

MARY McGRORY

'Putting People in Their Place'

Remember "Putting people first," Bill Clinton's campaign mantra? The rampaging Republicans in the House have an unformulated variation, "Putting people in their place."

How else to explain the assault on school lunches, fuel for the elderly poor, housing for veterans, public television. To read the "Contract With America," the Republicans want to cure the public of its failure to understand that government's obligation is to the rich, the powerful and the Pentagon.

Their latest offensive is against people who bring suit against their betters, that is, corporations. "Tort reform" is ostensibly aimed at frivolous lawsuits, which clog the courts and make a mockery of the law, as if the O.J. Simpson case had not done that by now. Actually, it is a way of protecting corporations against consumers.

The harshest penalty the Republicans suggest against people who do not have the good taste to suffer in silence when sold defective or damaging goods is the invocation of the so-called English rule, which requires an unsuccessful plaintiff to pay the costs of the defendant.

Says White House counsel Abner J. Mikva, a former federal judge, "If the English rule had been in effect here, none of the civil rights cases would have been brought. If they had lost, a single lawsuit would have wiped out their treasuries."

The White House, after another of its interminable ditherings, jumped in on the side of common people seeking redress. Mikva and Attorney General Janet Reno sent a letter to House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), calling the legislation contained in three bills "unfair, unnecessary and unwise."

Why the president waited until the first bill hit the House floor is not clear. Mikva said there is so much going on, "it is hard to keep up." Democratic members rail at the press for breathlessly chronicling the many antics of Speaker Gingrich while failing to record the proliferating outrages of the speaker's agenda.

The Product Liability Act, HR 956, among other things, includes a 15-year limitation on civil action against a manufacturer or product seller of equipment. But there is an exemption for commercial loss. Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.) uses the example of a 15-year-old wrench that malfunctions and causes severe injury to a worker. His company could bring suit against the

wrench manufacturer, but the worker could not.

The most egregious indulgence to the haves may be found in the securities fraud bill. In one section, relating to disclosure on the part of sellers to investors, it goes the extra mile to protect the seller from penalties for "reckless failure to disclose." Say the kindly authors of the legislation: "A defendant who genuinely forgot to disclose or to whom disclosure did not come to mind is not reckless." That's pretty permissive stuff from a crowd that in a lifetime will not forgive a child for being born out of wedlock.

Critics of the Republican bill point out that it is not individuals, such as victims of the Dalkon Shield and silicone breast implants, who are doing the heavy litigating but big corporations, as in *Pennzoil v. Texaco*. The \$3 billion settlement in that case exceeded all the individual product liability settlements in a single year.

The howling irony of diminishing accountability on the part of corporations while Republicans march under the banner of individual accountability for the poor is completely lost on the perpetrators of the "tort reform" bills.

Little hope is held out for justice in the House. But, as before, the Senate is expected to curb excess. Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) must surely be thinking of the swift end of his front-running candidacy if he fails to stop certain measures that would be regarded as anathema by early primary voters. They may see as the end product of their sacrifices unneeded tax cuts for the undeserving rich and take exception.

Dole said on "Face the Nation" that the Senate might not go along with all the House tax cuts. He does well to be wary. If, for instance, the House plan to kill a \$1.3 billion fuel assistance program weathers the Senate, Dole had better head for the hills. New Hampshire is full of retirees, who huddle in one room of the family home to save heating bills. They would not forgive a failure to stand up and fight for them.

Such considerations do not deter House Republicans in their march to the sea. They truly believe that the country voted on Nov. 8 of last year for putting people in their place. Shivering seniors or hungry schoolchildren, it's all the same. If their view of the country as a pitiless and vengeful collection of affluence-worshipers is wrong, somebody better stand up and say so pretty soon.

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WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1995

Jamie and Rodney Jamison
609 Wild Willow Drive
El Paso, Texas 79922

Dear Jamie and Rodney:

Thanks for your wonderful letter of February 27 and for the update on your family. I enjoyed hearing about the adjustment the Jamison family has made to El Paso and am pleased everything has gone well.

Thanks, too, for your suggestion about jogging with Rodney and Phil. I hope we'll be able to do it.

Finally, I want you to know how much I appreciate what you said about the job I'm doing. We're working hard and making progress every day, and it's good to know that you and your family are behind us. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I'd love to jog
with Rodney -
call Harvey Bernstein
and set it up

609 Wild Willow Drive
El Paso, TX 79922

27 FEB 95

President and Mrs. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

DEAR President and Mrs. Clinton,

We have now moved to El Paso, TX. What a change from Pebble Beach, CA ! After 11 years in one location it has been difficult to up root the family. Having a 12 year old boy to relocate is not easy, as we're sure you'll understand! There's a lot more sunshine here which is nice and we can drive three hours to the snow this winter, but adjusting to being surrounded by very conservative attitudes has been difficult.

Rodney is Chief of Otolaryngology - Head and Neck Surgery here at William Beaumont Medical Center and enjoys his job. Military medicine suits him well and he always does a very good job with patients and colleagues. As an O-6 he has some administrative duties, but that does not take away too much from patient care (his first love). I am not employed outside our home at this time, but am involved in settling the family; writing for professional topics; and heading up Rodney's civilian job search. That includes checking on options for me. I will either take a clinical position as a nurse practitioner or perhaps teach again in a nursing school. As 1 OCT 95 approaches the job choices become more exciting and a bit scary i.e., "retiring" as Colonel Jamison, MD to just "plain" Dr. Jamsion and choosing a permanent place to live from possibilities across the whole country. My resume just needed updating, but writing a curriculum vitae for him was a new twist!

Keith is 12 1/2, Philip (named after Uncle Phil) is 5, and Brent is 2 1/2. They keep our lives busy and challenging. Dealing with toddler, preschool and adolescent issues in the same household is overwhelming at times! We look to Phil and Susan and others who have already passed through the phases our children are just beginning. Keith is amazingly successful in his academics and we are certainly thankful for that. The little guys are still in that charming stage and are as strong willed as their older brother! Parenting is a bigger job than it seemed when we were the children observing our own parents as they fulfilled this role!

Our whole family will make the trip to Annapolis for June Week at the Naval Academy this year. You spoke for the midshipmen last year, so we will miss you there. Phil will be especially honored with Elizabeth graduating from his alma mater!! The event

will more than likely be much more sentimental for Phil and Susan than for Elizabeth who is taking everything in stride! Everyone is excited to be getting together for such a wonderful occasion. We hope Mr. and Mrs. Jamison will be in good health and will fly up from Hot Springs. Dennis and his wife Susan will still be in Bangkok at the U.S. Embassy there. It is just few months before they will be reassigned and the timing does not work for them. As you know it is a long trip! They were certainly pleased to be able to be with you during the festivities of your inauguration before they left on assignment. These Jamison men have certainly been a patriotic bunch!! Our own three Jamison boys have a lot to live up to!

Are you interested in a **jogging partner** that already has a **security clearance**?

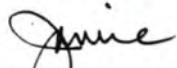
 Rodney will be in D.C. the 16-18 MAR 95 for a conference at Walter Reed. If so, Phil will know how to reach him at the conference. I think Phil could use some jogging motivation, too ?!

On the occasion of Chelsae's 13th birthday, we wish her a very happy day and all the best for this exciting adventure of being a teenager! To you as her parents we wish you steady patience and warm loving hearts. Chaplain Warren Withrow described the process of parenting and its sometimes rocky road : "When they are little, they step on your feet. When they grow up, they step on your heart." I don't think he gave that as solely attributable to himself, but gave credence to its validity in his own family's experiences, as well as, those families with whom he has prayed and served. I often think of that when my patience runs thin. It validates my feelings of frustration and gives me hope that my experience isn't totally out of whack. Normal is such a varied term! Perhaps this phrase can mean something special to you, too.

