago, James M. Dunn told the agency's board of directors in their annual meeting Oct. 3-4.

The Southern Baptist Convention, a founder of the BJC and member for more than 50 years, withdrew its support in the early 1990s.

The rapid defunding brought hard times to the BJC, said Dunn, executive director of the religious-liberty organization, but now things are turning around. Cash reserve funds dropped to about \$30,000 last year but have rebounded to \$118,800, he said.

The defunding changed forever the picture of BJC support, Dunn said. A few years ago, funding came almost exclusively from member denominations. Today, the BJC's largest supporters are not denominations, but Baptist state conventions, congregations, individuals and the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, a national moderate organization which, its leaders insist, cannot properly be termed a denomination.

The BJC board approved a 1995 budget of \$815,700, 3 percent larger than this year's budget.

The BJC also amended its constitution to allow board representation for state and regional bodies that contribute to the agency.

In other business, a Kentucky Baptist Foundation account established in December to support the BJC has received \$90,000 in pledges and \$23,000 in gifts, reported Bill Crosby, pastor of First Baptist Church in Erlanger, Ky. The goal is to raise a corpus of \$200,000, which would yield about \$20,000 a year for BJC support by 1996, said Crosby, a BJC member.

The board also adopted two resolutions. One urges defeat of legislative efforts to exempt prison inmates from protection under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. "Prisoners should be entitled to exercise their religion freely, consistent with the state's compelling interest of maintaining order and safety within the prison system," the resolution states.

The other resolution endorses the statement, "A Shared Vision: Religious

Liberty in the 21st Century," published by the BJC staff and 80 other organizations and individuals this summer.

The document "reaffirms both the proper role of religion in public discourse and civic affairs and the need for the separation of church and state," the resolution says. Δ

Clinton orders monitoring of RFRA application

President Clinton has ordered every government agency to appoint someone on its legal staff to monitor application of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, according to Joel Klein, deputy counsel to the president.

Klein announced the president's latest directive Oct. 3 at a briefing for Baptist editors and religious-liberty specialists held in the Old Executive Office Building. Clinton, White House Deputy Chief of Staff Philip Lader and others also spoke to the group.

RFRA says that before government can "substantially burden" the free exercise of religion, government must show that its action serves a "compelling governmental interest" and is the least-restrictive means of furthering that interest.

Fostering understanding of RFRA among government officials is essential, Klein said, because legal challenges to the statute are just beginning. Klein's prediction is supported by the history of the Equal Access Act, passed by Congress in 1984.

Equal Access says if public schools allow any extra-curricular groups to meet on school grounds during non-class times, they also must allow student-initiated religious groups the same privilege. But many school administrators still don't understand the law, said Steven McFarland, director of the Christian Legal Society's Center for Law and Religious Freedom.

During another session of the briefing, two IRS officials advised that church financial secretaries should begin preparing to help donors comply with new tax laws related to charitable

giving.

Effective Jan. 1, 1994, any single contribution of \$250 or more to a charity must be substantiated in writing by that charity. The documentation also must indicate whether the donor received any goods or services in exchange for the contribution.

Church officials will want to get out

donor statements as soon as possible each quarter or at year-end, said Karin Gross, a senior technician reviewer with the IRS chief counsel. Howard Schoenfeld, IRS special assistant for exempt organizations, and Gross



SCHOENFELD

said the IRS already has received numerous phone calls, many from people who have misunderstood the new law.

Forging a positive response to the religious right, Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, said, "We talk too much about the politics of what the the religious right is doing ... and too little about the context of what's caused that vacuum that has allowed the religious right to move in a manner that fills an enormous yearning in the heart and soul of the American people."

Today Americans suffer from a pervasive sense of powerlessness, Saperstein said, and the religious right's call to return to traditional values offers them a sense of control.

The religious right claims that what it is doing is no different than what the mainstream religious community is doing, he said. But major differences do exist between the two, he said, noting the religious right seeks to impose its views on people.

Another briefing speaker, Jimmy R. Allen, discussed results of a national survey on religion and the media, conducted by the Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center. The study revealed that the news media and religious leaders are leery of one another but both have more in common than is usually apparent. They are both truth seekers, truth tellers, he said. Δ



KLEIN

PEW, PULPIT & the LAW

Q: What is the status of the EEOC's proposed guidelines on religious harassment in the workplace?

A: The EEOC voted on Sept. 19 to withdraw all of its proposed guidelines on workplace harassment based on race, color, sex and national origin, as well as religion. Some had urged the removal of religion from the guidelines. The BJC sought to keep religion in the guidelines but make them more protective and less vague.

It's good that the EEOC withdrew all the guidelines together. The worst thing would have been to withdraw only religion and to move forward with the rest. Religion must not be left at the station when the train leaves. That would send the unfortunate signal that the EEOC is less concerned about religious harassment than its other forms.

We can live with or without these guidelines, but if we're going to have them, religion should be there too — protected to the hilt. (JBW)

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REFLECTIONS

Sabbatarian Baptists



JAMES M. DUNN
 Executive Director

Roman Catholics and real Christians."

Sabbatarian Baptists were early among those variegated versions of the faith in Rhode Island. Along with Roger Williams and John Clarke, Samuel and Tacy Hubbard should be known as Baptist founders. They brought out Seventh Day Baptists.

The term "Sabbatarian" was used as a derogatory reference. The names "Christian" and "Baptist" were also "dirty words" early in history.

You may not have noticed that Seventh Day Baptists are one of the supporting bodies for the Baptist Joint Committee. In fact, you may not know about Seventh Day Baptists. Enough of that particular gap in Baptistology!

