

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to POTUS re: DNC Direct Mail Program (1 page)	12/02/1994	Personal Misfile
002. memo	Ickes to POTUS re: Results of Direct Mail (3 pages)	12/01/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4892

FOLDER TITLE:

December 1-3, 1994

2018-0662-S

rs3112

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]

Congressman Paul E. Kanjorski
2429 Rayburn Building
Washington, DC 20515

Fax Cover Sheet

DATE: December 1, 1994

TIME: 5:17 PM

TO: Pat Griffin
White House

PHONE: 202 456-2230
FAX: 202 456-6220

FROM: Paul Kanjorski

PHONE: 202 225-6511

RE: Attached article on garment factory closing

Number of pages including cover sheet: 4

Message

How do I answer the 59-year-old laid off garment worker who asks "Who's going to hire us?" We are not addressing the very real, very immediate concerns of these people, such as getting a job to replace those lost to foreign competition.

I cannot sell free trade to my constituents without providing some assistance to ease them into the new global economy. These are the people who elected President Clinton and who turned against us on November 8.

We need to focus on job creation to reach out to the millions of Americans who no longer feel economically secure. Please let me know how I can be of assistance in shaping a pro-jobs message to reach my constituents.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/6/94

CC: MKant

Bob Rubin
Is over anything
we can do?
B2

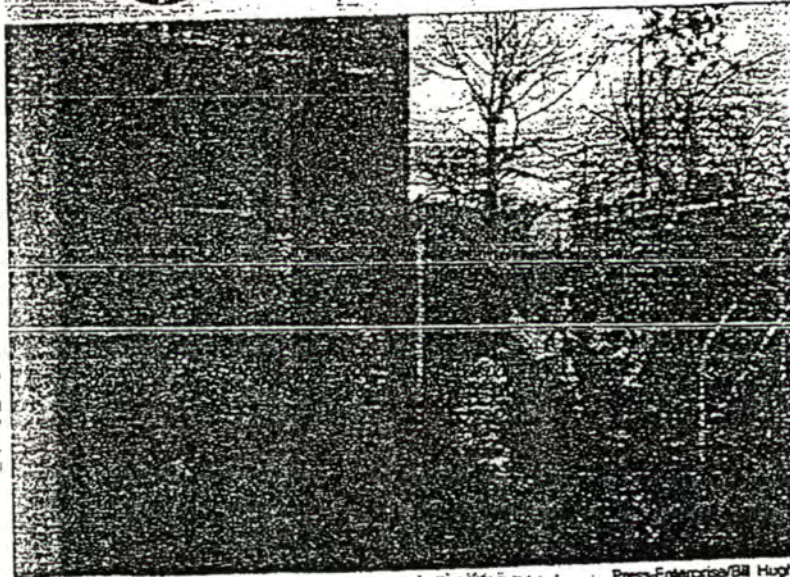
December 1, 1994 THURSDAY/50¢

PRESS-ENTERPRISE

Serving Danville, Bloomsburg, Berwick, Mifflinville, Numidia, Wapwallopen

High costs unravel garment factory

Owners: Closing to export 150 Kulpmont jobs



Press-Enterprise/Bill Hughes

FUTURE JOBLESS — Workers file out of the soon-to-close J.K. plant in Kulpmont at the end of their shift on Wednesday.

By DAVID J. RALIS
Press-Enterprise Writer

KULPMONT — About 150 jobs will be shipped overseas from a garment factory here in January because of the high cost of material, not labor.

The owners of J.K. Operating Corp., 1340 Chestnut St., blame the lost jobs on federal limits on the flannel they import and an attempt by China to make money on every yard shipped to the United States.

"It had nothing to do with the workers at the factory," said David Tolkin, vice president of Jennifer Dale Inc. in New York

■ **WHO'S WORKING?** Don't go by state job stats/Page 3

City, J.K.'s parent company. "The difficulty is in bringing in fabric to this country at an economical cost."

The United States set import limits on Chinese material two years ago, and in 1993 the company filled its quota of 1.5 million yards of flannel by May, he said.

This year, in response to the U.S. limit, the Chinese tacked a 30-cent to 40-cent surcharge onto every yard of flannel shipped to America, Tolkin said.

The extra cost pushed the price Please see **CLOSING** page 9

'Who's going to hire us?'

By BOB BAUDER
Press-Enterprise Writer

KULPMONT — At age 59, Alice Etzel should be looking forward to a nice retirement after more than 40 years in the local garment industry.

Instead, she is looking for a job. Etzel, Coal Township, is one of the 150 workers at J.K. Operating Corp. who will be out of work when the Kulpmont plant closes in 60

News shocks plant workers

days. It will be the third time in the last 10 years that Etzel has lost her job due to a plant closing.

"I only have 2½ years to retire," she said after leaving work on Wednesday. "Who's going to hire us?" That's a good question. Please see **WORKERS** back page.

AKN: EJA

412

Closing

Continued from page 1-

of the company's finished product up by as much as \$1.25 per piece of women's nightwear, an extra cost Dale's customers refused to pay.

The company's garments retail for \$6.15 to \$30.

J.K. is the sole plant manufacturing flannel, brushback, satin and knitted nightwear for Dale.

Dale sells its finished product to women's and teens' specialty shops and department stores such as J.C. Penney and Sears under its own name as well as store-specific names.

Dale purchased J.K. Operating Corp. in 1931 and had been gradually hiring more sewers and cutters to keep up with demand for its nightwear.

Now, all but about 50 office and warehouse staff will be laid off in 60 days.

The other 150 textile workers will see their jobs moved to Central America or the Far East, places China isn't surcharging material exports, Tolkin said. "We haven't made a decision

yet."

He noted the company looked into buying domestically produced flannel but found the U.S. suppliers were charging far more than the 85 to 95 cents per yard the Chinese charged before the surcharge.

"Anything we could have done, we tried," Tolkin said.

His father, Dale President Marvin Tolkin, broke the news to the company's unionized workers Tuesday at 2 p.m.

Ironically, Congress was ratifying the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) at about the same time.

The Clinton administration claims GATT will create hundreds of thousands of new American jobs by cutting worldwide trade barriers.

"Unfortunately, that's a little late for us," Cookie Ely, J.K.'s plant manager, said yesterday.

Asked if she also is expecting a pink slip, Ely replied, "Not yet."

Marvin Tolkin insisted his firm had no choice but to furlough

most of J.K.'s employees. "The one thing I can't do is make garments without piece goods," he said.

The plant will still be used as a warehouse for the dresses that are made overseas, but no decision had been made on what to do with its manufacturing equipment, he added.

Asked how the workers reacted to the 60-day notice he delivered, the elder Tolkin said, "Everybody was upset. . . . I didn't field any questions. Most are being handled through their union representative."

However, no union representative has been at the factory since Tolkin broke the news, prompting workers leaving the plant Wednesday afternoon to wonder if they have been forgotten.

"I wonder where our union is?" said Alice Etzel, 59, Coal Township.

The employees are represented by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union Local 185, Scranton.

Joseph Vetro, the union's district manager, did not return phone calls to his office yesterday.

Plant workers earn \$5.15 to nearly \$9 an hour and have a contract with the company until July.

Marvin Tolkin said he presented a severance package offer to Vetro on Tuesday and has yet to hear back from him. Tolkin refused to make its contents public.

■ Staff Writer Bob Bander contributed to this story.

Workers

Garment factory shutdowns have become commonplace around here in recent years. Last year alone saw three plant closings in the immediate area at a cost of about 300 jobs.

Etzel said she had 39 years on the job at Schroyer's dress company in Shamokin before it closed for good about nine years ago. The plant had been closed twice during her tenure.

She has been a sewer at the J.K. factory for about four years.

"Now I'm up here, and it's closing," she said. "You know what you can thank for this? All the (foreign) imports."

Workers were understandably glum as they left work Wednesday, one day after company President Marvin Tolkin told them the doors would close in 60 days.

Rumors had been circulating for months that the company was in trouble, but no one thought a layoff would come so soon.

"We thought they would wait until our contract expires in July," Etzel said.

The announcement, she said, was a big shock to everyone.

"It came at 2 o'clock," Etzel said. "At 10 after 2, it was all over. It took him 10 minutes to tell us he was giving his 60-day notice."

One woman, who would identify herself only as Cindy, said it will get worse as the last day nears.

"Oh man, some of the girls, you couldn't even talk to them" after Tolkin broke the news, she said.

Cindy had worked for the company for 10 years before quitting to open a greeting card shop on Chestnut Street in Kulpmont, just four blocks from the factory.

She didn't have enough busi-



BUSINESS AS USUAL — Trucks were lined up waiting to pick up product Wednesday at the J.K. garment plant in Kulpmont. A worker at the loading dock said they were "shipping out orders" and that it was "just a regular day." Employees have been given 60 days' notice.

ness to keep the shop open full time, so she returned to the plant. She's been back about two months.

She acknowledged it will be tough to find another job.

"I'll be out there looking for something," she said. "I've only been there two months and I can't sign up for unemployment like some of the girls."

But Cindy, who lives in Kulpmont, wasn't thinking about herself only. She said the entire town will be affected by the mass layoff.

"We have local businesses that bring in lunches and other business that (benefit)," she said. "Everybody's going to suffer."

Kulpmont Mayor Nicholas P. Goretski III said he wasn't looking forward to seeing more unemployed residents in the economically depressed town.

"It's going to be a definite blow economically to our community," he said. "Many people employed there are residents in the borough."

He said he will be looking for a way to bring another business

into town.

"I'm hoping someone else will come in and utilize that space, but I know in these times that's not a number one priority."

The mayor said the opening of the new state prison in Coal Township had started a positive trend by bringing jobs into the area. Now, all that is lost, he said.

"It's a shame," Cindy said. "It's supposed to be getting better, but it's not getting any better, that's for sure."

Press-Enterprise/Bill Hughes



Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/4

December 1, 1994

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

Subject: Suggested areas for budget cuts

Dear Mr. President:

Per our conversation, attached are:

- 1) Letter to Vice President Gore, including letter to Alice Rivlin outlining specific areas for further reductions. Note: these cover only what I call "operating issues" not policy issues.
- 2) Not covered in the letter because of its sensitivity but discussed verbally with the Vice President was a recommendation that would lead to the consolidation of certain agencies into one called the Government Operations Agency. I would be happy to discuss this further or put it in a brief confidential note, if you wish.
- 3) I have also attached other recent recommendations that, although not direct savings, would lead to much more effective operations of the executive branch.

I appreciated our discussion and look forward to others.

Sincerely,

Roger W. Johnson

Handwritten notes:
BUP
H&CEA idea
can't be - there's
connection to our efforts
that would be
suggested
through you
B





Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

Personal and Confidential

To: Vice President Al Gore

Subject: 1996 Budget

Date: November 18, 1994

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: M **DATE:** 10/31/94

2018-0662-5

Dear Mr. Vice President:

The following recommendations concerning the 1996 Budget process are made from the perspective of an operations oriented CEO. I have made most of these suggestions to Alice Rivlin for the 1996 budget and many of them to Leon Panetta for the '95 budget. I have attached both letters and will therefore, not repeat the details here. I have also added some thoughts.

- 1) Information Technology - I am more convinced than I was a year ago that there is \$5 - 10 billion available per year for at least the next three years. This reduction can be accomplished not only without hurting our initiatives but, in fact, helping them.
- 2) Consumable Inventory Reductions - I believe there is \$20 - 40 billion cash savings available over the next 2-3 years. This is a "one time" real cash savings resulting from increasing the "turns" of the Federal Government consumable inventories from current turns of 2 - 3 to a conservative 4 - 6 turns a year and thereby cutting inventories by approximately 50%. Similar inventories in the private sector are turned 10 - 15 times. (The estimate of current consumable inventory levels is \$40 - 80 billion.)
- 3) Real Estate Conversions - expensive leases to government owned buildings - This old issue could yield \$5 - 7 billion over 20 years.
- 4) New - Capital Planning/Budgeting - This issue has been discussed and I am told - rejected by not only OMB but also the Economic Council. I believe that the arguments against the process are seriously flawed and result in part from some misunderstandings of how the proposal process would work. After a year and a half of watching the results of not having



such a process - I am convinced that there are several billions of dollars of saving that we could achieve simply by instituting the disciplines of a Capital planning process and not changing the "accounting" at all.

5) New - The relatively painless manpower reduction GSA achieved by enforcing a hard freeze on all new hires and replacements convinces me that similar actions could not only achieve 1999 manpower levels sooner, but in the process dramatically accelerate the re-engineering programs so desperately needed to achieve the real improvements in customer services the country needs.

6) New (to most - but not to you) -

a) Bring in a CEO to run OMB. We don't need Government budget experts in that job - that is the problem!

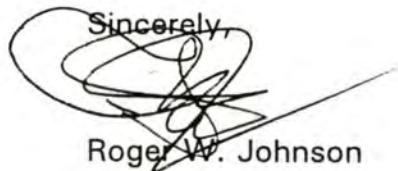
b) Add two or three CEO's of "non-financial" companies to Council of Economic Advisors. The issue is jobs and real competitiveness. Most of those on the Council have never created a private sector job in their entire career, nor have they directly competed nationally or internationally in the private sector.

c) Clearly designate the Vice President as Chief Operations Officer. (In my view the NPR assignment already gives you that role, but it needs to be "institutionalized."

I believe that these moves - controversial as they would be inside Washington would be hailed throughout the country. The administration would be saying "We've made a good, even great, start, but it is apparent that the country wants us to move faster and deeper. From our operating standpoint the N.P.R. already provides the specific plan. I believe the countries vote last week provides the mandate.

I look forward to further discussions with you on these issues.

Sincerely,



Roger W. Johnson





Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

TO: Alice Rivlin

FROM: Roger Johnson

DATE: October 18, 1994

RE: Fiscal Year 1995 and Beyond Federal Budget Savings

Dear Alice:

The following are recommendations for reducing Federal spending beginning in FY 95. These are similar to the recommendations made to Leon Panetta in September of 1993, but in the ensuing year I have become more convinced of their potential.

1) The cost of computer products - large and small, hard and soft has been coming down at a rate of 15% to 50% per year for the past ten years. As the same time the performance of these products has been increasing at approximately the same rate. No knowledgeable person expects that to change. It would seem prudent, therefore, to at least freeze the dollar expenditure - approximately \$20 billion in FY 94 - at that level for FY 95 and beyond. This would have a dual positive effect of not only saving approximately \$10 - 20 billion over 5 years, but also force government systems people to take advantage of the built in progress of American industry. This, in my view, is particularly compelling given the relatively poor state of computer systems in existence today and the relatively poor record of bringing new systems on line in a cost effective or timely manner. I am convinced that this action would not only not hurt the administration's technology initiatives but would, in fact, enhance them.