Most of all, Rodney and I want to tell you how proud we are of both of you and to convey our warmest regards. Your positions are so full of controversy, perhaps some grass roots support could give you a bit of a lift. Phil and Susan keep us up to date with your latest contacts. Phil sees you as vibrant and, as always, at top speed. Way to go! The kind upperclassman who gave Phil's little brother and fellow bandsman a ride home on those many occasions was you, Mr. President. (I'll have to admit that Rod's saxophone from The Three Kings performing group of Hot Springs High School has long since gone to charity. It smelled awful!) Your warm consideration of others and your kind heart are among your biggest assets. They are just a part of your mother's legacy to you and subsequently to the world.

Here's hoping that your personal and public lives will be rewarding and that all your efforts will be as well received as intended. We support your efforts here at the local level as we go about our daily lives. We keep you in our prayers and thoughts.

All the best to you and yours,



Jamie and Rodney Jamison

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

3/8/95

95 MAR 7 P4:06

March 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CH*
SUBJECT: SSI Program for Disabled Children
DATE: March 7, 1995

You asked whether we could fix those features of the children's SSI program that supposedly allow parents to coach their children to misbehave and qualify for benefits. As you know, there has been considerable press coverage of children with mild behavioral problems qualifying for over \$400 a month in cash benefits (although anecdotes of coaching have not been substantiated by a search of case records). To address the problem and identify reforms, Congress last year created a Childhood Disability Commission, chaired by former Rep. Jim Slattery of Kansas. Our position has been that we should wait for the Commission's report before making wholesale changes to the program.

Three factors caused the number of children qualifying for SSI to triple since 1989: the addition of several behavioral disorders to the list of qualifying disabilities; a major outreach program; and a 1990 Supreme Court decision requiring a test of whether a child functions in an age-appropriate manner (the IFA test). Prior to the IFA test, children could qualify only if their condition was one of those enumerated in a set of "medical listings." Advocates argued that the medical listings exclude many rare conditions or combinations of conditions.

The difficulty is devising a change that targets the cases of abuse without throwing needy children off the rolls. The plan just passed by the House Ways and Means Committee eliminates the IFA test, which cuts off some children with fairly severe physical and mental disabilities. Today's story in the Washington Post on this subject presents a number of compelling cases of children who would lose benefits under the House plan.

The Ways and Means proposal would also eliminate cash benefits for all children except those in danger of institutionalization, and plow back 75 percent of these funds into a state block grant. States would then provide children with authorized services. Cash benefits have come under attack because families are not required to account for how they use them. On the other hand, cash allows families to decide how to spend the money and gives

them the flexibility to meet their children's needs, such as allowing a parent to stay home to take care of a disabled child.

The Childhood Disability Commission just held its second meeting. Mindful of the time pressure, the Commission plans to complete its work by June or July, well ahead of its November deadline. However, this timing is problematic if the Senate goes along with the House's plan to alter the program dramatically now. We are preparing fallback options should that take place.

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
2/21/95

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1995

'Crazy check' guidelines invite parental flimflam, GAO says

BY TERRY LEMONS

Democrat-Gazette Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — "Fundamental flaws" allow abuse of a federal aid program for mentally disabled children that has been dubbed "crazy checks" by critics, a General Accounting Office report reveals.

The GAO report criticizes the program's vague testing rules, which helped add 219,000 children to welfare rolls since 1991. Benefits for those children cost taxpayers \$1 billion a year.

The congressional group sent investigators to Arkansas and other states last year to look into allegations that many parents coached their children to misbehave in order to qualify for \$458 monthly checks.

It was "virtually impossible" to determine the frequency of parental coaching, GAO concludes. But the report notes the program's ambiguous testing procedures make it "susceptible to manipulation" by parents.

GAO officials also question whether government officials can offer any "reasonable consistency" in administering the plan under the current guidelines. The Social Security Administration oversees the program.

Rep. Blanche Lincoln, D-Ark., said Thursday that the study underscores the need to fix the "crazy checks" program. Lincoln and several other House members requested the report, which was released in a draft form.

Lincoln said the GAO's findings will help her design legislation to tighten testing guidelines for the program.

House Republicans also are pushing a sweeping plan that would overhaul the program as part of the Contract With America.

The congressional attention follows reports of abuse and fraud for the part of the federal Supplemental Security Income program designed to help poor families care for their mentally disabled children.

Some parents in Arkansas and other states reportedly coached their children to misbehave in order to qualify for "crazy checks" payments. Critics also say some parents misuse the checks for expenses ranging from illegal drugs to gambling.

The program has nearly tripled in size since a 1990 U.S. Supreme Court decision eased eligibility requirements. Nearly 900,000 children qualified for the federal aid last year, up from about 300,000 prior to the court decision.

The program cost about \$4.5 billion last year.

The GAO report focused criticism on the program's individual functional assessment, or IFA, test. Use of the testing provision mushroomed after the Supreme Court decision.

"In our analysis, we found fundamental flaws in the IFA process," the GAO said.

The testing process allows officials to determine whether children behave in an "age appropriate" manner. The GAO suggested elimination of the IFA test because of its "highly subjective" nature, particularly for evaluating mental disabilities.

"The IFA process has been difficult to implement consistently and reliably, particularly for children with mental impairments, because the process requires ... a series of 'judgment calls,' " the report said.

Problems with the IFA also made the program vulnerable to parents coaching their children to misbehave, the GAO said.

But GAO officials were unable to determine how frequently coaching occurs.

"Unless parents admit to it, coaching is almost impossible to substantiate," the report said.

But the IFA helped fuel rapid growth in the "crazy checks" program at a cost to taxpayers of about \$1 billion annually, the GAO said. Out of more than 600,000 children joining the program between 1991 and 1994, the study showed 219,000 qualified under the IFA guidelines.

About 85 percent of those qualifying under the IFA test had mental disabilities, the GAO said. That included 39 percent with mental retardation, 22.2 percent with other mental illnesses, 14.7 percent with attention deficit disorder and 8.6 percent with conduct disorder.

The remaining 15 percent qualified because of physical disabilities.

GAO recommends abolishing the IFA guidelines and relying on more specific medical criteria to evaluate "crazy checks" applicants. Lincoln is preparing legislation along similar lines.

"This change would reduce the growth in awards and at the same time target disability benefits toward children with more severe impairments," the report said.

Lincoln said "crazy checks" abuse needs to end.

"The federal government shouldn't be in the business of subsidizing children who misbehave," she said.

The IFA guidelines also would be eliminated under a plan approved Wednesday by Republicans on a subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee. The GOP plan calls for fundamentally altering the "crazy checks" program by giving states more authority over the program.

Republicans want to give federal block grants to the states, creating a potential savings of between \$5 billion and \$13.4 billion over five years. Democrats said the plan could strip benefits from 200,000 children.

The GOP measure faces more committee votes next month.

House Panel Votes to Curtail Program for Disabled Children

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Ways and Means Committee Republicans have approved a dramatic cut in the federal welfare program that supports severely disabled, low-income children.

Alarmed by a rapid increase in beneficiaries—which has pushed the caseload to 890,000—and convinced that a 1990 Supreme Court decision makes it too easy to qualify, committee Republicans led by Rep. Jim McCrery (La.) voted for major changes in the \$5 billion-a-year Supplemental Security Income (SSI) disabled children's program.

The changes would cut the program over the next five years by \$10.9 billion—reducing spending 33 percent below what would be spent under current law between 1996 and 2000. Proportionately that is far greater than the 11 percent being cut, for example, from food stamps. Under the proposal:

- Eligibility changes based on the 1990 court ruling would be nullified both retroactively and for future applicants. More than 225,000 children now receiving benefits as a result of the decision would be removed from the rolls.
- Only 30 percent of children who come onto the rolls in the future will receive cash benefits—those so disabled that they need "special personal assistance" much of the time to survive and avoid being institutionalized.
- The other 70 percent of those qualifying in the future would not receive cash benefits but instead could receive only Medicaid plus added state-administered services financed by block grants to the states. The grants would cost the government

Association for Elderly Attacks Proposed Medicare Cuts

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

The nation's largest organization for the elderly yesterday attacked proposals to cut Medicare, saying the spending curbs could increase average out-of-pocket costs by \$575 and push them up as high as \$2,000 a year for some people by the end of the century.