Newport History, the bulletin of the Newport (R.I.) Historical Society, devotes the Summer 1994 issue to Seventh Day Baptists. It is a signal honor for Don A. Sanford, a direct descendant of the Hubbards, to be chosen by the Newport Historical Society to write this important story. Sanford is the historian of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference.

You will learn more than you ever knew about Seventh Day Baptists reading this beautiful 48 page account of their beginnings. This issue is available from the Newport Historical Society, 82 Touro Street, Newport, R.I., 02840; telephone 401-846-0813.

This brand of Baptists is also examined carefully in the September 1994 *American Baptist Quarterly*. Raymond D. Irwin has carefully crafted "A Study in Schism: Sabbatarian Baptists in England and America, 1665-1672." Irwin writes, "The old notion that

Cotton Mather, Puritan divine, called Rhode Island "a cesspool" of religious practice. He wrote that "there never was held such a variety of religions together on so small a spot of ground ... everything in the world but

Rhode Island was the original home of 'soul liberty' has never been challenged seriously. Scholars perennially view the founder of the colony, Roger Williams, as a renegade radical who believed that government could not constrain consciences without encouraging hypocrisy." The unconstrained conscience and a hatred for hypocrisy has haunted and energized Seventh Day Baptists from their rocky Rhode Island origins until today. This look at their roots is available from: *American Baptist Quarterly*, P.O. Box 851, Valley Forge, Pa., 19462-0851; single issues: \$6.00 plus postage.

These who observe Saturday as the Sabbath have argued that Judaic codes continued in force, particularly the divine dictate demanding observance of the Sabbath. They accuse "first day Baptists" of rejecting basic biblical precepts. Yet in most particulars members of this smallest of our national Baptist bodies believe and behave like other Baptists.

Seventh Dayers have clung tightly to and ferociously defended their beliefs. They have more experience with persecution than most believers in the Baptist family. They turn to one another for support, form strong family ties and take their identity from their formative faith perhaps more than any other Baptist by the name.

They have understood the absolute necessity of the separation of church and state. For their entire history an indifferent or disinterested or even hostile state has been willing to run roughshod over their day of rest and worship.

The Baptist Joint Committee has a special place in their affections. I was reminded of this once again as I spent a week at their annual conference this summer in Linsborg, Kan.

Court cases and friend-of-the-court briefs have been the battleground on which the Baptist Joint Committee has repeatedly fought for the freedom of Sabbatarians to worship as they see fit and not to be punished by law, custom or culture. We stand with Seventh Day Baptists for full-fledged, whole hearted, religious liberty. It is none of government's business to appoint the time for worship ... never has been. Δ

COVER STORY

President, Continued from Front Page

should criminalize the conduct of mothers and doctors. I simply don't believe they're so free of ambiguity that you can say, 'Well, the only answer to this is to overturn the (*Roe v. Wade*) decision by constitutional amendment.'"

Conservative columnist Cal Thomas said Clinton is misreading the Bible. Thomas said criminalization of abortion "is not the issue at all. Only a tiny fraction of the people in this country wants abortion outlawed in every case." He also disagreed with Clinton's claim that the Bible is ambiguous on abortion. "I'd like to know what verses are ambiguous," he said.

But Thomas conceded Clinton's critics have gone too far. "Some of the stuff I've seen comes very close, if not over the line, to bearing false witness," he said.

Thomas declined to criticize Falwell, his former boss at the Moral Majority. But he said: "There are too many visible preachers who have allowed them-

selves to be seduced by the kingdom of this world, rather than [preaching about] the kingdom of God."

Clinton told the Baptist group that abortion is an ongoing concern. "I work on this issue. I've read a lot of pro-life literature. I'm not for the number of abortions we have today. So, there are only two things to do — reduce the rate of unwanted pregnancies ... and do something about adoption."

The administration is addressing the first concern through education, and it's also "trying to get a law through Congress loosening the restrictions on cross-race adoptions," he said.

Clinton said his position on abortion essentially matches that of the Southern Baptist Convention in a 1971 resolution, which supported abortion in cases of rape, incest, fetal deformity and to protect the health of the mother. Stricter views have been expressed by SBC resolutions since conservatives took control of the convention. "Did we learn something about the Bible in the last 23 years?" Clinton asked.

Gays in the military is the other issue

that alienated Clinton from many conservative Christians. "The question is this: If you're in government and acknowledge the existence of homosexual people, does that mean you affirm the lifestyle? My answer is no," he said.

"My position, embraced by the most decorated veterans of the Vietnam War in Congress, is that people ought to be judged not by what they are or say, but what they do," he said. "If they're guilty of misconduct, throw them out."

His position is more conservative, intellectually honest and fair than his opponents' position, he said.

"We ought to apply the same standard to all," Clinton said. "If you play by the rules, work hard and pay taxes, you ought to be able to serve." (ABP)

— **Marv Knox**

Editor, *Western Recorder*
Newsjournal

of the Kentucky Baptist Convention

Associated Baptist Press Editor Greg Warner contributed to this story.

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REPORT (ISSN-0346-0661) is published 24 times each year by the Baptist Joint Committee.

— *Established in 1936* —

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002
202-544-4226

Supporting bodies: Alliance of Baptists • American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. • Baptist General Conference • Cooperative Baptist Fellowship • National Baptist Convention of America • National Baptist Convention U.S.A. Inc. • National Missionary Baptist Convention • North American Baptist Conference • Progressive National Baptist Convention Inc. • Religious Liberty Council • Seventh Day Baptist General Conference • Southern Baptist state conventions and churches.

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