I have suggested to Steve Kelman and Chris Edley that the Federal Information Technology Community council be asked for support of this action. (In fact, I believe that this and other interagency councils, such as the CFO Council, could be playing a much more active role in budget options, revisions and decisions.)



2) Consumable Inventories - i.e. paper, food, paint, etc. estimated to be between \$50 and \$80 billion with turns at approximately 2-3 times per year. (The estimates are wide ranging since the Federal government lacks a consolidated balance sheet - or even accurate unconsolidated ones in many areas.) Sound inventory practice in the private sector would yield turns of at least 10-12/year. Improving the government's inventory turns to just 6 from 3 would cut inventories in half and net a real one time cash savings of potentially several billion dollars! To accomplish these savings we would need to:

- a) verify via records or by taking a physical inventory the actual amount currently tied up in consumables.
- b) classify the inventories into categories such as active, slow moving, excess and obsolete. (Some inventories such as those kept for national emergencies should also be categorized separately and measured by different criteria.)
- c) using outside consultants, supplemented by knowledgeable federal employees, identify a specific reduction plan. This is not a complex task and dozens of very successful models in the private sector are readily available. The different part of the program would be a government wide cash incentive program which, although controversial, I believe would be indispensable. Aside from having no meaningful measurements, the biggest problem with achieving sound practices is that there is no incentive for the tens of thousands of federal workers involved. In fact, all incentives currently drive their employees to increase inventories - they are punished or admonished for "running out" and it is one of the biggest areas for end of fiscal period spending. I suggest a simple incentive program that established a pool of dollars based on a percentage of inventory actual reduced (5% feels reasonable) to be shared by all career Federal employees involved in achieving the reduction as a cash payment at the end of a period - annually or possibly biannually, if the process isn't too cumbersome.
- d) an aggressive private sector program would target to capture all of the savings in the first year. However they would already have an accurate accounting and measurement process as well as an incentive structure. Since it will probably take six to twelve months to get a plan together a more prudent target might be two years.

e) I suggest the C.F.O. Council take lead responsibility for the project.

3) Federal building lease costs versus cost of ownership. The issues here are well known to each of us but the financial fact remains that we are wasting thousands daily and millions annually by leasing buildings that should be federally owned.

I continue to stand ready to help further explain, plan or implement these suggests.



Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

November 18, 1994

Honorable Albert Gore
Vice President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Subject: Affirmative Action Program for Executives in Government

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Although business and government are quite different - and rightly so - the business of government, i.e., the management of the process and people, requires the very same skills and experiences as professionally managing any organization. Unfortunately, I have concluded after 16 months that there is a gross lack of professional management experience and skills in Washington resulting in a variety of poor management practices. The lack of these fundamental skills and resulting poor management practices produces needlessly complex and frustrating processes, as well as billions of wasted dollars. In my opinion, you have radically changed the policy agenda of our country. At the same time, The N.P.R. recommendations have provided the blue print for major changes in the process of governing.

I am concerned, however, that we do not have the managerial skills to effectively implement these changes.

Although no one action can cure this problem, I believe that I have identified some specific actions that could help a great deal.

Since coming to Washington, I have become more and more concerned with the dearth of people with real hands-on general management experience. I believe I am the only Fortune 500 CEO in government, for example, and I'd be surprised if there were more than a dozen or so people who have real general management backgrounds, i.e., full P & L and financial responsibility for multiple functional organizations (i.e., men and women who had personal responsibility for results!).

The basic principals of professional management, i.e., planning, organizing, measuring and controlling, are just as applicable, and probably need even better execution, in government that lacks the built in P & L and cash flow disciplines.



My concern stems not from the fact that I believe business executives are more intelligent, more patriotic or more anything except that they are better trained in the business of professional management. The task of organizing, i.e., the packaging of work elements in an effective manor - the planning process, whether annual budgeting or long range strategic planning - the concept of performance standards and measurement - each takes significant specific knowledge and years of experience to develop. They do not accrue to one simply because he or she has been given a job requiring management.

Therefore, just as we value diversity of race, gender, sexual preference, etc., I believe we should thoughtfully review the quantity and quality of diversity of general management experience and background in your administration. Having done my own survey, I've concluded that we lack this diversity and, therefore, need an Affirmative Action Program for industry and business executives in the federal government.

There are several inherent deterrents that uniquely discriminate against executives including the confirmation process. Other deterrents include:

Length of Assignment - Most of the general management people we would want are on a fast track in their organizations - a four year hiatus is almost always a preemptive negative to government service - two years may not be, particularly if we enlist the help of American companies.

Suggestion #1 - Select specific jobs, particularly in the "operating" agencies, i.e. GSA, OMB, OPM, SEC, certain White House staff positions and certain departments such as Treasury, Transportation, Commerce, etc. that will be two year appointments restricted to general management experienced people - a number like 50 feels comfortable.

Develop a pool of 200 - 300 candidates by working directly with American business, who, I believe, could be convinced to view the program as a combination of public service and experience broadening for their executives. There certainly would be issues of conflict of interest and "revolving door." However, I believe there are factors that could mitigate these issues. For example, lack of government experience, particularly government contracting, would be a plus in my view. In fact, it's just what we don't want.



Secondly, the positions selected would have primary responsibility for the management processes within agencies and departments vs. policy or contracting decisions.

Finally, with the positions pre-identified, measures could be taken to avoid specific conflict. To offset the shortness of tours, I would overlap by 6 months or even a year, i.e. a replacement would be named and in place 6 months prior to the incumbent leaving.

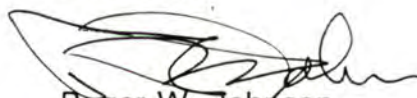
Suggestion #2 I suggest we select on a project basis vs. an ongoing position basis senior, retired executives who, perhaps teamed with young MBA's, be assigned specific projects. For example, there has been a continuous question in this agency as to whether the government should be in the automobile fleet management business. Why not have a private company who makes a living at it do it for us? All previous studies carry somewhat of the "fox watching the hen house" credibility concern. The analysis is relatively complex but quite definable -- an excellent 3 - 6 month task for a senior retired executive and a great learning experience for two or three MBA's. I am sure there are dozens of such issues that could benefit quite quickly from this approach.

In summary, Mr. Vice President, we are suffering greatly from the lack of diversity represented by the country's professional general management.

We extol the virtues of the free enterpriser, the entrepreneur, business like practices, opening international trade. We debate issues and pass laws that have a massive effect on these issues, and we are working hard to change the government's own way of doing business. Yet the halls and offices of government are almost completely void of the men and women who have created and who day-to-day make that system work.

I am convinced we need an infusion of these skills, experiences and thought processes as we move forward to make significant changes in the process of government via the NPR recommendations.

Sincerely,



Roger W. Johnson

ROGER W. JOHNSON

1406 30TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

September 21, 1994

Mr. Stan Greenberg
Greenberg Research, Inc.
515 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Subject: 1994 Political Team Message

Dear Stan:

Thank you for the frank summary of the situation and the "call to arms" for the Team. Your call for assertiveness and confidence is quite appropriate and well timed.

However, I am sure you would be disappointed if I did not have some hopefully constructive thoughts - from the center.

1) Suggestions

In 1992, the President was elected with significant support from moderates - both Republicans and Independents. We have lost or are losing them due, some to inattention, but mostly because they are hearing from the conservatives that the administration "conned" them and that once elected jumped far to the left. In my view these charges have gone mostly unanswered - adding further credibility. We need this constituency not only in 1994 but most assuredly in 1996. I believe we can not only regain their support, but also obtain net gains from the Perot moderates who just want meaningful change. We must answer those attacks head on through additional emphasis on centrist elements of the administration's accomplishments, such as deficit reduction, crime, trade, etc. In addition, we should consider highlighting two accomplishments that I believe have been seriously under emphasized politically.

One of the most powerful initiatives in that regard is the whole range of Re-Inventing government initiatives that are beginning to take hold. The Vice President, his staff, and NPR advocates are doing a very good job of promoting the accomplishments - but it seems to be missing from the main-stream political messages. Putting customers (i.e. taxpayers) first; establishing, publicizing and enforcing customer service performance measures throughout the government, while at the same time, finding ways to reduce the size and cost of government is something that has not only ever been accomplished - it is something that has never even been seriously tried. The Clinton administration has tried and it is working! I believe that this is our strongest message. We have taken the conservative's cornerstone message that government is too big and doesn't work right out from under their nose! In order to get proper credit, we need to sharpen the message and make it a part of every political communication.

The second major differentiating asset of the President's first twenty months has been his extraordinarily effective partnership with Vice President Al Gore. That partnership takes two conditions - 1) an excellent Vice President and 2) a sophisticated and self confident CEO. I have watched in amazement as the President's management style has been trashed by everyone but Socks. In my thirty years of managerial experience, I have found having a strong second in command, carefully listening to all sides of an issue - even changing your mind in the face of new information or changing situations were the signs of an excellent executive. Even the best executive carries some part of his style to excess but successful business teams deal with that issue - they do not attack and try to change the 80% that is effective. The teamwork with the Vice President and his search for the best ideas will be well understood by most in American business - but the story has to be told.

2) Cautions

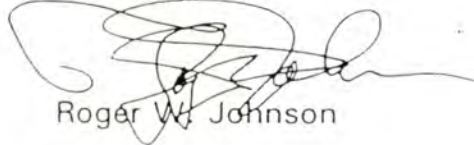
Please be careful with terms such as "the wealthy," "the ordinary person," etc. Although we talked about taxing the wealthy in the campaign it was always in the context of fairness - not class warfare. This is the rhetoric that the far right loves. More importantly, I believe that Bill Clinton's appeal to the moderates was in fact due to his focus on the issues versus ideology and slogans.

Rather than the "rich versus the ordinary" split, I would suggest that the message be that he is trying to make America better for all people - first, because I believe that is the truth and secondly, most people don't like to think of themselves as ordinary anyway.

I recognize that some of these comments may not appeal to the more liberal people in the Democratic Party. I believe there is increasing evidence that more and more of the people who actually vote have become disenchanted with the traditional partisan ideologies on either side and believe rather, as I do, that we need leaders who will face and solve problems on the common sense merits of the issues - not on old partisan ideological litmus tests.

I hope that this is helpful.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Roger W. Johnson", with a large, stylized flourish above it.

Roger W. Johnson



Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

28 April, 1994

The Honorable Leon Panetta
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, DC 20503

Subject: FY-1996 Budget Planning Guidance

Dear Leon:

I obviously quickly noted that the FTE "Guidance" for the GSA resulted in a reduction of 17.6% from the 1993 Baseline. I also acknowledge that this was the higher end of a range that I said we could achieve -- under certain re-inventing assumptions -- and I still believe we can!

I am writing, however, to express serious concern that OMB may be considering using the extra 5.1% (vs. 12.5%) to satisfy some other agencies pleas that, due to "added" assignments resulting from, for example, the crime bill or health care reform or any number of new programs -- that they will not only not be able to reduce, but in fact will have to add people or costs.

Although this specific issue may be small I'm afraid it clearly demonstrates a much larger and more serious problem. The concept that a new task requires/allows added people or costs is in my opinion, in direct contradiction to not only the conclusions and intent of the National Performance Review recommendations but also flies in the face of the actual experiences of the private sector and most state and local government over the past 5-10 years!

Many in the Federal Government continue to view their operation with the inherent assumption that "everyone of the thousands of people we now have and each dollar of the billions we now spend are properly deployed and absolutely necessary therefore, obviously, each new task requires a net new person or dollar." Further, the concept that these new investments are being made to achieve future lower cost and better service seems totally lost.

Hundreds of unfunded mandated programs have been dumped on local governments and the private sector over the past few years. Thousands of new investments -- many in the billions of dollars -- have been required for American Companies to regain or maintain their international competitiveness - but they had to

be accomplished not only without increased costs - but in most cases lower costs. They did it by revamping how they ran their existing business and by assuring that the benefits promised by the new investments actually were achieved! They did it by re-inventing, re-engineering, making commitments, and assuring the end result at least met the commitment.

We have two major opportunities and, I believe, responsibilities.

One: Assure that not only the hundreds of specific -- well thought out -- recommendations of the NPR are really implemented, but also that they are put in place along with the spirit of major cultural change highlighted throughout the report. These changes should put us well on the way to doing everything we are now assigned a lot better with significantly lower costs. This should also result in giving us room to add new initiatives/investments and still have lower costs in most cases, but certainly without increases.

Two: Where are the results of the new programs? We certainly are adept and articulate when identifying all of the added costs, but where are the equally clearly defined and committed improved results? For example, maybe we do need to add some people and costs in 1996 because we're opening new prisons -- but where are the benefits of the crime bill, i.e., reduced crime! Surely we should see some results by 1999. If not, why make the investment? With 50,000 more police on the streets, better rehabilitation programs in the prisons, a stronger community service program -- Head Start, National Service, etc. -- we certainly should "work better and cost less," but I don't see measurable end result commitments.

It seems to me that with a couple of notable exceptions -- your letter on incorporating procurement reform cost improvement and the 252,000 FTE reduction for example -- we have a major disconnect between the NPR recommendations and our budget process. I also think we have no connection between the cost of our new investments and the results of these programs in the budget process.

(This and other financial issues have led me to conclude that the federal work force, in all branches but particularly at higher levels, suffers from a fundamental lack of half the skills in arithmetic. On the one hand we seem highly skilled in addition and multiplication, but completely inept at subtraction or division. Maybe Secretary Riley could provide some help.)

Arithmetic skills aside, I believe this is a very serious issue not only financially but politically. The people that call or write me or that I meet outside of Washington, one way or another, put the lack of our ability to sensibly manage our affairs at the top of their list of concerns. This is a non-partisan issue! The good news is that since they hold everyone in Washington in such low esteem in this regard, it won't take a huge turnaround to set this administration apart from any in the past 20 - 30 years. The bad news is that failing to show material progress will send them looking for new management in 1996 in my view.