"Older Americans believe they elected people in 1994 who would not cut Medicare, and they are shocked when they see these proposals," said Tricia Smith, senior legislative representative for the 33 million-member American Association of Retired Persons.

Meanwhile, a survey released yesterday by the nonprofit Employee Benefit Research Institute showed that 64 percent of Americans 18 or older favored tax increases to shore up the Social Security system. Twenty-eight percent of the respondents who were surveyed in January said no tax

increases should go into effect until after 2010, the year the baby boomers start retiring.

Concerned that Social Security might not be available when they retire, a third of respondents said the highest-income elderly should not receive benefits even though they had paid

"Older Americans ... are shocked."

— Tricia Smith, AARP

into the system. Only 9 percent believed Social Security benefits should be eliminated or reduced. Eighty-five percent of respondents said benefits should stay the same or be reduced for higher-income people.

In discussing Medicare, Smith told reporters that the AARP had conducted "numerous focus

groups across the country in the last few months" and found that the elderly had little idea that the new Republican-controlled Congress wants to cut projected Medicare spending over the next seven years by as much as \$300 billion.

Smith said the AARP assumed that about half the Medicare savings Congress would seek to help balance the budget by 2002 would come from higher costs to beneficiaries, the rest from cutting fees to service providers.

Under current law, the average elderly person would pay \$3,890 in premiums, copayments, deductibles and other out-of-pocket health outlays in 2000, not counting long-term care, AARP experts calculated. But the cost could go up by \$575 if the most commonly discussed changes are adopted: imposing new copayments for home health care, charging the well-to-do elderly more, increasing Medicare premiums by one-fifth, or increasing the amount patients pay before benefits kick in and then raising that amount annually.

less than if this group of children had continued to receive cash benefits, which go up to \$458 a month.

Groups representing the disabled are fighting the changes.

"It's an unprecedented assault on low-income families raising children with severe disabilities," said Rhoda Schulzinger of the Bazelon Center on Mental Health Law.

"Many hundreds of thousands of children who most people in this country would consider the most deserving of government support would be pushed off the rolls or rejected if applying for the first time," said Jonathan Stein of Community Legal Services of Philadelphia.

Stein cited examples of children who, he said, are severely disabled who would not qualify under the rules sought by McCrery:

- Six-year-old Jennifer Cox suffers from congenital bowel malformation requiring a colostomy. She also suffers from eye problems and lacks peripheral vision, causing her to run into walls. At 6, she was not yet toilet-trained.
- Kendra Whalon, 2, suffers from a rare growth condition in which one arm is twice as long as the other, causing loss of balance, motor impairment, spinal curvature and loss of lung volume.
- Monisha Smith, 10 months old, re-

quires a shunt to drain cerebrospinal fluid from her brain to her abdominal cavity. She suffers partial paralysis of the legs, bowel and bladder, a condition that requires frequent catheterization.

McCrery said the 1990 Supreme Court decision loosened eligibility, making it possible for children with relatively mild disabilities to get benefits.

He cited numerous reports of children whose parents instructed them to fake retardation or attention disorders to get the federal cash benefit.

"It is my intention that if any child

is severely disabled, he should be able to qualify," he said.

Until 1990, the program served children under 18 whose mental and physical disabilities were so severe that they met criteria spelled out by the Social Security Administration. However, in 1990, in a case brought by Stein, the Supreme Court ruled that if a child did not meet those criteria, he or she could still qualify if found unable to function at the appropriate age level. The program has grown from 290,000 recipients, costing \$1.3 billion in 1989, to 890,000 and \$5 billion today.

McCrery contends that the func-

tional capacity test is too subjective. He proposes to abolish it and to remove from the rolls all those who had qualified through it. Some children might well requalify because the program can grant benefits to children who, while not meeting a specific criterion, have disabilities equal in severity.

Stein said, "The functional test is essential. There are hundreds of rare diseases not listed in the specific medical criteria. Moreover, you can't test a 2-year-old for IQ."

McCrery also wants to make sure that the government's money goes to help the child and is not spent for other purposes by the family. That is why his proposal allows cash benefits for new applicants only if they need "special personal assistance" to live.

But Schulzinger argues, "Cash is by far the most flexible way to meet the day-to-day needs of your child—and particularly to allow a caretaker parent to stay at home to attend to the child—that's often what the child needs most."

Despite objections in committee from Reps. Sander M. Levin (D-Mich.) and Fortney "Pete" Stark (D-Calif.), McCrery's plan appears headed for the floor.

The Senate could be different.

"It's cruel," said Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), ranking minority member on the Senate Finance Committee, which will handle the proposal in the Senate. Chairman Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) said last week that while he has "no philosophical objection" to a block grant, "it may be too much to digest this year."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/8/95

95 MAR 6 P4:40

March 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Doug Sosnik and Political Affairs

Re: March 4th Elections in Louisiana and Colorado

The following information regarding Saturday's special election in Louisiana and the Colorado State Chair's race may be of interest to you.

LOUISIANA SPECIAL ELECTION

The March 4th special election to fill a New Orleans House seat (HD95) had been promoted by the Louisiana press as a key indicator in the 1995 gubernatorial race. The special election pitted Vanessa Washington, a moderate African American GOP candidate, against Alex Heaton, a moderate white Democratic candidate. In the 70 percent African American district, there was speculation that Saturday's election could be a symbolic win for the GOP -- with local African American leaders such as Mayor Marc Morial refusing to endorse either candidate in the race. In a victory for the Democratic Party, the race resulted in Heaton receiving 62 percent of the vote to Washington's 38 percent. Approximately 3,900 voters went to the polls, representing 22 percent of the registered voters in the district. The Louisiana Democratic Party raised approximately \$7,000 for Heaton in the special election.

COLORADO DEMOCRATIC PARTY ELECTION

Mike Beatty, a strong supporter of yours and the Governor, was elected State Chair last Saturday with 70 percent of the vote. Longtime party activist Gil Reyes garnered the remaining 30 percent while Sherrie Wolff (Senator Campbell's former state director) did not run. There was a 50 percent turnover in the Democratic county chairmanships.

*President wants
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Alex Heaton,*

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 MAR 8 P3:40

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: *Jim Lyon*

Fax Number:

Phone Number:

303 623 9222

FROM:

SUBJECT:

DATE:

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

MESSAGE:

per President's request

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

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THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN 27, 1995
3.6.95

Dear Mr. President,

as expected
for

Thank you for the run.
It was a lifetime thrill.

Running a marathon
would be no trouble for you, if
you were to somewhere find the
time for three months of consistent
preparation. You have a great
background of conditioning and
your biomechanics are very good.

I have always supported you
and will continue to do so. Now,
it can take on an added dimens-
ion for me.

It also means a lot to me that
you mentioned perhaps meeting
again.

Continued Good Luck.

Sincerely,
Frank Shorter

Frank Shorter
890 Willowbrook Rd.
Boulder, Colo. 80302

Call
Lynn to
Dunham

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR TERRY GOOD
Director, Office of Records Management

FROM: JOHN PODESTA 
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

DATE: March 4, 1995

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF PRESIDENTIAL SIGNATURES

The following additional individual is authorized to approve use of the President's signature pen in the areas of responsibility noted:

Debbie Hardin for photographs; and for Presidential messages in accordance with approved procedures -- and with any new policy language only after clearance by the Staff Secretary.

An exemplar of the sign-off that Debbie will use follows. Thank you.

Debbie Hardin

PAUL M. MONTRONE
LIBERTY LANE
HAMPTON, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03842

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-6-95

Se letter
to the
Up

February 28, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

There is one issue now developing in Congress that has united the business community as none other has -- and that is tort reform. As you know, the abuses to be addressed are many and profound, and have affected virtually every business and individual in our nation.