I'm sure this letter will not be popular in many places, but I'm writing it because I really believe we can make government work better and cost less. We really can improve our crime situation and health care and education system and reduce the costs at the same time, and I believe that this administration may well be the only one -- at least in my lifetime -- to have the will and capability to pull it off.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R. W. Johnson', written over a circular stamp or seal.

ROGER W. JOHNSON
Administrator

cc: The President
The Vice President
President's Management
Council Members



Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

10 December, 1993

The Honorable Leon Panetta
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, DC 20503

Subject: FY '95 and beyond suggested savings

Dear Leon:

Per our conversation, I believe that there are significant savings, particularly in procurement, that can be achieved while at the same time improving operating effectiveness. Attached as Exhibit #1 is a summary of savings that range from a low of \$15.2 billion to a high of \$31.6 billion over five years. The calculations are based on authorizations/obligations which will result in outlay savings at a later date. Most of the procurement savings, however, will convert to outlay savings in the same year.

The following is a more detailed explanation of where the savings can come from:

1) Information Technology Products, Software & Services

A) Purchased IT obligations in FY '91 and '92 were \$16.5 billion and \$18 billion respectively and are estimated to be \$18.9 billion and \$19.6 billion in FY '93 and '94. This represents year to year absolute increases of 3.2% to 8.6% with an average of 6%/year (see attachment #2).

B) At the same time the industry price reduction for PC hardware was dropping at a rate of 50 - 75%/year (see attachment #3). Software was dropping at approximately 12%/year (see attachment #4). Mainframes, new computers and services are estimated to be falling at 10 - 25%/year. In addition to the price reductions, the performance, i.e., speed, storage capacity, "openness," etc., have been increasing 20 - 50%/year. Using relatively conservative estimates of 20%/year,



price reductions and 25% preference increases, if in FY '95 we only spent the \$16.6 million we spent in FY '91, it should have purchased the equivalent of \$32 million worth of products (i.e., twice as much) with double the performance of FY '91. Therefore, I believe it is quite reasonable to at least place a freeze on FY '95 and beyond at FY '94 levels, i.e., \$19.6 billion of purchased IT products and services. Attachment #4 shows savings potential ranging \$9.8 billion to \$19.1 billion depending on what rate of growth is in the current projections if we freeze at '94 levels. I would, however, cut further than this, at least for FY '95. Based on my experience, and recognizing that we've spent over \$50 billion in the past 3 years, I would cut FY '95 back to at least FY '92 levels, which I think would yield \$2 - 2.5 billion for FY '95.

C) I suggest that we use FY '95 to revisit the benefits projected by each of the departments and agencies and extract hard commitments for further savings that will result from the IT investments.

D) I would further suggest that we mount, in parallel, a major effort to dramatically reduce "custom" systems. In DOD's case, this shows itself as "milspec." Bill Perry at DOD has a major initiative to reduce this use as well.

II. Real Estate

A) Rent Reductions

For a variety of reasons all aimed at making the GSA a more competitive asset manager, we have projected the attached reductions in the rent we charge other agencies. Total savings of \$3.1 billion over 5 years; \$44.5 million in FY '95.



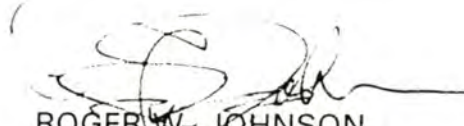
B) Time Out and Review

We have completed review of approximately 60 of the 208 projects we are reviewing. As you know, we announced the results of the first 28 two weeks ago and will announce the remaining 35 or so next week. Total savings so far is approximately \$600 million, but over 30 years of project life.

C) Savings From Rental Conversions

Due to a lack of long range planning and appropriate financial analyses, the federal government has entered into relatively expensive operating leases which now account for over 50% of federal office buildings. The plans we are developing will convert many of these leases to owned property as the leases expire with significant real cash savings (see attached schedule).

Sincerely,


ROGER W. JOHNSON
Administrator



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

94 DEC 6 A10 : 44

December 6, 1994

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton,

It is with a sense of satisfaction at what we have achieved over these past two years that I submit my resignation as Secretary of the Treasury, effective December 22. With your leadership, we have turned the U.S. economy around and set it on the path toward stable, long-term growth.

After a career serving our country in the Congress, I want to thank you for the opportunity to make a contribution and a difference on a national and international scale. The access you afforded me -- and the weight you accorded Treasury in the decisions that were made -- were critical factors in the success we have achieved and the successes that will flow in the coming years.

As we discussed in September, I desire to return to my native Texas and the private sector.

Sincerely,


Lloyd Bentsen



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

RICHARD A. GEPHARDT
MAJORITY LEADER

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/13/94

To President Clinton

December 2, 1994

Fr. George S.

F4I

Mr. Alan Greenspan, Chairman
Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
Constitution Avenue and 20th Street
Washington, D.C. 20551

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Today, as the Department of Labor announced that unemployment had dropped to 5.6 percent, a Federal Reserve Governor was reported to have expressed concern that the economy was growing too much, too soon, and that consumer spending was too strong as well. The implication was that another damaging interest rate hike may be on the horizon, to dampen a recovery that has barely touched the lives of most working Americans.

I certainly appreciate your constant concern about inflation, and I do not criticize the Federal Reserve lightly. But I wish some of the Fed officials who think the economy is too strong would come back to my district in St. Louis, and meet some of the families and workers who are barely making ends meet.

For all but the top fifth of America's families, annual salaries are lower today than they were back in 1973. Our people are working longer hours, for less pay, with fewer benefits -- in jobs they're not even sure they can keep. If you ask them if the economy is too strong, I daresay they'd give you a very different answer than the average Fed official.

While the economy is certainly doing better, growth is still uneven at best. Many regions are still very weak, despite the overall recovery. Some sectors, such as housing and some areas of retail, are already

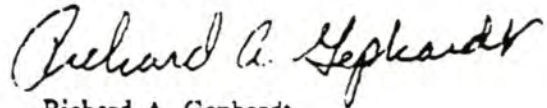
showing signs of weakness nationwide. Moreover, the Fed has already done a lot to tighten the economy. To take another drastic measure before even gauging the results of these recent rate hikes could cause needless economic distress for millions of workers.

At the same time, the traditional view of inflation -- that strong growth leads immediately to higher prices -- simply doesn't hold true in a super-competitive global economy. If our manufacturers raised prices, they'd suffer serious setbacks in world markets. So while we must be careful, we need not be overzealous about this risk.

Unemployment may be down, but the fact remains that underemployment is rampant. Many of the jobs created in the past two years are not good jobs, and lack the kinds of benefits and security that ensure true, long-term economic strength and stability. And overall economic indicators do not account for the fact that unemployment among young people and minorities is far higher than the national average. If many of America's families are condemned to joblessness and hopelessness, what kind of recovery is it anyway?

As you know, I have tremendous respect for your efforts and abilities, and I believe that the Fed's Governors hold a sincere desire to do what is best for our economy. But as you move forward, I urge you to remember the people behind the statistics -- and I urge you to recognize that one man's economic recovery is too often another man's economic tragedy.

Very truly yours,



Richard A. Gephardt

Chris

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/3/44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1994 ⁹⁴ DEC 2 P6:02

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *ym*
SUBJECT: LETTERS FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Attached are letters from members of Congress that I thought you would like to see:

- 1) Mark Hatfield (R-OR),
- 2) Carolyn Maloney (D-NY)

*cc HRC/Leah
for her n: rnr
B.*

Screened

MARK O. HATFIELD
OREGON



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 30, 1994

34 DEC 2 P5:41

Dear Mr. President,

Antoinette and I want to thank you for your kindness in lending us the Presidential box at the Kennedy Center this weekend. The performance of "Figaro" was wonderful and we certainly had the best seats in the house.

We both agreed that this was the perfect way to end the holiday weekend and to store some peaceful moments for the busy week to come. Thank you, again for your thoughtfulness.

With warmest regards and best wishes to you and Hillary.

Sincerely,

We both love you.



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES 41
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

CAROLYN B. MALONEY
14TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

November 22, 1994

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. President: *MR President*

Having just experienced a surprise landslide victory on November 8, I am writing to thank you again for the important role you played in my reelection.

The fundraiser you attended for me was a smashing success. It did wonders for my warchest and sent the momentum of my campaign soaring. It was a great honor for me to have the President of the United States do a fundraiser for me, especially a President whom I admire so much.

But your most important contribution to my campaign was not your presence at a fundraiser, but rather the achievements of your first two years in the White House. The successes of your Presidency were not lost on my constituents. I made no bones about my support for you. I wore it like a badge of honor. Perhaps more of my Democratic colleagues should have done the same.

The 104th Congress presents daunting challenges. But we Democrats are going to continue to lead this country down the prosperous road we have already begun to travel. You and I both have faced more difficult tasks in the past. And we are going to succeed again.

Thank you again, Mr. President, for your help, leadership and kindness.

Sincerely,

Carolyn
Carolyn B. Maloney
Member of Congress



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/3/94

NOTE FOR: Ann Walker/Jenny McCarthy

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/3/94

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1994

94 NOV 23

P3

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Ann Walker

Re: Faces of Hope Update - Additional information

Following is the completed update on all the Faces of Hope. We have been in contact with each person and have determined that a reunion in March 1995 is most feasible.

CHARLES RACHAL/LEON GULLETTE - California

Rachel and Gullette are the former members of rival Los Angeles gangs (Bloods and Crips) and are in the process of starting a program called "17-30". The program will recruit gang members and at-risk youth for vocational training schools. Scholarships and stipends will be provided but funds have not yet been approved by the City Council. Private funds are also being raised.

They are actively working with the Black Police Officers Association. Charles was on Capitol Hill with Chief of Police of Inglewood, Calif and Maxine Waters to speak on behalf of Crime Bill. Charles received a proclamation from Willie Brown for facilitating a conference called "Tuning In - Listening to a New Generation" and is working for Investors Title Company as a community liaison.

Leon Gullett is in Associated Technical College getting a degree in telecommunications and will be finishing in two months. He is still very active with Charles in the community projects but felt he needed further education to enable him to make a living.

FRED AND EVELYN KEATING - New Hampshire

Fred and Evelyn met you at the Pub Restaurant in Keene, New Hampshire in November 1992 and campaigned for you. Fred worked on Dick Swett's campaign and also worked with Marty Meehan. The Keatings keep in touch with Mike Morrision, the high school student who is also a Face of Hope.

MARGUERITE, ARLENE AND RAMAL TAYLOR - Indiana

Mrs. Clinton met Marquerite and her granddaughter while visiting a South Bend Head Start Program. Marguerite is still working with the local Head Start Program which boasts of 940 children between 3 and 5 years and a staff of about 200. She is also working on a new program called "African American Women in Touch" a breast cancer education program. Her daughter, Arlene had a son, Lamar, who is now 17 months. You are in their prayers always.

DR PATRICIA WETZEL - Texas

You met Dr. Wetzel at a townhall meeting in Dallas. She contracted HIV from an accidental needle prick in 1991. She spends most of her time travelling and lecturing on HIV among women and occupational exposure to HIV for health care workers. She gave up private practice about a year ago, is healthy and exhibits no AIDS symptoms.

ROSA LOVELACE - Texas

Rosa's letter during the campaign resulted in a student town hall meeting hosted by Al Gore. Rosa is now principal of Bliss Elementary School in Fort Bliss. She is an appointed member of Judge Phil Martinez's Juvenile Court Conference Committee and has been involved with the Kettering Foundation and Paso del Norte Chapter of National Issues. Extends an invitation for you to visit her school if you come to El Paso.

HEATHER WILLIAMS - Georgia

Heather, a teenager, met Mrs. Gore at a rally in Atlanta, where she was a campaign worker.

Heather continues to be very active in local and school politics. She collected over 100 signatures for the Breast Cancer petition submitted in memory of Sheri Kohlenberger. She joined the Air Force ROTC at her high school and was promoted to Staff Sergeant on her second day. She was invited once again to the Georgia Jefferson-Jackson dinner and has been commended for being a "Face of Hope" by Governor Zell Miller.

REVEREND WILLIAM J. LINDER - New Jersey

Mrs. Clinton met Reverend Linder at the Babyland Nursery in Newark in 1992. Rev. Linder's New Community Corporation and Babyland Nursery have been involved in many new projects benefiting low-income families:

- * The Reverend received the 1994 Entrepreneurial American Leadership Award for his work on inner city neighborhoods of Newark.
- * Received \$24 million from HUD to rehabilitate two failed city housing project high rises of 206 units under the HOPE Project.
- * Opened 56 units of new rental low-income families.
- * Purchased Stony Hill, an RTC Family Project, in Eatontown, NJ. The 27-acre 376 apartment complex was acquired under a special program of the New Jersey Housing and Mortgage Finance Agency. One third of the units will be available to low and moderate income families.
- * Babyland VII opened to provide day care to 79 abused or neglected children - ages infant to 4 1/2 years.

BILL BRIERTON - Pennsylvania

(*Newark*)

Can we help him

Bill Brierton worked at Teledyne Columbia Steel for 24 years before being laid off in December, 1990. He has been working as a temporary employee at Pittsburgh State Prison but has been unable to go on full-time permanent worker status. Feels he lost a recent opportunity "because of an affirmation action decision." He is worried that when the temporary position is completed, he will be unemployed. Mrs. Brierton lost her job at the Childrens Hospital two months ago. Her health is poor and she is unable to seek work. She is a breast cancer survivor. Mr. Brierton fears that he and his wife will be homeless by the end of the year.

MICHELLE MILLER - Georgia

You met Michelle Miller at the Atlanta "Habitat for Humanity" Project when you worked on her house. Michelle is working at Nations Bank and is president of the PTA at a child development center.

Her message to you is "keep up the good work". She says everyone is accustomed to Republican administrations and feels that you are not given credit for your accomplishments because they represent change which people resist. Wants to help in whatever way she can.

LISA, KEN and KEN JR CRAWFORD - Ohio

Lisa Crawford was instrumental in helping out at a campaign stop for Al Gore near the Fernald Nuclear Weapons Facility, which contaminated the community of Fernald.

As President of FRESH GROUP (which celebrated 10 years on November 17, 1994) we arranged a meeting for her with Alice Rivlin and Katie McGuinty regarding Federal Facilities Administration Policies last June. She continues to lobby to clean up nuclear waste sites and "fights the fight" on environmental issues. Strongly supports you and the Administration and speaks on your behalf. "On the lighter side, their son received his drivers license which can cause parental terror."

CYNTHIA, MITCH, BRETT, JOSH PHILPOTT - Georgia

Brett shared a hospital room with Al Gore III in 1989. Brett had major surgery in January to reconstruct his hip. He was in a body cast for 2 months, but is recovering well; the operation was very successful and he's now back in school. Cynthia has remarried and her new name is Cynthia Nalley. Josh is now 17, living with his father and doing well. Cynthia says the Inaugural week was "the happiest she has ever seen Brett - it was the highlight of his life".

LESLIE WILLIAMS - North Carolina

Al Gore met Leslie, a single parent, at a campaign stop in Durham where her young daughter jumped in his lap in the middle of a news conference. Leslie, an intensive care nurse, has changed jobs - she is now a nurse in a hospice for AIDS patients. She started in May after her trip to Washington, D.C., realizing she wasn't doing what she wanted and contributing to make the world better. She is also getting married. Her sister, who accompanied Leslie to the Inauguration also changed careers as a result and has started a reading tutorial program for dyslexic children who cannot afford private tutoring. She is expecting a child soon.

ANGIE and DEAN COX - Ohio

 Mrs. Gore met Angie Cox and her son, Joshua at Akron's Children Hospital during the campaign. Joshua had a rare illness and a short life expectancy. As you know, he passed away shortly after his return from the Inauguration. Angie still has her beauty salon for disabled children and adults. Dean is still working as a foreman at a construction firm. They are both doing well. Angie requested that you consider a return visit to Children's Hospital in Akron, Ohio. They both send their full support.

PETER AND VINCENT MADONIO - New York

Mrs. Clinton met Peter Madonia, who runs a family-owned bakery that has been in the family for three generations in New York City. Business is going very well. He lost his bother-in-law to AIDS this year but aside from that tragedy things are good.

DIMITRIOS and TINA THEOFANIS - New York

 You met Dimitrios while he was working in the kitchen of the New York Sheraton. He complained about unsafe conditions in his children's schools. Tina is working in a public school and Dimitrios is still working in the banquet department of the Sheraton. All is well and they are planning a trip to D.C. next spring with their children.

JUDGE FORTUNATO BENAVIDES - Texas

You met the Judge on a number of occasions. He managed a program to assist trouble youth.

You appointed him to the Federal Bench in the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in March 1994 and he was confirmed in early May. Says that the trip to the Inauguration and subsequent meeting of all the Faces was a rejuvenation for him - he describes it as "being like a freshman in college again."

CHERYL AND CLENNON JONES - Kentucky

Cheryl is working at University of Kentucky Medical Center. She was Employee of the Year, Black Achiever of the Year, received her Associates Degree and is working on her BA. She has participated in local television interviews on parenting, as well as workshops on homelessness.

Kanesha is 15 now and involved with a youth group "Black Achievers". She is in the Color Guard and the school band and was awarded Volunteer of the Year at the U.K. Hospital.

Clennon is still active with Habitat for Humanity and has been travelling recently, helping out with a national catering outfit, but he is searching for full time employment.

MANNY CARDONA - Connecticut

Hillary met Manny at the Teen Fathers Program at the Bridgeport YMCA. Two weeks after Mrs. Clinton visited, one of the teen fathers she spoke to was killed in a gang related shooting. Manny was hospitalized (unrelated to shooting) during the Inauguration and unable to attend.

Manny is still running the Teen Program but says the work is difficult because of lack of funding and staffing. Manny was a teen father 34 years ago and overcame most of the odds because of a strong family unit. He knows, however, how difficult it is for most of these teen boys he counsels, because most of them are in gangs, have no skills, and no parental supervision. Manny's program is run through the YWCA and provides:

- Counseling
- Parenting classes
- Planned parenthood
- Job Referrals
- Housing Referrals

He believes that there are only four similar programs for the teen boys in the country and that these kinds of programs are badly needed. Additionally, very little preventative work is done because of the lack of funds for the outreach necessary. He hopes to break the cycle and convince these young boys that there is always hope and it is never too late. He hopes that you or Mrs. Clinton or the President will visit the center again sometime to raise the awareness of the issue.

BOB SHANNON - Missouri

X | He was selected to speak at the Million Dollar Roundtable in Dallas, Texas on June 29, 1994. He addressed an audience of 6,000 people representing 47 countries and the topic was "Right Kind of Hero". He mentions the Faces of Hope and how you empowered him by selecting him as a Face.

He was also given the Lifetime Achievement Award by the St. Louis American Newspaper, September 9, 1994. The Governor and Representative William Clay presented the award. Still coaching the East St. Louis Sr. High School's football team, "The Flyers".

Robert J. Samuelson

Immigration: The Facts

Some months ago, I attended a talk by political scientist Peter Skerry, an expert on immigration. I didn't know much about modern immigration and expected Skerry to explain why high levels of newcomers benefit America. Wrong. Although Skerry sympathized with immigrants individually, he doubted that huge inflows are healthy for us as a society. I should have listened, but I didn't and like much of the national press corps, I'm now playing catchup with California's Proposition 187.

My great need now is for reliable information; most people, I suspect, are in the same position. We are vaguely uncomfortable with both polar positions in the immigration debate: on the one hand, a near-hysteria that we're being overrun by foreigners; and on the other, a totally uncritical reverence for our immigrant heritage. But we don't know what to believe, because these powerful images are quickly defining the debate.

So what follows is a first cut at the facts. In preparing this primer, I have relied heavily on three recent studies that summarize existing knowledge: "Immigration to the United States: Journey to an Uncertain Destiny," from the Population Reference Bureau in Washington; "The Index of Leading Immigration Indicators," from the Manhattan Institute; and "Immigration and Immigrants," from the Urban Institute in Washington.

Q: How does immigration now compare with the past?

A: About 1 million people a year immigrate. This rate slightly exceeds that of the previous peak decade of 1901-10, when immigration totaled 9 million. Because our population is larger today, the foreign-born represent only about 8 percent of the total, about half the 15 percent of 1910. But that's nearly double what it was in 1970 (4.7 percent), and half of all immigrants have arrived since 1980. Moreover, about four-fifths of new immigrants come from Latin America and Asia, a dramatic change from the past; in the 1950s, only about a third did.

Q: Don't immigrants' incomes rise rapidly as they assimilate, indicating they provide large economic benefits for the country?

A: Yes and no. Studies of immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s found that after 15 or 20 years, their incomes equaled or exceeded those of comparable native-born Americans. But more recent immigrants may have lower skills and do less well. Economist George Borjas of the University of California estimates that their lifetime earnings will never overtake natives'.

Q: Are most immigrants illegal?

A: No. Of the 1 million, perhaps 300,000 are illegal. There are many more illegal entries (1.5 million to 2.5 million a year), but many workers move back and forth across the border.

Q: Aren't immigrants concentrated in a few states?

A: True. In 1990, four states accounted for nearly two-thirds of immigrants. They were California (33 percent), New York (14 percent), Florida (8 percent) and Texas (8 percent). In these states, immigrants represented from 9 percent of the population (Texas) to 22 percent (California). But in most states, immigrants are one percent to 5 percent of the total.

Q: Do immigrants use welfare heavily?

A: Not especially. Illegal immigrants are already ineligible for many federal programs, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children. But children born in the United States are eligible, and so are political refugees (about 10 percent of immigrants). Among older legal immigrants, there's heavy use of Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Taken together, about 9.1 percent of immigrant households received welfare in 1990 compared with 7.4 percent for native Americans, reports Borjas. But he also finds that welfare use has gradually risen over time.

Q: Do immigrants' taxes exceed their government benefits?

A: Unclear. Economist Donald Huddle of Rice University estimated that costs exceeded taxes by \$42 billion in 1992. But Jeffrey Passel and Rebecca Clark of the Urban Institute contend that Huddle omitted Social Security taxes and overestimated immigrants' benefits. Passel and Clark say that immigrants' taxes exceed their benefits by \$25 billion. Either way, the amounts are tiny compared with our national income of \$6 trillion in 1992.

Q: So what's California complaining about?

A: Everyone agrees that the federal government gets most taxes (mainly through income and Social Security withholding) while states and localities bear heavy costs—for schools, health care, police. Thus, California and a few other states suffer a significant drain on local tax bases. How much is unclear.

Q: Wasn't the 1986 immigration law supposed to stop illegal immigration by fining companies that hired illegals?

A: Yes. But the law hasn't worked, because it's so easy for illegal aliens to get false documents (driver's licenses, Social Security cards) that they can present to employers.

To me, all this means that we don't have a national "immigration crisis." A few states and localities have a crisis—and we all have a warning. This is not 1910; societies such as ours crave security and stability. Huge inflows of immigrants are jarring, culturally and psychologically as much as economically. At present rates, the immigrant population could hit 14 or 15 percent of the total by 2030; with their children, the share would reach about 25 percent, up from 18 percent now.

At the same time, immigration has always infused America with new ambition, ideas and energy. Our huge country has an astonishing capacity to assimilate. The need is to balance these competing considerations: it is not to end immigration but to control it. Can border crossing be tightened? Should hiring illegal aliens be made harder by adopting a national computerized registry, as proposed by the Commission on Immigration Reform? Should legal immigration quotas be altered?

As yet, I don't have answers. I am listening and learning—and waffling in print. But I do know that the debate's tone matters as much as its substance. It's important to keep immigration in perspective. Otherwise, newcomers will be blamed for a lot of old problems; and then a necessary debate will become ugly and mean, dividing America more than uniting it.

RASC

Samuelson

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Harold Ickes to POTUS re: DNC Direct Mail Program (1 page)	12/02/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4892

FOLDER TITLE:

December 1-3, 1994

2018-0662-S

rs3112

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]



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Lee Anne Madison:
in Leg Aff checked
out for me and
said it was okay
between
Boris and Terry



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 6, 1994

Michael Sheehan
Sheehan Associates, Inc.
Suite 400
1901 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Michael:

Thanks for your letter of November 18 and for your thoughtful suggestion of a dinner party at Riki's and your home. It's really a very generous offer, and I hope we'll be able to do it.

Sincerely,

Bin

November 18, 1994

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

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Pat
(for Response
Suggestion)
2. Free for
Reply
3. Ce Billy
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SHEEHAN
ASSOCIATES
INC.

Dear Mr. President,

Given the results of the recent election, the task of promoting a workable climate for the Administration on Capitol Hill is daunting. To that end, I'd like to offer some possible assistance.

On the occasions you've met and spoken with my wife, Riki, you may not have learned that she worked as a top aide on the Personal Staff and Appropriations Committee for Senator Mark Hatfield for fifteen years. Given the new alignment in the 104th Congress, Senator Hatfield will once again chair the Appropriations Committee and can affect your agenda.

It seems to me that a good personal and professional relationship between you and Senator Hatfield is in everyone's best interest. As Riki and I have a close relationship with the Senator and his wife, Antoinette, I had the idea of having a small dinner party at our home and inviting you and Mrs. Clinton, the Hatfields, and a very few other couples.

A relaxing evening besides, this might give you and the Senator an informal opportunity to broaden your relationship before the intense work of the new Congress begins. Before I begin any overture, I wanted to know if you feel this appropriate and if your schedule allows for an evening dinner or weekend brunch before Congress convenes.

Besides, the last time I met with you, you showed me your library; this time, I'd be honored to show you my collection of inscribed first editions of mystery and detective fiction.

Sincerely,



Michael Sheehan

cc: Billy Webster
Leon Panetta
Pat Griffin

202-452-9440

1901 L Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20036

**FAX**

94 DEC 7 P1:59

Cover Sheet
(312) 243-8539DATE: December 7, 1994ATTENTION: John Podesta, Asst. to President

COMPANY: _____

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-2883FROM: Paolina Milana (312) 997-3682# OF PAGES: 2 (INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

IF YOU DID NOT RECEIVE THE NUMBER OF PAGES INDICATED ABOVE,
OR IF ANY PAGE IS ILLEGIBLE, PLEASE CONTACT US IMMEDIATELY
AT (312) 666-1331. THANK YOU!

MEMO:

*Dot skind
let's try to do this
to the*

The CHICAGO LIGHTHOUSE
for People Who Are Blind or Visually Impaired

1850 West Roosevelt Road • Chicago, Illinois 60608-1298
(312) 666-1331 • TDD (312) 666-8874 • FAX (312) 243-8539





The CHICAGO LIGHTHOUSE

for People Who Are Blind
or Visually Impaired

December 5, 1994

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

Dear Mr. Podesta:

The Chicago Lighthouse is the largest agency in the Midwest serving children and adults who are blind or visually impaired. Throughout its history, the Lighthouse has built its foundation on the dedicated individuals who staff its programs and assist its clients. One such dedicated individual is Carl Konrath.

After 43 years of dedicated service to people with disabilities, Carl Konrath, one of The Chicago Lighthouse's most respected staff members, is retiring. In honor of his long-time commitment to the Lighthouse and its people, the Lighthouse is hosting a retirement party for him on Friday, January 6, 1995.

It meant so much to us when President Clinton sent us a congratulatory letter and autographed photo for our dedication ceremony last year, we were hoping he might be willing to do the same for Carl. President Clinton has been a long-time advocate of people with disabilities, and nothing would mean more to Carl than a letter and autographed photo from him. Below is some historical information about Carl's career that hopefully may be used in the letter:

Carl Konrath began his career at the Lighthouse on September 21, 1951 as a supervisor in the rehabilitation workshop. He was promoted to director of vocational evaluation and training in 1975, and was among the first in the United States to obtain the status of "certified rehabilitation counselor." Carl obtained a Dr. Scholl Foundation grant in 1990 which created a state-of-the-art, nationally recognized vocational evaluation program. His personal experiences with blindness and his professional experiences with the needs of people who are blind and multi-disabled serves as a model for us all.

Your granting us this request would truly be appreciated not only by Carl, but by his coworkers and clients as well...many of whom will be in attendance to honor him at his retirement party. I will contact your office next week to confirm whether you will be able to provide us with this letter and photo. In the meantime, if you should need to reach me, please call (312) 997-3682.

Sincerely,

Paolina Milana
Public Relations Manager

FAX
~~ETERN HADORN~~
~~546-0628~~
488 5056
To

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/6

REBUILDING THE CENTER

VP-FM

Speech to the DLC's Tenth Anniversary Conference
The Honorable Dave McCurdy

Washington, D.C.
December 6, 1994

B.

Thank you very much. I am honored to be with you today. I wish, of course, that the circumstances could be different—for the DLC, for myself, for the dozens of moderate Democrats who will no longer serve in the Congress.