Although the debate is being characterized as one between business and an alliance of trial lawyers and consumer advocates, this is a narrow and flawed view of the matter. The truth is our courts have created a reverse-Robin Hood situation, taxing the poor and giving to the rich. The rich in this case are the individuals who share in millions of dollars in jury awards including the consultants, lawyers and other specialists who represent both the plaintiffs and defendants in these lengthy and costly cases, and sometimes even the purported "victims."

The poor constitute three groups: (1) each and every consumer who pays more for his or her goods and services, (2) millions of individuals who participate in pension plans or mutual funds devalued by costly awards and settlements, and (3) the working man or woman who has fewer job opportunities because of the added cost of U.S. production resulting from this burdensome litigation.

Worse yet, the present situation has created a passion by Americans to participate in liability cases. If a tort takes place -- be it a purported securities violation, a product problem, environmental damage or other claim -- people want to be a part of it. They feel entitled to damages even if they suffered no damage or injury. Furthermore, since there is virtually no penalty for perjury, even those who lie are rewarded because they are included in the settlement. The entire situation is pathetic.

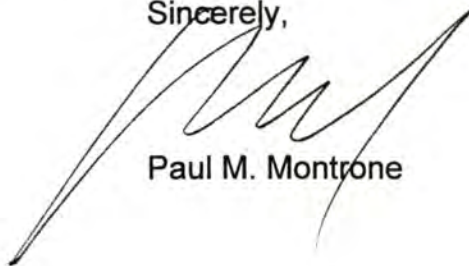
An appropriate modification of our tort laws could continue to provide appropriate protection for individuals and reduce the possibility of extortion, excess awards and other abuses. The cost savings all around would amount to a true middle-class tax cut.

The President
February 28, 1995

Page Two.

Over the past two years, you have courageously taken on many of the major problems of America, even those that involve difficult and unpopular solutions. This is another one that deserves to be fixed -- and can be. You may be receiving advice to keep a low profile on this one, but I would urge you to jump into the fray. Tort reform needs your leadership to make it right for our nation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Paul M. Montrone', with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the left.

Paul M. Montrone

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN 27, 1995

3-6-95

Dear Mr. President

Thank you for the run.

It was a lifetime thrill.

Running a marathon would be no trouble for you, if you were to somewhere find the time for three months of consistent preparation. You have a great background of conditioning and your biomechanics are very good.

I have always supported you and will continue to do so. Now, it can take on an added dimension for me.

It also means a lot to me that you mentioned perhaps meeting again.

Continued Good Luck

Sincerely,
Frank Shorter

N-H

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THE PRESIDENT

3-6-95

Dear Frank —

I really enjoyed our run
and our talk, and I'm appreciative
of your encouragement on the marathon
and your support for my real
marathon — I look forward to our
next run — Sincerely, Bill Clinton

Frank Shorter
890 Willowbrook Road
Boulder, Colorado 80302



THE PRESIDENT

3-6-95

Dear Jay -

I was so pleased to hear
from you and very moved by
what you said. Your sons should
be proud of you - I'm glad you
think things are moving back our
way - I need your support for the
long haul - Sincerely, Pat Clinton

cc Hiler

Jay Inslee
P. O. Box 11181
Bainbridge Island,
Washington 98110

MR. President,

Feb. 25, 1990

I want to thank you for both promising to veto any attempt to repeal the assault weapon ban and your recognition in the State of the Union Address of members who sacrificed their seats in order to pass this law. I am one father who took some measure of pride in having his sons hear the President of the United States mention their old man's act of public service. Of all the great things you have done for our country this may be the smallest but I sure appreciate it. The talk on Main Street is improving because the people are feeling the strength from your office that comes with fighting for the minimum wage and our other convictions that will ultimately carry the day. We "recently departed" members have been scattered by the political winds but we are pulling for you from the distance.

Thanks MR. President.

Joe Arden

copy to
Clark,
HOO

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR ERSKINE BOWLES AND
JOHN PODESTA/TODD STERN

FROM: JIM DORSKIND 

DATE: March 3, 1995

SUBJECT: PROCLAMATIONS

The requests have started to come in. I will try to send them over for your review in small batches. I am sorry for what will be somewhat short notice on the first few, some of which is my fault and some of which is due to an agency just telling us that they need a proclamation immediately, even though the commemorative week is not scheduled for some time.

As we proceed, please let me know if there is anything that I can do to make the system work better for you.

I attach the first request, which comes from Interior and needs immediate attention.

Thanks.

cc: Debbie Hardin
Lana Dickey

TO: JOHN PODESTA
ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: JIM DORSKIND

DATE: March 2, 1995

COMMEMORATIVE PROCLAMATION REQUEST

Commemoration Title: National Park Week
Commemoration Date(s): May 22-28, 1995
Requestor Name(s): B.J. Thornberry
Deputy Chief of Staff
Department of the Interior
Ann Badgley
Chief of Staff
National Park Service
Request Date: February 9, 1995
Congressional Support: None
Organization: Interior
Contact Telephone:
Number: 202/208-6741 (Ann Badgley)

NOTES: We were advised yesterday that the New York Times will be issuing a special supplement on National Parks, and the Park Service would like to include a Presidential proclamation in the supplement. **The proclamation is needed as soon as possible, preferably by next Friday.**

This proclamation was prepared for the first time last year and issued by Presidential initiative. The attached memorandum from the Park Service describes the Park Service's reasoning in requesting a proclamation this year.

I recommend doing the proclamation. Could I please have your response as soon as possible? Thanks.

Please indicate approval, disapproval or other recommendation:

EB _____

JDP (DOS) OK _____

3-6-95



United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Washington, D.C. 20240

February 9, 1995

Memorandum

To: Phil Caplan
Cabinet Affairs
The White House

From: B.J. Thornberry *B.J.T.*
Deputy Chief of Staff

Subject: Briefing Paper Supporting a Presidential Proclamation
for National Park Week 1995

National Park Week was conceived last year as a positive and public method to celebrate the nation's national parks. The President issued a proclamation declaring the Week, which was followed up by a series of events at the White House and throughout many of the 368 national park sites.

This year, the intent is to focus the celebration on a specific aspect of our national parks -- their ability to provide outstanding educational opportunities for visitors, specifically our nation's children.

There are two very successful programs already at work. "Parks as Classrooms" is funded jointly by the National Park Service, the National Park Foundation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts, to help teachers around the country use their local national parks as learning tools. The Park Service's "Junior Ranger" program is designed to help kids appreciate the natural and historic heritage preserved in our parks -- and hopefully make them tomorrow's biggest park supporters. These are both federal and private-public partnership programs that do good work and contribute to the good feelings Americans have about the National Parks.

As was the case last year, major awards will be announced during National Park Week. We hope they can be presented by the President to the recipients at a White House event again this year. In addition to the Ranger of the Year Award, the National Park Foundation is developing criteria and a selection process for the (tentatively named) Theodore Roosevelt National Park Medal of Honor to be awarded to a private individual who has made a significant, high profile contribution to the Park system.

In addition, National Park Week could be used as an opportunity to pitch key legislative proposals: authority to maintain certain fee and concession receipts within the parks that generate them to enhance interpretive programs and make needed infrastructure improvements. This, in tandem with the Park Service restructuring proposal that will re-direct central office staff to field offices, is a concrete example of the Administration's commitment to make government run better and provide better services to its customers.

As it did last year, the New York Times will publish a separate magazine-style advertising supplement, Our National Parks, to coincide with National Park Week.

An aggressive attempt to interest national and park-specific local media in National Park Week is also being planned.

National Park Week offers an excellent opportunity for the White House to show its support for what polls show is America's favorite federal agency -- the National Park Service.

NATIONAL PARK WEEK, May 22-28, 1995
By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

National Park Week, 1995 is a time to celebrate the rich educational tradition of the National Park Service. Each National Park is a classroom without walls, a living laboratory for learning about natural environments, important historical events, and valuable cultural resources which collectively represent our national heritage. To preserve this heritage, the National Park Service works with students and teachers to create exciting learning environments to activate a child's interest.

Within each park lies a compelling story -- a powerful reminder of our Nation's origins and destiny. Geology, political science, marine ecology, the Civil War, language arts, music, maritime history, geography, wildlife, the American Revolution, labor history, technology, and so much more come to life in our National Park System. Today, the men and women of the National Park Service are reaching out to a new generation of caretakers, instilling in our children a respect for the land, an understanding of our common American heritage and an appreciation of parks as places of inspiration.

No textbook can replace a visit to one of America's most special places. Through innovative educational programs, the National Park Service is actively building a new constituency of park supporters who will carry with them the most valued lessons of our country. "Junior Ranger" programs throughout the U.S. help children understand the wonders of the national parks and why it is so important to preserve them. "Parks As Classrooms" links parks with local schools and communities, reaching out to new audiences with hands-on learning activities. Residential camping programs open up new worlds of explorations and self-discovery for today's young people in both inner cities and rural areas. Seminars for teachers expand the opportunities for knowledge and assist in improving the connections of young people to park areas.

NOW THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of May 22 through May 28, 1995 as "National Park Week." I encourage all Americans to join me in celebrating National Park Week as the beginning of a lifetime of learning, appreciating, and acting on behalf of our nation's treasures.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this day of , in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.



National Park Week, 1994

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Theodore Roosevelt once said that nothing short of defending this country in wartime "compares in importance with the great central task of leaving this land an even better land for our descendants than it is for us" In the movement to acquire and preserve areas of outstanding scenic or historical significance, Roosevelt blended science and morality in a highly effective and nonpartisan way.

The idea of creating national parks first attracted attention in the second half of the nineteenth century, when America's receding wilderness left our natural resources vulnerable to misuse and exploitation. The Yellowstone National Park Act of 1872 set aside the world's first national park and led the way for Federal protection of exceptional lands for public use.

As the number of early parks increased, many recognized the need for their collective management. The National Park Service was created by an act of Congress signed by President Woodrow Wilson on August 25, 1916. Today, almost 78 years later, the National Park Service oversees 367 national parks, including historic sites, monuments, parks, lakeshores, seashores, rivers, and scenic trails. The growth of the park system is a result of the American public's desire to protect the best and most significant treasures of our Nation.

National parks across the country, from Denali National Park in Alaska to Acadia National Park in Maine, allow us to learn more about our environment; they teach us to respect our lands and to care about endangered plant and animal species. Their spectacular scenic beauty and wide variety of wildlife link man and nature intrinsically and universally. The cultural and historic parks connect us with the spirit of our past and form a national family tree, celebrating our triumphs and remembering our tragedies.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of May 23 through May 29, 1994, as "National Park Week." I encourage all Americans to join me in making National Park Week a truly American celebration of our heritage. We are challenged to protect and preserve our parks, to cherish them first, then to teach our children to do the same, so that they, too, can give this gift to their children.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eighteenth.

William J. Clinton

Memorandum

To: Jim Dorskind, White House
456-5460

From: Sue Waldron, National Park Service
208-5477

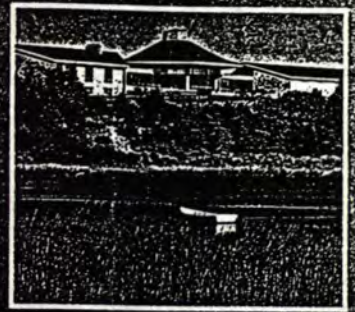
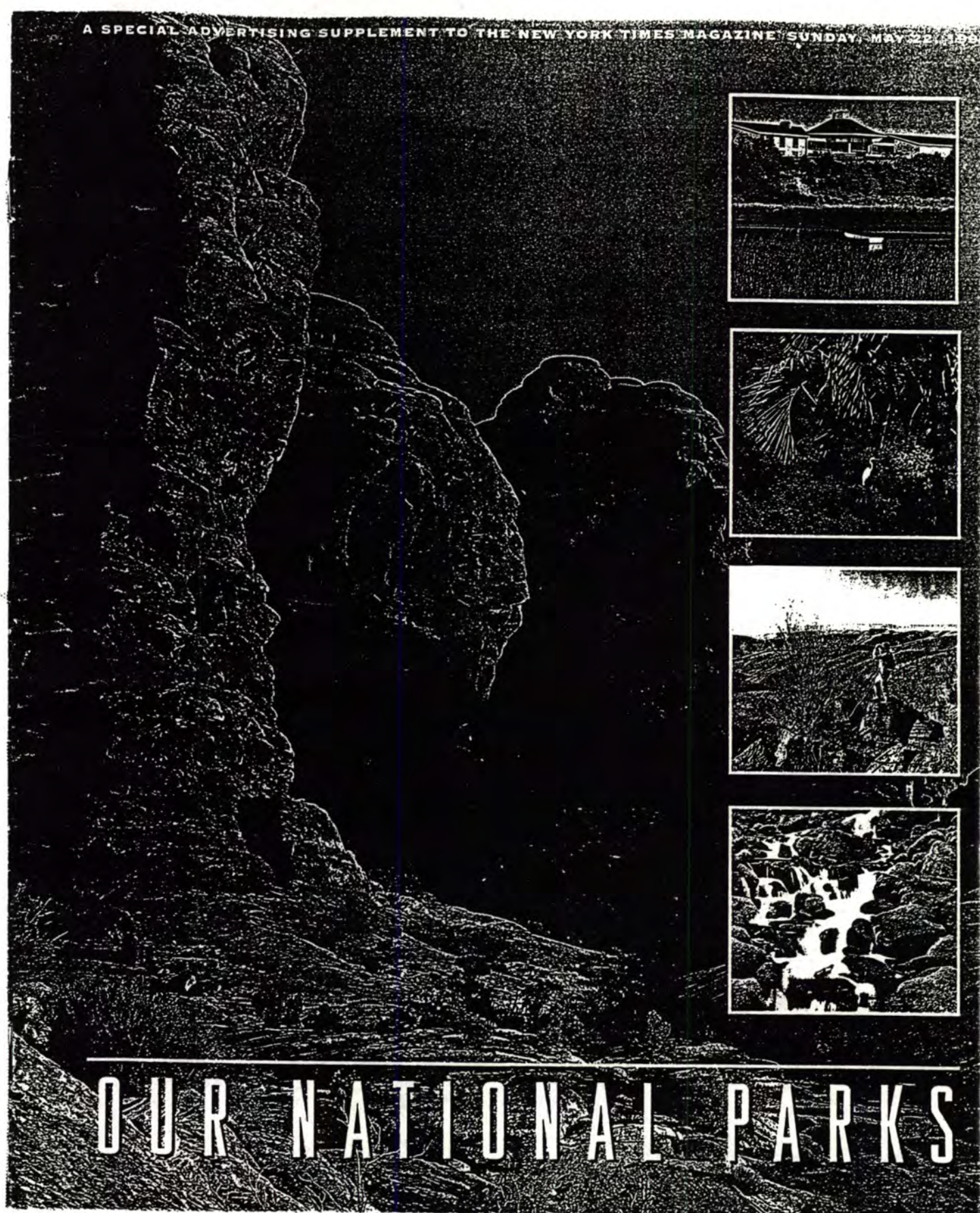
Re: National Park Week

Anne Badgley asked me to send you a copy of the New York Times Advertising supplement from last year's National Park Week celebration.

What we hope to do is reproduce the signed proclamation as the first thing readers see when they open the magazine. The Times not only includes the supplement with newspaper, but runs extra copies (last year more than 100,000) for the Park Service to distribute.

Your help is very much appreciated. If you have any questions, Anne (208-6741) or I would be happy to respond.

Thanks.



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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

MAY 22, 1994

President Clinton has declared May 22-28, 1994, as National Park Week, and I join him in asking all Americans to celebrate the rich heritage of their national parks. National Park Week is a time for all of us to pay tribute to the 367 parks which represent the natural, historical and cultural treasures of this nation.