But the bleak results of November 8 have not invalidated the DLC's mission, nor our purpose in this conference. If anything, they have lent new importance to our crusade. And they have liberated us from old ideas and old politics, and freed us to speak about our true values and convictions.

We are truly gathered at a defining moment, for our party and our nation.

II

Amid the avalanche of public disgust with Washington that swept our party from power in Congress, Democrats once again face a crisis of values, a crisis of principles, a crisis of the future of our party.

Two years ago, I suspect none of us would have foreseen this.

With Bill Clinton's election in 1992, the Democratic party was moving smartly in a new direction—shedding its tax-and-spend, big government reputation in favor of mainstream issues that resonated with the American people: reinventing government, welfare reform, cutting the deficit, reforming Congress. Bill Clinton won as a moderate Democrat, a New Democrat, a DLC Democrat.

But he has governed as something else. Not as a liberal, as the Republicans say. But as a transitional figure.

For while Bill Clinton has the mind of a New Democrat, he retains the heart of an Old Democrat. The result is an administration that has pursued elements of a moderate and liberal agenda at the same time, to the great confusion of the American people.

Bill Clinton forgot the timeless warning of Ralph Waldo Emerson: "Don't say things. What you are stands over you [all] the while, and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say to the contrary."

FROM :

PHONE NO. :

P02

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III

The results of November 8 will not make President Clinton's choice between his head and his heart any easier. The election will only make the choices appear more stark: Become a Republican in all but name, or take up arms with liberals in Congress for a two-year trench war against the GOP.

But there is a third choice, just as there has always been. Seek out moderates in both parties. Welcome much of the GOP agenda but ensure that it does not collapse into extremism and scapegoating. Cooperate where possible, but stand firm against irresponsible and heartless policies.

In a way, this election has liberated President Clinton, just as it has liberated us. It has liberated him from the old-guard Democratic leadership in Congress. It has liberated him from a reliance on special-interest politics, from the politics of lobbyists and bureaucrats, from the status quo of big-government programs and policies.

A moderate agenda, the DLC agenda, waits for his attention. An agenda of cutting wasteful programs to reduce the deficit and make critical new investments. An agenda of regional and global free trade agreements; of reinventing and decentralizing government; of welfare reform; of a strong defense and foreign policy.

President Clinton has already made important strides in some of these areas. What is required is a course correction, not a reversal. But our message to the President is simple: If he wants our support, Bill Clinton must make these changes. The DLC was founded to promote ideas, not individual personalities--and not even individual political parties.

The time has come when we, no less than Bill Clinton, face a decisive choice.

IV

Of course, the GOP may not be interested in a moderate agenda that is good for the country. They may be intent on destruction, tearing down rather than building up. Republicans may keep pushing their agenda to the right until it is out of Clinton's reach.

But if Republicans do this, they will quickly discover that they are also pushing their agenda past the reach of many members of Congress--and the American people too.

Having labored on a welfare reform plan in the last Congress, I can assure Newt Gingrich that very few people in the House are really interested in creating a Medieval network of orphanages.

3

I can assure the new Speaker that the citizens of a nation founded on separation between church and state want very careful controls placed on the role of prayer in our public schools. I can assure him that, while the American people want lower taxes, they want us to pay for them with real spending cuts—not additions to the deficit.

I firmly believe that, between the battle lines of the two parties, there is a fertile middle ground where cooperation, compromise, and real progress will be possible.

It is now up to the leaders of the two parties to seek out that ground and fulfill their solemn obligation to the American people. To build up, not tear down. To work in the best interests of the country, not their political party or their political career. And it is up to President Clinton to set this tone by becoming the president he promised to be in 1992.

V

Where does the DLC fit into this picture? The fact is that there is no organization better suited to lead a discussion of public policy at this historic moment.

As we consider our role, we in the DLC must take note of perhaps the greatest single lesson of this election. We Democrats have lost our validating institutions.

When the country and the party reflected more liberal values, our institutions were easy to identify: organized labor, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other powerful left-wing interest groups. Democratic candidates sought endorsements from these institutions as a way of validating their credentials.

Now the mood of the country is very different. The American people want a government that is active, but also small and efficient. They want a government that encourages responsibility rather than dependency.

But what groups promote these convictions within the Democratic Party? What organizations can help validate Democrats who stand for these principles? And without the credibility that comes from strong institutions, how can any Democrats overcome the public skepticism that we have really transcended our big government traditions?

We must recommit ourselves to building the DLC into such an organization. It is time to put aside our role as cheerleaders for the second-stringers in the administration, the New Democratic policies that manage to creep along in the shadow of stimulus packages and health care.

It is time to define ourselves as an independent organization, to seek the credibility and clout that will come from a consistent association with the centrist, mainstream values that the American people demand to see in Washington—rather than the momentary thrill

FROM :

PHONE NO. :

4

of association with a specific president, or even a particular party.

We must hope that the Democratic establishment will join our cause. But we must also look beyond the party and bring independents and progressive Republicans into the movement. For mainstream values are not about party; the solutions to our national problems are no longer about right versus left, liberal versus conservative. They are about what is right for working Americans. And that, in the end, is all that we stand for.

VI

Finally, let me add a personal thought.

When I assumed the chairmanship of the DLC last year, I did not imagine that my career in elective office would be interrupted so soon.

I could not have conceived that the New Democrat credentials many of us spent decades building could be so distorted, or that the tidal wave of anger sweeping the country would take with it those who have been in the forefront of advocating change.

But this speech is not an epitaph, for myself or for the DLC. We cannot view the elections of November 8 as an excuse for surrender; we must see them as a summons to action. We must resolve to learn from this experience and move on, liberated to say what we really believe and confident that our crusade embodies the values of the American people--while rejecting the hatefulness of the last election.

Then it will be time for a new generation of leaders, Republicans as well as Democrats, women and men who champion fundamental values in a way that unites us rather than divides us; who emphasize personal responsibility without making scapegoats of immigrants or the less fortunate in our society; who stand for an America that is strong and engaged, not angry and reckless.

I think that moment is not too far off. And I see many of those leaders here today.

I implore you to keep the faith, to rededicate yourself to the mission of the DLC, and to prepare for the day when the American people will once again seek mainstream answers to extremism and failed policies. We can be part of that answer, but only if we prepare ourselves for that moment.

Thank you very much.

6:45
12/2/94
Polly Gullett
Fascinating

OK

WHITE HOUSE
ASHINGTON

December 2, 1994

Joseph J. Montuori, Ph.D.
Psychology Department
Radford University
Radford, Virginia 24142

Dear Joe:

Thanks for your letter of November 15. It was good to hear from you. Hillary and I were so pleased you and Gail could join us for the high school reunion. We all had a great time.

Thanks, too, for your encouraging words about the recent mid-term elections. We will continue to forge ahead and do what we can for the country. It is, of course, a source of reassurance to Hillary and me that you care about us and about what we're trying to do.

Finally, thanks for your insight about Charles Murray's recent book The Bell Curve. You've obviously thought a great deal about it, and I appreciate your sharing your perspective.

I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

This letter of yours
is great. —
Marilyn



Radford University

Psychology Department

Radford, Virginia 24142



Educational Specialist Degree Program in School Psychology
Joseph J. Montuori, Ph. D., Coordinator (703) 831-5521

Dianne Friedman, Ph.D.

831-5972

Robert W. Hiltonsmith, Ph.D.

831-5515

Nov. 15, 1994

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Gail and I want you to know how much we appreciate the invitation to the White House for the reunion. It was a good time and everyone seemed to really enjoy it.

The current political climate in the country has disturbed us greatly, especially the lack of recognition for your accomplishments. At least we in Virginia sent back two Democrats, Chuck Robb and our congressman Rick Boucher, who has done an excellent job and is well respected, both here in the ninth congressional district and in Washington.

I am writing to share with you some professional views I have concerning the controversy over the recently published book "The Bell Curve" by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray. The book has created quite a stir among both professionals and the general public. I noticed in a newspaper article that you yourself were disturbed by the implications of the arguments in the book. I am writing this letter to present some counterarguments based on what I know about intelligence and its measurement, having taught intelligence testing courses for more than 20 years.

In order to understand the issues involved in the controversy raised by the book, one must understand the nature of intelligence and of intelligence tests, and the role that heredity and environment are believed to play in both.

Intelligence, as generally conceived, is an all-encompassing ability that allows people to adapt to their environment in all of its various manifestations. Intelligence is seen as a capacity or characteristic of a person, almost a possession, which we exhibit to varying degrees. An "intelligent" person is one who can do almost everything well, someone who is successful in virtually all endeavors. However, the true "Renaissance man" is rare. In fact most people can do some things well, and others not too well (see the enclosed essay by Asimov).

Intelligence is not a global factor, but rather consists of a set of specific abilities which each person exhibits to some degree. The number of abilities that can be developed is a matter of speculation and their development is highly individual. No two people exhibit the same pattern of abilities. Which ones a person develops depends on a number of factors, both hereditary and environmental in nature. Environmental factors include temporal, cultural, and familial values as well as economic

variables, among others.

Intelligence is more a matter of how many abilities have been developed and which ones than it is a matter of overall capacity. Thus we have a mathematical genius who cannot change a tire, a talented writer who cannot balance a checkbook, and a successful auto mechanic who can barely read the Sunday comics. This is true of most people who have good abilities in some areas but are weak in others.

So when one speaks of intelligence, one must specify what kind of intelligence, in what area, or relevant to what criterion. Intelligence does not exist in a vacuum; it is not an entity unto itself. All tests exist to provide us with predictions of performance, either past or future. Intelligence is a construct that allows us to predict performance in a variety of situations. When we say someone is intelligent, we imply that he/she should be able to perform successfully in some or many situations. But, as we have seen, there are different varieties of intelligence, each of which does not necessarily correlate with the others, which brings us to the topic of intelligence tests.

Intelligence tests are predictors of performance, as are all other tests. What is it that they are predicting? Since the nature of intelligence is varied, how can any one test or group of tests predict each of these varied performances? They cannot! Intelligence tests are designed for one purpose: to predict performance in an educational environment. Intelligence tests were designed to answer the question: Can this student succeed in the regular classroom without special assistance?

The developers of intelligence tests, in attempting to predict school success, include in the test items that will maximize the test's ability to do just that, but at a cost. What is lost in this attempt is the test's ability to predict performance outside of an educational setting.

Success in school is a specialized skill or set of skills, many or most of which do not assist the student in endeavors outside of an educational environment. Intelligence tests have notoriously failed to make valid predictions of performance in situations that are not educational in nature. They do very poorly in predicting career or vocational success, child-rearing skills, social competence, as well as many other aspects of our lives.

Thus, while most people believe intelligence tests to be very general in nature, they are actually highly specialized measures. This is contrary to what most people believe to be the nature of intelligence. In other words, intelligence tests do not measure intelligence, but some other construct which we might term "school-ability" or another such label. Students who do well on intelligence tests are likely to do well in school; students who do not do well on intelligence tests are not likely to do well in school. However, that is not to say that we can just as easily predict these same students' performance in other situations, which, as has already been demonstrated, is a shortcoming of these tests.

In the course of even their short lives, children learn a

great deal, some of which is relevant to their formal education, some of which is not. Conscientious parents are going to assure that their children are ready for school by emphasizing and teaching those particular skills that will allow for educational success. This will include a set of values emphasizing the importance of education as a means to success in life, and obedience to authority figures as represented by teachers, as well as a desire to please their teachers.

Less conscientious parents may not emphasize school-related skills and attitudes for a variety of reasons. Such children will obviously be penalized in school, but also on intelligence tests. It is not that these children have not learned much, or that they cannot learn much, but that what they have learned is not relevant to "school intelligence." They have developed other areas of "intelligence" which are relevant to their lives but not necessarily to success in school.

This is especially true for children from various ethnic and racial groups whose life circumstances may differ substantially from that of typical middle-class white children who form the norm toward which most schools teach. While these culturally diverse children may have learned a substantial amount of knowledge and developed many skills, they will differ from what the typical white middle-class child has learned that prepares him or her for school.

Thus, minority children will do less well on intelligence tests than white middle-class children, but this involves only a very limited aspect of intelligence. This does not mean that such children have a lesser learning capacity or that they have not learned much in their lives. Rather, what they have learned is neither relevant to school success nor to intelligence test performance. The skills and knowledge they have developed are not valued by the education culture. These same children might be viewed as very "intelligent" within their subculture and may have a very high level of adaptation within that subculture.

When one asserts that various racial or cultural groups are less intelligent than other groups, one must specify to which aspect of intelligence one is referring. Genetically, it is unlikely that there is one gene or a small set of genes that control the development of general intelligence. More likely, there may be many genes, each affecting a particular skill or ability, which influence our cognitive development in a variety of areas. No racial or ethnic group is likely to have a monopoly on these genes. Rather, one group may have more highly developed abilities in limited areas while other groups will be more highly developed in other limited areas.

The assertions of the book are fallacious in the sense that they are based on evidence using intelligence tests, which measure only limited abilities. To the extent that one group may have developed these abilities to a greater extent than another, whether genetically determined or otherwise, one can say that they are superior in that respect. However, that is not to say that they are superior in all respects, as other groups will have different abilities in which they can claim superiority. None of these sets of abilities represents an all-encompassing

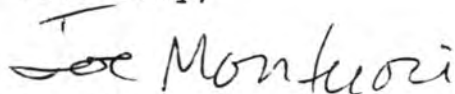
intelligence, which is at the present time impossible to measure, or even identify.

Nor is it possible to say that these abilities are genetically determined, since no direct evidence has been accumulated to support that claim. All of the human research cited in the book is of a correlational nature, which may suggest a relationship but does not clarify the nature of that relationship. Such clarification awaits experimental evidence which, given the nature of the topic, will be extremely difficult to undertake.

Given the difficulties of defining and measuring intelligence and the shortcomings of the research relating intelligence and heredity, any assertions made in the book must be viewed as purely speculative. It would be negligent to promote social policy based on the conclusions of this book. It is imperative that both professionals and the lay public become educated as to the meaning of intelligence tests and what they are actually measuring. It is only through this means that they will be able to see the fallacy behind the book's thesis.

I hope these thoughts on the issues raised in the book provide you with some ammunition in answering those who would attempt to follow through on the policies advocated in the book. Regardless of the degree of influence heredity has on "intelligence," individual potential is unknown. Even within the limits of genetic inheritance great variability is possible. Each person in a free society should have an equal opportunity at an education.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Joe Montuori".