No one can hike through Yosemite or Yellowstone, roam the hallways of Ellis Island, or climb the steps of the Lincoln Memorial and come away untouched. Every unit of the National Park System has a compelling story to tell. People from around the world make more than 270 million park visits every year to experience the beauty and richness and traditions of this country.

In 1919, there was said to be "an avalanche" of visitors to the 16 national parks when the totals reached 756,027. Each year as visitation grew and the number of parks increased, so too did the role and responsibility of the National Park Service. Its mission in the early part of this century, as it is today, is to protect and preserve our national parks.

That job is not an easy one. The parks face pressures from inside and out that stem from their very popularity. Now is a time for vision and action for our national parks -- action to meet the pressing needs of parks and vision to look to their preservation.

National Park Week is an open invitation for the American public to remember the value of their parks and to become involved in their safekeeping. England has its crown jewels and we have ours - they are our national parks and they are owned by us all.

Please take time during this week to recognize the dedicated employees who care for these special places and share their knowledge and experience with millions of people each year. Join me in recognizing the many partners of the national parks -- over 80,000 volunteers; local park support groups; cities, towns and states; corporate and individual contributors; and the National Park Foundation, the private, non-profit partner of the National Park Service.

The national parks deserve our attention. If we all take responsibility for their preservation, then our children and their children will continue to enjoy and appreciate the wonders of America.

Pro Bullitt

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3695

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 MAR 6 AM 11:20

March 2, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Harold Ickes 

SUBJECT: Marsha Berzon, U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit -- International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL-CIO

Mr. President, attached is a letter to you, from Ron Carey, General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL-CIO urging the appointment of Marsha Berzon to the United States Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit.

cc: Leon Panetta
Abner Mikva


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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

AFL-CIO



OFFICE OF
RON CAREY
GENERAL PRESIDENT

March 1, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Re: Appointment of Marsha Berzon to U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to recommend the appointment of Marsha Berzon to the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

Marsha Berzon has a very impressive background in the study and practice of law. She has litigated numerous ground-breaking cases in areas of labor law, women's rights, First Amendment law, environmental law, and a variety of other areas of civil law. She has appeared as counsel for parties or Amici Curiae before the United States Supreme Court in 60 cases.

During her years in labor law practice, Ms. Berzon has become known as someone on whom people frequently rely for scholarly and insightful analysis of complex legal issues. She also brings to these endeavors a keen understanding of the practical and human factors that must be considered as well. Her outstanding record has earned Marsha Berzon the respect and admiration of union and management labor lawyers alike -- a rare achievement.

Ms. Berzon's wide-ranging volunteer activities within the legal profession and her personal integrity add to her superb qualifications for appointment to the Federal Appellate bench. Further, anyone who has worked with Ms. Berzon would agree that her style of work is collegial and respectful of the wide diversity of personalities and viewpoints she encounters.

Appointing Marsha Berzon would bring an excellent model of balance, fairness and integrity to the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ron Carey".
Ron Carey
General President

RC:kcd

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-6-95

Laura
eg - what's your
reaction to this?
RC

WILLIAM K. DIVERS
1923 E. JOYCE ST., APT. 310
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72703

February 16, 1995

Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I know you get unsolicited gratuitous advice in varying forms including hundreds of thousands of letters that you could not possibly read. Nonetheless, I feel compelled in your interest, the country's interest and the interest of my great-grandchildren to offer some.

I was Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank appointed and reappointed by President Truman and offered reappointment by President Eisenhower. I was confirmed once by a Republican Senate and once by a Democratic Senate. Some have been kind enough to say had I remained Chairman for life, there would be no savings and loan crisis. I mention this not to brag but to give my proposal some credibility.

I have certainly heard that your proposal to establish "user fees" on commodity trades has sparked strong opposition. I am not so naive as to believe that my plan would not draw some of the same type of resistance from Wall Street. I believe, however, there would be no adverse reaction in the stock market.

If the Republicans object, you can say, "What are your plans and how will they affect the people?" I believe the owners of stocks will see that the benefits outweigh the immediate costs, especially since the plan accomplishes two of their immediate objectives, i.e., retiring the debt and balancing the budget, plus the long-range advantages described below.

Briefly, my plan calls for a tax on the transfer of stock in the stock markets. The seller would be taxed 50 cents a share and the buyer would be taxed 50 cents a share. The resulting \$1 a share would raise \$300,000,000 a day based on the current level of market activity on the New York Stock Exchange alone. Adding the other exchanges would make this \$500,000,000 a day. When multiplied by the approximately 252-253 days a year on which the market operates, it would easily raise over \$125 billion a year. This compares with the \$1.342 billion estimated to be raised from all sources in the 1995 budget. The legislation should also provide that the proceeds of the tax would be applied only to the retirement of the debt outstanding when the bill is passed.

Honorable Bill Clinton

Page 2

February 16, 1995

Applying the \$125 billion plus annually to retirement of a gradually reducing debt should permit retirement of the Federal debt in a decade. Retirement of the Federal debt should discourage Federal borrowing and permit annual budget balancing in the future.

In addition to retiring the debt and balancing the budget, it would have additional important advantages:

- 1) We would not pass the enormous Federal debt on to our children and grandchildren.
- 2) The legislation should strengthen the dollar relative to other currencies. The dollar needs strengthening.
- 3) The plan would show financial leadership in the world. It could eliminate the need for depending on taxes on imports in a GATT environment.
- 4) By paying off the debt it would gradually make more money available for private investments.
- 5) Paying off the debt and balancing the budget should be most beneficial to the individuals and companies which would pay most of the taxes.
- 6) It would put families ahead of dollars.

Ultimately, a majority of both Republicans and Democrats will come to the conclusion that raising additional revenue as well as cutting spending may be necessary. Certainly, most Republicans and most Democrats do not want to pass on an enormous debt to their children or grandchildren.

I voted for you and think you are doing a good job. Let me know if I as an individual can help you.

Respectfully,

William K. Divers

William K. Divers

*Father of Diane Blair, Father-in-law of Jim Blair
Grandfather of Bob Kennedy etc*

$\frac{3}{4}$

cell system
circuit—

March 1, 1995

THE PRESIDENT
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[Handwritten signature]

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- We think the importance of the radio address should be elevated. It should be the third main message event of the week. If we begin to treat it as a major news-making event, reporters will eventually treat it the same way.
- We should pick more pertinent topics and use it to preview news or make news. Since we generally know the topic of the Sunday shows by Thursday, we should be able to lock in the radio address topic on Thursday. Early closure on the topic, will also ensure more timely drafts, and give you more time to review the address and practice your delivery.
- We should make the addresses more personal. For example: "I received a letter from..." or "With me in the Oval Office today is..." or "I recently spoke with..."
- We should make the address more conversational and casual and less like a formal speech. You are at your best when you "work" the microphone by fluctuating your voice by using inflection, tone, volume and the dramatic pause.
- We should invite C-Span and other networks to broadcast the address selectively, only when there is major news in the address. We do not think C-Span should cover it every week because that would fundamentally change the nature of the "radio" address. It works now because it is an institution -- reporters expect the President to give a radio address every week. Also, weekly TV coverage would contribute to your overexposure on TV. It would also involve using a teleprompter and formalizing the event.
- We should preview the address on Friday with CNN, AP and radio networks to ensure better coverage on Saturday. And we should follow up the address with talking points to radio talk show hosts on Saturday.
- We should also turn the address into a column for weekly newspapers.

Please let me know of your thoughts on these recommendations, as well as any other suggestions you might have.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 3/6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

05 MAR 3 P 9:53

March 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES
ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: CABINET AFFAIRS *Kitty*

SUBJECT: Summary of Weekly Agency Reports

RESPONSE TO REPUBLICAN RESCISSION PROPOSALS

Cabinet Agencies are conducting extensive outreach to constituency groups, mayors, local officials, and the media to explain the potential impact of the Republican rescission proposals on ordinary Americans. They are effectively demonstrating the impact on a state-by-state basis, and wherever possible on cities and other communities. The agencies are effectively utilizing regional Administrators and staff to conduct constituency briefings, conference calls and media interviews. This week, Cabinet Affairs and Public Liaison hosted a meeting of agency outreach staff. As a result, Cabinet Members are on conference calls with constituents organized by Public Liaison. Media Affairs and Cabinet Affairs are coordinating to ensure that Members of the Cabinet conduct interviews in targeted markets throughout the country. HUD, Labor, HHS, Education, VA, and EPA have been particularly well-organized and effective in their efforts. Justice, Interior, USDA, DOT, Treasury, Energy, ONDCP, SBA, while not hit as badly as others, have been very supportive. Cabinet Affairs will continue to work closely with the other WH offices involved in this effort.

PERSIAN GULF VETERANS ILLNESS

On March 9, the Departments of Defense, HHS, and Veterans Affairs will testify before the Veterans Affairs Subcommittee on Health. Their testimony is being coordinated with your speech to the VFW. In addition, *60 Minutes* segment on Persian Gulf War Illness will air on March 12.

- **Children's Groundwater Festival:** Administrator Browner and Deputy Administrator Fred Hansen join Governor Ben Nelson in Lincoln, Nebraska, Tuesday March 7, to participate in the 1995 Groundwater Festival. The Governor and the State of Nebraska have provided leadership in educating children across the nation about the importance of water resources and the importance of protecting these resources from pollution. This day-long festival unites experts from agencies, academia, industry and environmental organizations in order to teach over 3,000 children about the importance of water, especially groundwater.
- **Great Lakes Water Quality Initiative:** EPA is working to finalize the Great Lakes Water Quality Initiative (GLI) due to be announced on March 13. The final GLI will set water quality standards for the entire Great Lakes basin but with enough flexibility to address the unique situations in each state. EPA has been working with several Congressional members and Governors in the Great Lakes region to ensure successful completion of this process.

SBA

Minority Enterprise Development - 8(a) - Program: On March 6th, SBA Deputy Administrator Cassandra Pulley testifies before the House Small Business Committee on the program. This hearing is expected to be contentious.

- **President's Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise:** The committee was launched on Friday, February 24th. The following committee members were in attendance: Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Gloria Gutierrez (Commerce), John Deutch (Defense), Alexis Herman (WH), Janet Yellen (Fed. Reserve), Julia Stasch (GSA), Donna Shalala (HHS), Karen Nussbaum (Labor), Betsy Myers (SBA), Jolene Molitoris (Transportation) and Darcy Bradbury (Treasury).
- **Base Closure Relief:** On Tuesday, February 28th, the Administrator announced a partnership to help retrain Charleston (SC) naval complex workers who are losing their jobs as a result of base closures. A \$275,000 grant from the Job Training and Partnership Act of the Department of Labor will finance the training program. The SBA will oversee the partnership and make sure the participants have access to the agency's loan guarantee program and other initiatives. Mr. Lader announced this in a speech at Charleston Southern University. The story was picked up by the *Charleston Post and Courier*.
- **Loan Updates:** The SBA is monitoring the daily use of its 7(a) loan guarantee program. Daily use has stabilized for the moment. While the average for the first quarter of the fiscal year was \$37.5 million (for the month of January, the average climbed to \$50.9 million), recent weeks have been more modest. Last week, the average was \$27 million. To get through the rest of the year without running out of funds, the average daily use cannot exceed \$26.7 million. Second quarter funding remains a problem because of January's high rate. Consequently, it is expected that second quarter funds will be

AGENCY SUMMARIES

Department of the Treasury

- **Health Insurance Deduction for the Self-Employed:** On March 6th, the Finance Committee holds a hearing on the extension of the health insurance deduction for self-employed individuals. It is unclear whether the Finance Committee will go along with the House's "pay for." The House paid for permanent extension by -- among other things -- repeal of Code Section 1071, providing tax deferral in the case of certain transfers of radio and television stations to minority interests.
- **Community Development Financial Institution:** On Friday, March 3rd, the Senate received Kirsten Moy's nomination to be the CDFI Administrator. This nomination is greatly complicated by the "zeroing out" of CDFI in the House rescissions bill.

Department of Labor

- **American Vocational Association:** On Monday, March 6th, Secretary Reich delivers the keynote address at the American Vocational Association's National Policy Seminar. Attendees at this conference include over 500 leading vocational-technical educators and administrators. These individuals have been instrumental in the implementation of DOL's School-to-Work initiative in states across the country, and their support for the Administration's Middle Class Bill of Rights education and training reform provisions is important.
- ✓ **NACO:** Secretary Reich speaks to the National Association of Counties (NACO) Legislative Conference on Monday, March 6. Newt Gingrich is the preceding speaker. NACO has taken a leading role in speaking out against the rescission package and is particularly concerned about the elimination of the summer jobs program. You will speak to this group the following day, March 7.
- **American Association of Newspaper Editors:** Secretary Reich's speech on March 9th will discuss the Middle Class Bill of Rights, rescissions, and other major topics.
- **Unemployment Numbers:** New numbers released Friday, March 10. Secretary Reich will conduct a number of one-on-one interviews with national press.
- **Minimum Wage:** Secretary Reich participates in a minimum wage event with Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) on March 10.
- **Glass Ceiling Awards:** On March 13, Secretary Reich presents the Francis Perkins-Elizabeth Dole National Award for Diversity and Excellence in American Executive Management to the Xerox corporation: a company that has been exemplary in its efforts to diversify and promote minorities and women. The event will be held in room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. Elizabeth Dole is expected to attend.

- **Glass Ceiling Commission:** The commission -- established by Bob Dole in 1991 Civil Rights legislation -- has finished its report and is likely to release it to the media in mid-March. *Time* and *Newsweek* have already expressed an interest in the report. Despite the growing awareness among corporate leaders of the bottom line value and economic importance of including minorities and women in senior corporate management and decision-making positions, progress has been slow. The report indicates that women comprise 3-5 percent of all senior managers in the private sector, and minority males comprise less than 2 percent. Recommendations for action will be released in the fall.
- **Iowa Workforce Development Statewide Conference:** On Friday, March 3rd, Secretary Reich spoke via satellite to the Iowa Workforce Development Statewide Conference. Iowa is one of six states receiving a DOL Implementation Grant for the One-Stop Career Center and has been a leading state in the development of a streamlined employment and training services delivery system. Iowa's revamped system is an example of the benefits of the One-Stop Career Initiative.
- **America's Job Bank on Internet:** The Department of Labor completed work to make America's Job Bank available on Internet. This enables any job seeker, from his or her home, office or public library, to access job listings and general labor market information from across the nation. The Department is seeking an early March announcement with the Vice President with a message which ties into the Middle Class Bill of Rights. A request for the Vice President's involvement in this event has been forwarded to the White House.

Department of Commerce

- **Census Economic Reports:**

Housing Completions for January 1995	March 6
Wholesale Trade for January 1995	March 9.
- **Business Speech:** Monday, March 6, Secretary Brown addresses the "50 Club," a group of prominent local business executives meeting in Cleveland. The Secretary's remarks will focus on the Administration's successful economic growth agenda now and for the future, on behalf of American business, workers and communities, globally.
- **Business Development in Haiti:** Deputy Secretary Dave Barram and International Trade Administration (ITA) Deputy Under Secretary David Rothkopf accompany Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott on a Presidential Business Development Mission to Haiti March 7-8, leading a delegation of interagency and private sector representatives. The inaugural meeting of the U.S.-Haiti Business Development Council will be held.
- **Malcom Baldrige "Tour Center":** Monday, March 13, Secretary Brown joins the First Lady at DOC for the Grand Opening of the Malcolm Baldrige Great Hall, which will serve as the White House "Tour Center."

 **New England Fishing:** March 3, the DOC announces on behalf of the Admin the creation of an experimental \$2 million vessel buyout program for New England to help the beleaguered New England fishing industry.

- **Information Access:** March 9, Secretary Brown announces "Get Connected," a public information campaign aimed at increasing access and awareness of the National Information Infrastructure and the Administration's efforts to extend these resources to eliminate the gap between information "haves" and "have nots."