Joseph J. Montuori, Ph.D.

What Is Intelligence, Anyway?

Isaac Asimov

What is intelligence, anyway? When I was in the army, I received the kind of aptitude test that all soldiers took and, against a normal of 100, scored 160. No one at the base had ever seen a figure like that, and for two hours they made a big fuss over me. (It didn't mean anything. The next day I was still a buck private with KP - kitchen police - as my highest duty.)

All my life I've been registering scores like that, so that I have the complacent feeling that I'm highly intelligent, and I expect other people to think so too. Actually, though, don't such scores simply mean that I am very good at answering the type of academic questions that are considered worthy of answers by people who make up the intelligence tests - people with intellectual bents similar to mine?

For instance, I had an auto-repair man once, who, on these intelligence tests, could not possibly have scored more than 80, by my estimate. I always took it for granted that I was far more intelligent than he was. Yet, when anything went wrong with my car I hastened to him with it, watched him anxiously as he explored its vitals, and listened to his pronouncements as though they were divine oracles - and he always fixed my car.

Well, then, suppose my auto-repair man devised questions for an intelligence test. Or suppose a carpenter did, or a farmer, or, indeed, almost anyone but an academician. By every one of those tests, I'd prove myself a moron, and I'd be a moron, too. In a world where I could not use my academic training and my verbal talents but had to do something intricate or hard, working with my hands, I would do poorly. My intelligence, then, is not absolute but is a function of the society I live in and of the fact that a small subsection of that society has managed to foist itself on the rest as an arbiter of such matters.

Consider my auto-repair man, again. He had a habit of telling me jokes whenever he saw me. One time he raised his head from under the automobile hood to say: "Doc, a deaf-and-mute guy went into a hardware store to ask for some nails. He put two fingers together on the counter and made hammering motions with the other hand. The clerk brought him a hammer. He shook his head and pointed to the two fingers he was hammering. The clerk brought him nails. He picked out the sizes he wanted, and left. Well, doc, the next guy who came in was a blind man. He wanted scissors. How do you suppose he asked for them?"

Indulgent, I lifted my right hand and made scissoring motions with my first two fingers. Whereupon my auto-repair man laughed raucously and said, "Why, you dumb jerk, He used his voice and asked for them." Then he said smugly, "I've been trying that on all my customers today." "Did you catch many?" I asked. "Quite a few," he said, "but I knew for sure I'd catch you." "Why is that?" I asked. "Because you're so goddamned educated, doc, I knew you couldn't be very smart."

And I have an uneasy feeling he had something there.

*Chairman
Lee / Quinn / Rubin
Reiter
J.D. G...
C...
H...
C...
C...
C...*

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1994

The Honorable Paul R. Soglin
Mayor of Madison
Madison, Wisconsin 53710

Dear Paul:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful letter. The recent elections indeed gave us much to think about as we continue working to move the nation forward, and I appreciate hearing your perspective.

I'm glad that you are working closely with Marcia Hale, and I'm grateful for your continuing support and involvement. Thank you for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

Bill

*Great letter
Please keep writing*

Office of the Mayor

City of
Madison



Paul R. Soglin, Mayor

November 9, 1994

City-County Building
210 Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard
Madison, Wisconsin 53710
608 266 4611
608 266 4443 (TDD/Device for Deaf)

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As we reflect on Tuesday's election results let me express renewed support for your leadership. The first draft of this letter was written several months ago. Only now do I feel compelled to finalize and sent it.

In the coming months, you must be associated with the values and issues most important to the American people. Association with those values is as important as your position on the issues.

Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich are most effective when they invoke their values. They are at their worst when you take their values from them. Their vitriolic, selfish attacks on the Crime Bill exemplify the worst of their cynicism and maliciousness. Gingrich went so far as to say that crime is a Republican issue and that you had no business solving it. You went into their domain and took their issue.

The problem with the Crime Bill and health care debates is that "Dr. Doom" and "Dr. No" translated the issues into bureaucracy, more government, more government control, and more regulation -- the Republican agenda. Realizing you had staked out the "safety" value, they turned the Crime Bill into a value discussion on "government." Your message about safer and healthier families could barely be heard through their barrage, and thus the substantive issues were lost to the public.

Unfortunately, politics today is defined not only by position on issues, but also to whom the issue belongs. Less government, fewer employees, budget containment, are all so-called Republican issues, yet you and Vice President Gore have done excellent work in these areas. These remain Republican issues because the few minutes of each day that Americans get their daily dose of imagery, you are not associated with the message of "lesser government".

Mr. President, regardless of the substantive issues of the next two years, you must command the themes and maximize their public exposure. Whether the issue is health care, crime, public education, or the environment you must develop a theme or two that carries forward for two years. Perhaps those themes should be the integrity of the family and the reduction of government; can't you just hear Dr. Doom and Dr. No's outrage at your capturing their themes?

Twice a year at our Democratic Mayors meeting I have heard our party pollsters, first Paul Tully, then his successor, tell us that a majority of Americans agree with us on issues like "choice" and health care. The problem is that those are not the issues most important to swing voters. Swing voters will sacrifice their position on abortion or health care to express their anger over government arrogance (Rostenkowski) and bureaucracy (the pork for Lamar University).

As an example of an issue that you can easily adopt as your own is that of fiscal responsibility. I believe that you should offer an alternative to the Balanced Budget Amendment. The amendment is bad, it is wrong, and it doesn't solve the problem, and it is taking an incredible toll on Democrats in city halls, the statehouse and the Congress.

If I were a Republican, however, I would not want it to be adopted -- it's too valuable as an organizing issue. As long as the nation wants less government, the Balanced Budget Amendment is a hot button which will coalesce support for Republicans and the most conservative Democrats.

There is a solution, a winning solution. Submit a federal budget that is divided into both an operating budget and a capital budget.

You and I know that Republicans point to state and city budgets as proof that government budgets can be balanced. They are able to do so because those budgets are divided between operations and capital expenditures, with separate provisions for enterprise accounts.

I suggest that you submit a balanced operating budget to the Congress with an accompanying law requiring that all future budgets also be balanced. Determine a reasonable level of debt service based on the tax base, and the debt service as a percentage of the total operating budget. Dr. No and Dr. Doom will be in a very difficult position. They either will be forced to oppose the first modern era balanced budget submitted by a president, or to acknowledge your leadership.

With proper attention to the issue of budgets, government size and less government, you should be able to capture the issue, finally receiving the credit for the work you've already done in this area. You will be able to expose the hypocrisy of Dole and Gingrich's politics that emerged during the crime bill debate but, fortunately, never took root.

Let me finally share a few thoughts specifically about the election results. Thirty years ago I believe that the Republican Party was the party of status quo and the Democratic party was the instrument of change, progressive change. In recent years, I have come to learn that there are recalcitrant members of both parties and that neither liberals or conservatives have a monopoly on progressive change.

In the last decade, Democrats have become associated with the status quo and some of our most liberal leaders are identified as the source of greatest resistance. The public imagery of Dan Rostenkowski infected every democratic candidate. The unwillingness to move forward on the question of unfunded mandates by Senator Mitchell eroded much of the fine work he has done in recent years. Even Representative Foley lacked flexibility and provided a poor counter to Newt Gingrich's drive and demand for a reawakening of America.

Mr. President
Nov. 9, 1994; Page 3

As is the case with our local state party, nationally the Democratic Party is basically controlled by the legislative leaders. As a result, people feel no connection to the party and defeat is inevitable.

Many commentators thought that the capture of the Republican Party by the extreme religious right would lead to its undoing. All told, the political pressure created by the religious right has reinvigorated the Republican Party and provided a net gain.

Whatever negatives have been created by their presence, the extreme right has at least provided the Republican Party with the image of dynamic change and accessibility.

People are not choosing Republicans because they are anti-abortion or because they are committed to putting God back into the public schools. Our Democratic pollsters keep telling us that we are in step with the American people who support choice and who believe in the separation of church and state.

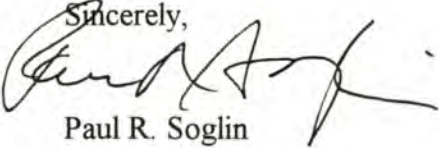
Voters cast Republican ballots in increasing numbers. The reason is simple. In their priorities, while abortion may be important, the need to bring change to government is more important and, as most American's are non-ideological, they will vote for any credible agent of change, regardless of their political views.

We Democrats are not viewed as agents of change, and we will continue to lose elections unless the Democratic Party is opened and reinvigorated.

My last observation deals with the candidates who ran from you during this election. I wrote a magazine article in the 1980's which observed that Democrats afraid of being painted with a liberal brush were more likely to lose than those who stood their ground and defended their policies. There is no question in my mind that as individual Democratic candidates fled your side they not only weakened your presidency, they weakened themselves also.

While Republicans spoke with one voice as embodied in their contract, Democrats could not put forth a coherent national message. Interestingly enough, it was mostly moderate Democrats who were defeated, while liberal Democrats held their own. Some may say that is because the moderate Democrats were elected from swing districts. That may be part of the reason. A more relevant factor may be that the American people, in their quest for change, have little use for hypocrites and are more concerned about their own survival.

There is more that I would like to share with you, but this is enough for one unsolicited letter. I have taken the liberty of forwarding a copy of this letter to Marcia Hale with whom I have worked on the Crime Bill and a number of issues important to the City of Madison.

Sincerely,

Paul R. Soglin
Mayor

cc: Marcia L. Hale, Assistant to the President
and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 12/1

JP
Clark
Chrom

TO: Susan Brophy

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

let's discuss

jd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 1, 1994

34 DEC 1 10:02

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN D. PODESTA

FROM: G. TIMOTHY SAUNDERS 
Acting Executive Clerk

SUBJECT: Request for New Commission for Under Secretary of
State Tim Wirth

As you know, Timothy E. Wirth was appointed by the President, by and with the advice of the Senate, to be **Counselor of the Department of State on April 22, 1993, a Level III position**. We understand that he has assumed one of the 5 new Under Secretary of State slots (for Global Affairs) provided by the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103-236, Title I, Part C, sec. 161, 4/30/94 (the "Act")); also Level III positions. Susan Brophy's memo to you of 6/30/94, advises that Mr. Wirth has contacted her to assist him in obtaining a new commission with his new title and states that Mr. Wirth "does not feel that he should be treated any differently than a White House Commissioned Officer whose title has changed."

It is not at all uncommon for the Congress by statute to transfer appointees within a Department or alter their title subsequent to their appointment. When this occurs, the statute usually includes a transition provision similar to the one contained in the Act, section 161(c) of which states:

Any officer of the Department of State holding office on the date of the enactment of this Act **shall not be required to be reappointed to any other office, at the Department of State at the same level performing similar functions**, as determined by the President, by reason of the enactment of the amendments made by this section . . .

We have numerous examples of PAS appointees being transferred to another position by statute (or a title being changed by statute) subsequent to initial appointment **without the issuance of a new commission**.

Unfortunately, we are aware of no precedent for the issuance of a new commission for a PAS appointee (appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate) after such appointee was transferred to another position by statute.

Indeed, there is simply no authority for the President to issue new commissions to any of the appointees whose positions were changed (or whose titles were altered) by the Act. **They have not been reappointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.** Indeed the Act makes clear that its intent is in fact not to require their reappointment.

Further, a PAS appointee commission is similar to a White House Office commission in physical appearance only. Most PAS appointees are truly "Officers of the United States," as defined in Article II, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution. The commissions for such Officers are the evidence of their appointment. White House "commissioned officers" are advisers -- not officers in the Constitutional sense. Unlike a White House "Commissioned" Officer who might be granted a new commission after a change in title, the Officers who are reassigned pursuant to the authority granted by the Act are not required to be reappointed.

Thus, the issuance of a new commission to Mr. Wirth reflecting his new title would clearly be without basis. **Only if Mr. Wirth was nominated to the new office and confirmed by the Senate would the President be authorized to issue him a new commission appointing him as Under Secretary of State.**

Obviously, the next question becomes, what could be issued to Mr. Wirth. Certainly, whatever it is, it could not be a commission. The language on the document could not indicate that the President was "appointing" Mr. Wirth to his new office.

However, anything issued at this point to Mr. Wirth would be setting a new precedent and we can anticipate receiving many additional requests if some sort of "document" is issued to him.

U.S. Bureaucratic Battle Threatens Private Funds For Russian Scientists

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Nov. 28—Two years ago, the American financier George Soros offered an extraordinary Christmas present: a \$100 million "gift" to support the work of scientists of the former Soviet Union left penniless after communism's collapse.

By nearly all accounts the program has been a resounding success, furnishing a safety net for about 50,000 top researchers and for the first time using merit, rather than political connections, as the basis for awarding grants for basic science in the former Soviet states. In Moscow, where three-fifths of the grant recipients live, it sometimes seems as if much of the city's academic and intellectual elite is at work thanks mainly to Soros's largesse.

Now, with the Soros money dwindling and Russia's economic crisis sapping its own funds for scientific research, a bureaucratic battle in Washington has imperiled the future of the International Science Foundation, as the Soros program is known.

Western and Russian officials have stressed the importance of sustaining basic scientific research in the countries that once formed the Soviet Union, rather than having impoverished Russian scientists sell their services to terrorists or renegade states such as Iraq and North Korea.

Moreover, Soros officials say that his science program has been one of the few means of directing aid to a small but influential group that was instrumental in the fall of communism and whose leanings traditionally have been pro-Western.

Soros, a Hungarian-born investor who made a fortune on Wall Street, made it clear from the start that one of the goals of his International Science Foundation was to set an example for Western governments and financial institutions.

So far about two-thirds of his original \$100 million grant has been dispersed, and the balance is scheduled to be spent by the end of next year. Soros said he is willing to continue helping former Soviet scientists—albeit at a reduced level of spending—but only if his foundation's efforts are matched by funding from the Russian and U.S. governments. He has offered to put up \$20 million in 1996-97 if Moscow and Washington

each do the same.

In Moscow, where a bitter battle over the 1995 budget is underway, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has promised \$12.5 million in funds for basic scientific research coordinated with the International Science Foundation next year. The Soros program matched that and took it as a good omen for further Russian government funding in 1996 and 1997.

But in Washington, administration officials have balked at pledging money to keep the Soros science program alive. They cite technical and legal problems in committing funds to the successor states of the Soviet Union through a private foundation committed exclusively to basic scientific research.

For example, U.S. officials have expressed doubts that funds from the Defense Department intended by law to help convert military production of the Soviet Union to civilian uses could be applied for basic civilian research. Other U.S. government programs to aid former Soviet scientists are in the works, but it remains unclear whether any could mesh with Soros's operation.

Beyond those problems, U.S. officials say that cash available for Russian science is simply scarce. And with Republicans taking control of Congress next year, there is much talk of tightening foreign aid programs—and little expectation that more money will be found for Russia.

"Most people are very supportive of the Soros program," said one U.S. official. "But there are so many programs, and priorities are focused on so many things other than science. In terms of the transformation of the economy many people are focused on more immediate issues."

Even as U.S. officials express doubts about the chances of helping to sustain Soros's program here, they acknowledge its unique success in delivering support quickly and efficiently to thousands of scientists.

"We recognize things have not moved as quickly as they might," said a Clinton administration official, describing the sluggish pace of U.S. government programs to help science in the former Soviet Union. "That's the advantage in working in the private sector as compared with the government. Often we have to move more slowly and with greater

prudence."

Alex Goldfarb, who runs international operations for the International Science Foundation, said: "Everybody sits on the money and, as far as I'm concerned, wastes it because they have no infrastructure. We're probably one of the very few aid programs that's working effectively—and with very low overhead."

Washington's apparent reluctance to cooperate with Soros has set off jitters in the Russian scientific community, which already has been rocked by severe cuts in domestic funding. Scientific institutes, including prestigious ones, struggle simply to pay their electric bills and salaries. Wages often are paid months behind schedule. And many talented scientists have abandoned their research labs in favor of more lucrative opportunities in the private sector.

It is unclear exactly how much Russian government money is budgeted for basic scientific research, but according to one estimate it is less than \$250 million for the current year. And much of the money Russia budgets is neither received nor spent.

The end of Soros's science program "would mean a tragedy for Russian science," said Alexander Sobolev, a chemist who won a large grant from the International Science Foundation last year. "Imagine [Russian science as] a drowning man who was lent a hand, and just as he was dragged halfway out and maybe was getting a second wind, this hand was taken away from him."

Alarmed by the threat of a cutoff in Soros funds, about 150 recipients of grants from the International Science Foundation met in Moscow last week to discuss what could be done. According to Goldfarb, they decided to form a "public action committee" in Washington that would lobby for funding from the fiscal 1996 budget.

"There are a great number of foreign projects to support Russian science that have been spinning their wheels and will continue to do so—in contrast to the International Science Foundation," said biophysicist Alexander Spirin, a member of the presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. "The foundation has played a tremendous role in seeing that our science is still alive, not only in terms of money but first and foremost psychologically. It gave us hope."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{12/1}

Barney
What's the deal?
Barney

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 DEC 1 P1:32

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: *Carmella La Spada*

Fax Number:

783-1168

Phone Number:

FROM: *Fran Wessel (456-2702)*

SUBJECT:

DATE: *Dec. 1*

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): *2*

MESSAGE:

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

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December 1, 1994

Carmella,

Here are the addresses of the children you needed --

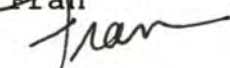
Elizabeth A. Daly
2915 Adams Place
Falls Church, Virginia 22042

Steven H. Daly
[same address]

Emily Miller
11902 Broadmoor Court
Upper Marlboro, Maryland 20772

Benjamin Miller
[same address]

Take care,

Fran


Ames Calls CIA Wasteful, '10 Times' Too Big

Agency Produces Little Useful Data and Evades 'Hard Tasks,' House Investigators Told

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Confessed spy Aldrich H. Ames has criticized the CIA for being "10 times as big" as needed, and for devoting far too much effort on collecting "useless information" at great risk in friendly countries while neglecting targets like Cuba and North Korea.

Although Ames admitted the agency has "occasionally" had successes by penetrating Soviet and Russian intelligence, he said the information was rarely valuable to policymakers. Frequently Washington could not act on the data, for fear of exposing the source, he said.

Ames faulted his former employer, which he betrayed over nine years in the worst breach of security in CIA history, in an interview in August with two ranking members of the House intelligence committee. A transcript of the interview is likely to be released this week as part of the committee's report on the case.

In the interview, which was cleared for release by the CIA, Ames said that "discredited though my motives are, and impeached though my views," he still wanted to play a role in the debate "over the value, future or the functions of American intelligence."

Though they come from a man serving a life sentence for espionage on behalf of Moscow, Ames's views of the CIA sometimes parallel criticisms of the agency that have come

"I think ... that we still need to have somewhere a small espionage service ... on a short string."

— Aldrich H. Ames

from several members of Congress, including Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who has talked of doing away with the intelligence agency.

"There is a sense in which Moynihan's views are okay," Ames said, "but I think ... that we still need to have somewhere a small espionage service ... on a short string and poor and [having] very little [political] influence."

While the agency had "occasionally come across and had some successes" he said, "the be-all and end-all, histori-

cally, of our Soviet successes have been penetrations of the KGB and the GRU [the Soviet internal and military intelligence services]." But these agents, Ames said, "produced very little political or other kinds of intelligence" useful to policymakers.

"We would wind up with safes full of material from sensitive assets that we felt we couldn't do anything with because it would be too dangerous for the source," Ames said.

Meanwhile, he said, the CIA directorate of operations "put the bulk of its effort in the political requirements that came from the White House" and evaded "the hard tasks that we have to penetrate Cuba, which we haven't been able to do, [or] North Korea."

Ames said the CIA collects "entirely too much useless information at too great risk in too many friendly countries," and charged that the agency did "a very poor job ... in getting good political intelligence through espionage."

Ames gave the rambling interview in the Alexandria jail to Rep. Dan Glickman (D-Kan.), chairman of the intelligence committee, and Rep. Larry Combest (Tex.), the ranking Republican.

The committee is scheduled to meet today to vote on its report, which, as previously reported, faults the FBI as well as the CIA in the failure to discover Ames earlier.

In other new disclosures about his activities, Ames said Soviet and later Russian intelligence agencies promised him \$10,000 a month plus an initial \$2 million for his first disclosure in June 1985 of U.S.-paid agents.

He said in 1986 he originally wanted the KGB to transfer up to \$1.5 million of the initially promised \$2 million into a European bank account which he would then hide as being his Colombian wife's family money. That plan never worked because the KGB "insisted over the years that there was no way that they felt it was secure to transfer a large amount of money like that," Ames said.

He said the KGB's hesitancy was based on their worries "about security or their own mechanisms" to transfer money, although "there might have been a certain reserve ... about [whether] I might just quit if I had enough money."

"The money that was paid out to me and presumably was held for me consisted of the initial \$2 million, plus \$10,000 a month over those eight years, minus what was actually paid to

me in cash over that time," Ames said.

His disclosure means that Ames believes over \$3 million was either given or set aside for him. Since government prosecutors have traced slightly more than \$2 million coming to Ames before his arrest, the Russians still may be holding more than \$1 million for Ames or his family.

He also said he believes that he still would be spying for Moscow if the Soviet political leadership had not forced the immediate arrest and execution of up to 10 agents back in 1985-1986, giving the CIA the impression that there was a mole inside the agency.

He admitted he "blipped" on a 1986 lie detector test less than a year after he started spying, on a question about whether he had been "pitched," or asked by the KGB to be a spy. He did not show deception, however, on a question at the same session of whether he was "in any unauthorized contact with a foreign intelligence service."

Ames said he later passed the "pitched" question after telling the examiner, "well, maybe I reacted because I have been in enough situations where I might have been pitched but wasn't."

Ames said he "never had the sense that they [the KGB] had other sources [inside the CIA], though they would have been very circumspect never to even imply that they did."

He also said he gave Moscow so much material over the years that they could not handle the volume and at the same time hide his identity inside the CIA as the source of the information. "They had a lot more than they could use and they weren't eager for more," Ames said.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Not in session.
Committees: none.

HOUSE

Meets at noon.
Committees:
Agriculture—1 p.m. Livestock subc.
1302 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Permanent Select on
Intelligence—1:30 p.m. Closed. Report
on Aldrich Ames spy case. H-405
Capitol.

—From Legi-Slate Inc.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/1

Do you (JA)
want to see
what I have
on the mind?
B.

Hearing Test: Questions For Clintonites

By DOUG BANDOW

When the new Congress convenes in January, Republicans suddenly will have newfound power to investigate and publicize. Republicans should have three primary goals—to expose presidential wrongdoing, limit executive abuses and educate the public.

First, Congress should hold hearings on administration misconduct:

- **Whitewater and the whitewash.** A multitude of questions arise from the Clintons' investment in the Whitewater development, including possible improper campaign contributions and preferential treatment by banking regulators. Even if the most lurid allegations prove false, Congress needs to investigate the removal of Whitewater files from Vincent Foster's office, the politicization of the Resolution Trust Corp.'s investigation of Madison Guaranty S & L, and the truthfulness of administration witnesses before Congress earlier this year.

- **Bill Clinton's legal defense fund.** Congress should consider whether the fund is legal and whether the IRS has given the president preferential tax treatment.

- **Hillary Clinton.** Even had Mrs. Clinton not campaigned against the "Decade of Greed," her spectacular commodities success would look suspicious. Congress should examine both her trades and the role of the Commodities Futures Trading Commission in monitoring such deals.

- **The White House Health Care Task Force.** The administration, led by Ira Magaziner, has obstructed attempts to make public the task force's proceedings. Congress should demand full disclosure.

- **Roger Johnson.** The head of the General Services Administration—a Republican—allegedly treated GSA employees as servants and charged a variety of personal expenses to the government. Does the president condone his conduct?

- **Henry Cisneros.** The HUD secretary's private soap opera raises public questions. Did he lie to the FBI about paying off his ex-mistress? Did he get a friendly businessman to help pay?

- **NationsBank.** White House adviser George Stephanopoulos appears to have received preferential treatment in obtaining a real estate loan. His conduct may be innocent, but what about that of the federally-insured institution, one of whose officials admitted in *The American Spectator* that "we do have an appetite for this particular loan"?

- **Improper electioneering.** During the recent campaign the Small Business Administration faxed campaign materials from the Democratic National Committee to its regional offices. Did this violate federal law? Did other government agencies use taxpayer funds to help Democrats?

- **Assorted Misbehavior.** Did presidential aides misuse the FBI to aid their purge of the White House travel office? Did Ron Brown fail to fully disclose possible conflicts of interest with telecommunications firms in which he has an interest? Was David Watkins the only presidential aide to take military helicopters for a spin? Have we been told the entire truth about officials rifling State Department personnel files?

Exposing executive sleaze is not enough. Congress should also use the hearing process to rein in officials who are abusing their positions:

- **Joycelyn Elders.** What does the condom queen believe her role is? The nation's highest medical official refuses to even criticize children having children because "you can't impose your standards on someone else."

- **Roberta Achtenberg.** Congress needs to ensure that this housing official stops hounding citizens for exercising their First Amendment rights.

- **Deval Patrick.** The assistant attorney general for civil rights apparently believes only minorities have civil rights. Legislators should expose his support for "reverse discrimination" and quotas—and bar the use of public money to promote racial discrimination against anyone.

- **Anne Bingaman.** The Justice Department's chief antitrust lawyer is engaged in the sort of nitwit economic meddling that would make a genuine "New Democrat" blush—such as investigating auto dealerships for changing their pricing policies.

- **Federico Pena.** Congress should ask the transportation secretary why he overruled agency experts to charge General Motors with making unsafe pickups.

Finally, the Republican majority should expose the manifold failures of federal programs that justify their termination. Let Congress hold hearings on:

- **The waste of agricultural subsidies.** Last month the *Journal* detailed the disastrous result of crop disaster aid.

- **Federal credit run amok.** HUD recently unveiled a scheme to unload more than \$7 billion in bad mortgage loans.

- **Regulatory excess.** Regulators have destroyed businesses, seized property, and otherwise terrorized law-abiding citizens.

- **U.N. problems.** Corruption and inefficiency reign at the United Nations despite American demands for reform.

- **Foreign aid.** Taxpayer money has consistently subsidized collectivism and repression abroad.

- **Housing markets.** Local governments disable their own housing markets through rent control, exclusionary zoning ordinances, and similar controls even as they collect federal housing subsidies.

- **Political funding.** Taxpayers have been forced to fund political activists, mostly left-wing, over the years.

- **Davis-Bacon Act.** Such restrictions on economic liberty as the minimum wage and Davis-Bacon ("prevailing wage") have had a racist impact.

- **ADA.** The unintended consequences of legislation like the Americans with Disabilities Act have been disastrous.

And much, much more.

This is admittedly an ambitious agenda, but if Republicans really want to make a difference, they must investigate and educate, as well as legislate. Only then will their triumph spark a real revolution.

Mr. Bandow is a fellow at the Cato Institute and author of "The Politics of Executive Statism" (Transaction, 1994).

Romania Navigates Its One Clear Course

In regard to your Oct. 27 page-one piece on Romania, "Collective Memory": In a journey through what is the emerging new Romania, some stopovers are of utmost importance for a better understanding and a balanced judgment: the newly democratic constitution and institutional structures are in place, founded on free and fair elections, at national and local levels.

There is also the undeniable progress in the transition to a free-market economy, marked by the fact that up to one-third of the country's GNP is already generated by the private sector, the full liberalization of the national currency rate, a clear-cut recovery of the production in industry and agriculture as well as of the foreign exchange reserves, the mass privatization on the point of being launched. An objective observer will also notice that the highest volume of foreign investment in Romania comes from U.S. companies: Coca-Cola, Colgate Palmolive, Caterpillar, Amoco, Puralite, IBM, Chemical Bank. Or that three new Boeing 707s just left Seattle for the Romanian airline.

Romania plays a much appreciated stabilizing role in the area, the first one to sign the American "Partnership for Peace" initiative.

Of course, the period of five years since the revolution of December 1989 has witnessed errors, shortcomings and temporary setbacks, but we should see all these rather as a useful learning experience for everybody. Essential is the one clear course ahead, with not even the slightest chance of letting Romania again be under a totalitarian ideology and political system as happened in the unfortunate juncture at the end of World War II.

GHEORGHE DUMITRU
Consul General of Romania

New York

Leon
Sawyer B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 12/1

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Ickes to POTUS re: Results of Direct Mail (3 pages)	12/01/1994	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 4892

FOLDER TITLE:

December 1-3, 1994

2018-0662-S
rs3112

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]

NASBE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION

1012 Cameron Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

12/1
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

CRASO/BLEASTER

12/1
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

NASBE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION

November 30, 1994

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

This letter is to invite you to attend and support the National Youth Summit on HIV Prevention to be held in Washington, D.C. on May 6-9, 1995.

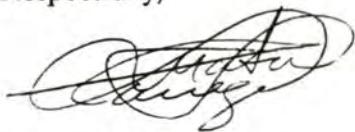
The Summit will be a forum in which over 150 youth from diverse backgrounds, including young people living with HIV, will be able to articulate their views about HIV prevention programs, and what more they feel the Nation should do to prevent HIV. The Summit will also be an opportunity for policymakers to hear directly from the Nation's youth. Finally, it will be a high-profile event designed to refocus attention on youth-centered HIV prevention programs.

Two critical elements will make this effort a success: youth involvement in the planning and implementation of the Summit; and a strong partnership between youth-serving organizations, private corporations, and the federal government. Indeed, the Summit's ongoing planning process addresses these two elements. The Summit's Executive Planning Committee includes youth, and representatives from national youth serving organizations and the federal government. Enclosed please find a list of executive committee members. Furthermore, the Summit is supported by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, INSURE, and over 50 national and local organizations concerned with young people.

While the work ahead is challenging, organizers are very committed to making the Summit a success. The Summit and its planning process will be greatly enriched by your caring leadership and support. Again, on behalf of the Summit's Executive Planning Committee, I invite you to be part of this very important process.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please do not hesitate to call me at 703-684-4000.

Respectfully,



Carlos A. Vega-Matos
Director, HIV Prevention /
Healthy Schools Project

Enclosure

1012 Cameron Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

703-684-4000
FAX 703-836-2313


Brenda Lilienthal Welburn
Executive Director

NATIONAL YOUTH SUMMIT ON HIV PREVENTION

Executive Committee

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Jennifer Hincks-Reynolds
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Gretchen Noll
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51 E. Stewart Street
Dayton, Ohio 45409

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/1
J. Michael
B. J. Michael

President Clinton



51 E. Stewart Street
Dayton, Ohio 45409
(513) 224-0108
Fax 224-0114

12/1
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

November 30, 1994

To: President Clinton

From: Robert L. Brandt, Jr., MD
Michael T. Kammer, M.Div., LSW
Health Care Interventions

Re: Medicaid Spend Down

Dear Mr. President,

We write this letter to voice our concern about what we perceive to be an institutional barrier to proper medical care for many people on Medicaid in the state of Ohio who have what is known as a "spend down."

As you are undoubtedly aware, a Medicaid spend down is similar to an insurance deductible. A person with a spend down must show evidence to the county Department of Human Services that they have paid for, or have incurred an obligation to pay for, a certain amount of medical expenses before they are eligible for Medicaid. This "deductible" must be met each and every month before the covered person is Medicaid eligible for that month. If they do not meet their spend down in two consecutive months, their Medicaid can be terminated.

An individual is usually given a spend down after they are awarded Social Security Disability Income (SSDI) and/or their income rises above approximately \$430.00 a month. Anything above and beyond this meager monthly income is considered "excess income" by the Ohio Department of Human Services, and the person must literally spend down to this maximum allowable income. The spend down can be as little as \$1.00 or as high as \$625.00, the highest spend down we have seen.

In our clinic, we deal with approximately three hundred (300) chronically and terminally ill people. Most of these individuals are living with HIV Disease or AIDS. The effort that many of these people have to expend each month to demonstrate to the county Department of Human Services that they have met their spend down is often times all the energy and strength they have.

We constantly see people do without medical care and/or medications altogether because they have not met their spend downs, or are unable to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the county Department of Human Services that they have

incurred enough expenses to meet their spend down and receive their Medicaid card. Our experience is that those who go any length of time without their usual medications and preventative treatments end up being hospitalized for extended periods of time. This puts an even greater strain on them and on the already over-burdened health care system.

This spend down scenario is made even more complicated if an individual also has Medicare and the Qualified Medicare Beneficiary (QMB), in which case only expenses not covered by Medicare count toward the spend-down. Many people in this situation simply choose to do without Medicaid, thus doing without drugs or treatments they may need but are not available through Medicare or through other programs. The monthly stress and complications of trying to meet a spend down just become too overwhelming for them.

To cite only one of many case histories of how detrimental the spend down can be, please allow me to briefly recount Jeff's situation.

Jeff was a 38-year-old male who was diagnosed with AIDS and CMV Retinitis, a disease which eventually blinded him. He was receiving approximately \$900.00 a month in Social Security Disability Income. His spend down was \$550.00. He lived alone in a modest, yet comfortable, apartment in which he had lived for years. According to the Department of Human Services, Jeff should have been able to survive on the \$450.00 that would remain after he paid his spend down. Along with all of the other AIDS medications he was taking, he was required to have daily intravenous treatments of a very expensive drug to control his CMV Retinitis (about \$125.00 per day expense).

Each month, it was a struggle for Jeff to show evidence that he had met his exorbitant spend down, even though he easily incurred more than enough medical expenses by the second or third day of the month. Pharmacies refused to give him his medications until he had his Medicaid card, but he could not get his card until he filled his prescriptions each month and presented bills or receipts to the county department of human services that he had incurred and/or paid the necessary expenses. Jeff's spend down, literally, put him in a "catch 22" predicament. This is true of everyone who has a spend down, especially if it is an extremely high amount, like Jeff's.

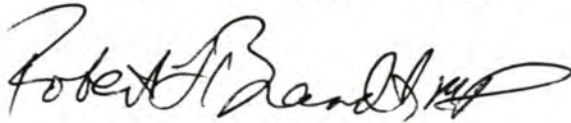
By the time we were able to work out a system with a pharmacy whereby they would provide Jeff with his medications along with a detailed bill showing clearly his obligation to pay for these medications and, thus, show evidence of having met his spend down, Jeff was admitted to Hospice. He died within two days. We are convinced that his life was cut even shorter by the monthly stress of having to fight to get his

Medicaid card and, often, having to do without medications for a period of time each month until he received his Medicaid card. (Granted, there is a state program which provided **some** of his HIV related medications during months in which he did not meet his spend down, it could by no means provide all of Jeff's drugs).

If all this sounds confusing and difficult to understand, it is! It is almost as difficult for our clients to comprehend the whole concept of a spend down as it is for them to attempt to meet one, or show evidence of having met one, each month. Typically, the county Departments of Human Services are of little or no help in explaining the spend down or assisting individuals in meeting their spend down.

We write all this to simply ask for your help. We believe this Medicaid spend down is an extreme physical and emotional obstacle for chronically and terminally ill persons to overcome in order to receive the medical care they need. We urge you to do what you can do to remove this barrier to proper care. If you need any more information, or if there is anything our office can do to help you in this regard, please do not hesitate to contact us at 513-224-0108.

Sincerely and Respectfully,



Robert L. Brandt, Jr., MD
Medical Director
Health Care Interventions



Michael T. Kammer, M.Div., LSW
Medical Social Worker
Health Care Interventions

11/23/94 16:14

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

**Congress
of the
United States**

House of Representatives

**H. MARTIN LANCASTER
NORTH CAROLINA
THIRD DISTRICT**



November 18, 1994

President William Jefferson Clinton
White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Alice, the girls, and I are doing well following our loss. Ashley and Chelsea have been commiserating at the Washington Ballet School on almost a daily basis, so we know that you and Hillary are feeling the loss of many good Democrats, and are concerned for the future of our Party and country.

You probably saw the enclosed article which Ben Wattenberg did several months ago. I wholeheartedly endorse his sentiment. I am convinced that the Republican sweep in North Carolina and across the country is a direct result of our Party being too liberal. I know that my "81% support for the Clinton liberal agenda" helped what beat me. I beg you, Mr. President, to govern in the next two years from the centrist position on which you ran, instead of the liberal approach you took in the first two years.

It has just come to my attention that what I feared most immediately before the election is about to happen. Dr. Keesler at FDA is about to assume jurisdiction over nicotine as a drug and will regulate tobacco products as drugs. As I interpret the FDA law he will have no choice once he has done so but to ban the use of the product if it contains any nicotine. Of course, a cigarette without nicotine is not a cigarette. "Guns, gays, and God" may have beaten Dave McGurdy, but "guns, gays, and tobacco" beat Martin Lancaster, Richard Moore, Sandy Sands, and David Price. Furthermore, I believe that Tom Barlow lost in Kentucky for the same reason and John Spratt's race was made incredibly close because of it. John is dead as a door nail in 1996 if this action is taken and we will never have any chance to reclaim the "tobacco south" for the Democratic Party. Our polling shows that this was the defining issue for our voters and will be for some time to come. Please, Mr. President, I beg you to stop this ill-considered action. I have talked with Judge Mikva and he agrees with me that agencies should not administratively change long-held interpretations of the law in order to assume new jurisdiction without coming to Congress for a clarification. Please talk with Judge Mikva before you allow this to go forward. Otherwise, you can write off the "tobacco South" forever!

At-Large Majority Whip
Committees:
Armed Services
Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Small Business

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2409 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3419
Fax: (202) 225-0000

□ District Office:
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184 N. John Street
Goldensboro, N.C. 27630
(919) 725-1844
(800) 645-5547
Fax (919) 794-4791

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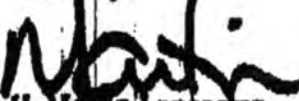
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Though my opponent bludgeoned me for twelve weeks of unrelenting attack ads, each ending with a clip of the two of us running together and with the message of "look who he is running around with in Washington", I never repudiated you, my voting record, or the Democratic Party. Some of my colleagues chose that approach, but if I have to become a Republican to win, I might as well be replaced by the real thing. I want to stay a Democrat and with your leadership, the Party can become one in which I will be comfortable, and with which the American people will be comfortable and return to in droves.

You, the First Family, and your Administration will continue to be in my prayers.

Sincerely,



H. Martin Lancaster
Member of Congress

HML:kdp

END

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/1

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{12/1}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Leon / C. Tony
su bottom ~
December 1, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: VICTORIA L. RADD *VR*

SUBJECT: TELEPHONE CALL FROM REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM HUGHES

I understand that Congressman William Hughes (D-NJ), who is retiring from the House, has called to express his interest in serving on the federal district bench.

Just this October, two new vacancies arose in New Jersey. (There is also an older vacancy for which we already have an identified candidate.) Because the senators rotate their selections, you will receive one recommendation from Senator Bradley and one from Senator Lautenberg. Based on my conversations, I believe that they are both still in ongoing selection processes. We have been urging the senators to make their recommendations to you as soon as possible.

As you know, Hughes was the fifth-ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee and chaired the Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property and Judicial Administration. A graduate of Rutgers University, he practiced law and served as a county prosecutor for 15 years before his election in 1974. Ab Mikva -- who served with Hughes -- gives him very high marks and believes that he would make an excellent choice for the federal bench.

You should also know that Congressman Herb Klein (D-NJ) -- who lost his re-election bid for a second term -- has similarly expressed interest in filling one of these two vacancies. It is my understanding that he has already contacted the senators.

Please let us know if you need additional information or if you would like us to undertake any active advocacy efforts with Bradley or Lautenberg.

cc: Abner Mikva

*1. Will Hughes - can
be in Union
Sen Bradley said he
was interested in being
Amb. to Australia*

'Wall of History' speaks for Haiti's artists

Associated Press

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Along a sewer ditch on a city boulevard, a group of painters who call themselves "survivalist artists" are celebrating Haiti's deliverance by depicting its troubled past.

With bold strokes of color and symbolic imagery, 17 wall paintings on Jean-Jacques Dessalines Boulevard show everything from paramilitary men stabbing people and burning churches to the recent arrival of U.S. troops.

The artists call it the "Wall of History."

Until the return of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, these artists had been in hiding for supporting him after he was toppled by a 1991 military coup.

In one painting along the boulevard named for Haiti's independence war hero, a slate-blue woman's profile, eyes overflowing with tears, faces a yellow flame rising from a lamp in her hand. A broken chain falls from her wrist. The misty background mixes voodoo symbols and the crucifixion of Christ.

"The woman's tears represent the suffering of all Haitians under the army; the lamp and broken chain the return of democracy, liberty and freedom," artist Jolly Colbert explains. "The mixture of voodoo and Christianity means all Haitians are praying together."

Paintings celebrate democracy's return

For Celestin Charlemagne, 29, one painting is very personal. It depicts Father Aristide's "miraculous" escape from the St. Jean Bosco Church on Sept. 11, 1988. Mr. Charlemagne was there when paramilitary men wielding handguns, machetes and clubs killed 12 parishioners and injured 70 before setting the church on fire.

In the painting, Father Aristide's face floats in a cloud above the church. Smoke and flames emerge from the belfry, windows and entrance. Outside, men, women and children are being attacked as some run for their lives.

"That's me," Mr. Charlemagne says, pointing at a young man scaling a wall.

Father Aristide, a slum priest who rose to power preaching a fiery liberation theology, was celebrating a Mass commemorating the 1987 constitution when the attack began. He narrowly escaped assassination because parishioners shielded him with their bodies.

"It was a miraculous escape. Everyone knew that God came to save him," Mr. Charlemagne said.

Some murals are nearly comical. One shows Father Aristide in white clerical robes, Bible in hand, as he

holds a cross over the head of a kneeling Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras, the coup leader who was forced from the country. Behind them, police Chief Joseph Michel Francois is running so hard he's lost a shoe.

"That's when he fled to exile in Santo Domingo," Mr. Charlemagne laughs as he recalls how Mr. Francois slipped off in the middle of the night to the Dominican Republic a few days before U.S. troops arrived.

"We use humor, almost like a cartoon, to denounce violence," he said. "That way, we even make them [the oppressors] smile. It's a form of reconciliation."

One mural shows President Clinton and Father Aristide framed by the U.S. and Haitian flags.

"Many women passing by came to kiss Clinton's picture while I painted it," said Anantua Michelet.

If Mr. Clinton comes to Haiti — there is speculation he may visit soon — "we will paint something for him to show he is in the hearts of the Haitian people," Mr. Charlemagne said.

"For us, the Americans did not invade Haiti. It was a deliverance," he said. "If Aristide is the father of Haitian democracy, Clinton is the architect."



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