Department of Transportation

- **Follow-up on Disposition of Airport Funds in Los Angeles:** The Federal Aviation Administration has informed Los Angeles that it does not intend to prevent a transfer from the airport fund to the general fund of proceeds derived from the state of California's condemnation of a portion of the Los Angeles International Airport for the Century Freeway. This issue is fairly controversial. The city of Los Angeles wanted to use the \$53 million involved for other than airport purposes. The airlines strenuously opposed this.
- **"Open Skies" Agreement:** The United States and Belgium initialed the text of a new "open skies" aviation agreement on March 1. This agreement allows almost unrestricted commercial aviation flights between the U.S. and Belgium. The successful talks represent continuing progress in our plan to negotiate liberal aviation agreements with nine European countries. The next country on the agenda is Iceland. Neil Kinnock, the Transport Minister of the European Union, has directed countries in the Union not to negotiate with the U.S., but negotiations with several European countries, are proceeding.
- **U.S. - U.K. Aviation Issues:** The USAir-British Airways Code Sharing Agreement comes up for renewal on March 17. This agreement is somewhat controversial. One issue is the relative benefit to the British carrier as opposed to the U.S. carrier. Exploratory talks continue with the United Kingdom and with our own industry.
- **Denver Airport Testimony:** On March 9, Secretary Pena testifies before the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee Aviation Subcommittee on the new Denver International Airport and on regional airport development.

Department of Justice

- **DOJ Sues Illinois State University For Engaging In Employment Discrimination:** On March 2, the Department filed suit against Illinois State University for failing to hire white men on the basis of their race and sex -- a violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1989, a white, male IL resident applied for various jobs with ISU, including the Building Service Worker Learner program. He was allegedly told by ISU that he was ineligible for that program because he was neither a minority nor a woman.

- **Virginia Motor Voter Case:** On March 9, 1995, the Solicitor General is expected to file a merits brief for the United States as amicus curiae in Morse v. Oliver North for U.S. Senate Committee, a Voting Rights Act challenge by individual voters to the Virginia Republican Party's imposition of a \$45 fee for participation in its 1994 senatorial nominating convention. The Solicitor will argue that the GOP violated the Voting Rights Act by adding the fee requirement without first obtaining preclearance. The Solicitor will also argue that individual voters should be able to invoke the Act's anti-poll-tax remedies.
- **Bureau of Prison Population Exceeds 95,000:** Over the last month, there has been a net increase of 399 inmates in Bureau of Prisons custody, making our current population 96,301 (including contracts facilities). The BOP is currently operating at 127 percent of its total capacity.
- **Federal Investigation Nets Huge MDMA Lab in Mexico:** A joint DEA/FBI investigation, initiated in Albuquerque, New Mexico, has resulted in the arrest in San Diego of the head of an international organization trafficking in MDMA, or "ecstasy." German national Friedhelm Wilhelm Koenig ran a multimillion dollar MDMA laboratory that occupied an entire city block in Tijuana. He was arrested on February 19 and his lab was seized five days later. Also seized were 230,000 MDMA tablets (worth over \$2 million at the retail level), and an estimated 30 metric tons (mt) of MDMA precursors.

Department of Health & Human Services

- **Ohio and Oklahoma Waivers:** HHS may soon approve waivers for Ohio and Oklahoma. The Ohio waiver would use monies designated for AFDC and Food Stamp benefits to supplement low-wage earnings as an incentive for employers to hire welfare recipients, and to lift recipients out of poverty. In addition, it would sanction AFDC recipients ages 6 to 18 who do not meet the school attendance requirement. The waiver would also provide additional funding to individuals for up to 12 months from the month of employment. I would also provide for an additional six months of transitional child care. The Oklahoma waiver would eliminate the 100-hour rule for employable two-parent households; require more work from JOBS participants; and provide case management for teen custodial parents and long-term AFDC recipients.
- **South Florida Work Group on Fraud to Meet with Press:** On March 6, in Tampa, Florida, HCFA Administrator Bruce Vladeck meets with the South Florida Work Group, made up of representatives from HCFA contractors, the Florida Department of Health, and HCFA regional staff. The work group will present a report that outlines recommendations to reduce Medicare and Medicaid fraud in Florida and will outline procedural changes it has implemented since it was formed in August and the significant money saved thus far. While in Florida, Administrator Vladeck will hold a press event to announce the group's accomplishments, including reducing by over 50 percent the number of independent physiological laboratories approved for billing Medicare.

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- **U.S. Jews to Receive German Social Security Benefits:** On March 6, in Bonn, Germany, the U.S. Ambassador to Germany, Charles Redman; and the German State Secretary, Dieter Kastrup, will sign an amendment to the U.S.- German totalization agreement. The most important provision of the supplementary agreement will allow payment of German Social Security benefits to certain ethnic German Jews now living in the United States who formerly lived in Eastern Europe but were hesitant to acknowledge their ethnic background in their former homeland due to the fear of anti-Semitic reprisals. German authorities have estimated that the provisions of the supplementary agreement will make it possible for as many as 10,000 people in the United States to receive additional benefits, which may total \$50 million a year.
- **Approval of Hepatitis-A Vaccine:** On February 22, FDA approved the first vaccine for Hepatitis-A, a highly contagious viral disease that afflicts an estimated 100,000 to 150,000 Americans annually. The vaccine was tested in Thailand by the U.S. Armed Forces Research Institute for Medical Sciences with the Thai government. More than 19,000 Thai school children received the injections, which proved to be 84 percent effective in preventing the disease. The vaccine is indicated for international travelers, people living in or relocating to areas where the disease is endemic, some military personnel, and certain high-risk individuals such as some hospital and laboratory personnel. It will be available the first week in March and is manufactured by SmithKline Beecham of Philadelphia under the trade name Havrix.

Office of National Drug Control Policy

- **Safe and Drug Free Schools:** Dr. Lee Brown testifies this week before the Senate Appropriations Committee and the House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee on the National Drug Control Strategy. His testimony will focus on the Safe and Drug Free Schools program that was zeroed out in the Republican rescission bill. Nancy Reagan has been invited to testify before the latter hearing, as the first witness. The hearing will receive significant media attention if she attends.

Department of Interior

- **Endangered Species Act Announcements/Senate Testimony:** In anticipation of the Secretary's testimony before the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee this week, Interior will make several announcements. On March 4, in California, DOI announces an agreement to purchase land from the RTC that will support a San Diego Habitat Conservation Plan protecting the gnatcatcher. Next week, DOI will also postpone a listing decision for the Barton Spring salamander; this gives Texas time to deal with its growing water quality problems.

March 6, Secretary Babbitt announces ten principles to guide reforming and implementing the Endangered Species Act. Some steps have already been taken administratively; others require legislation. The steps are designed to make the process more efficient and to minimize impacts on land owners. Consultations have been

conducted with Western Governors, Congress, etc.

Department of Agriculture

- **USDA Moves To Improve School Meals:** On March 27, USDA will announce that prominent chefs from leading restaurants are volunteering to help develop healthy school meals that appeal to children. The announcement will include a variety of activities that will take place in school cafeterias and classrooms.

Department of Energy

Nuclear Waste: This week, Secretary O'Leary testifies on several pieces of legislation that would amend the Nuclear Waste Policy Act. This legislation affects the storage and ultimate disposition of commercial spent waste and defense waste, and affects ratepayers of nuclear utilities in 32 states. These issues will receive press attention.

Department of Education

- **Press Conference with Governor Romer:** On March 6, Governor Romer and Secretary Riley jointly host a press conference in Denver to discuss the negative impact of the education budget rescissions being discussed in Congress.
- **National Challenge Grants Competition:** On March 7, Vice President Gore and the Secretary announce the kick-off of the National Challenge Grants for Technology in Education. This program acts as a catalyst for change by supporting efforts to transform schools into information-age learning centers. The event is at Montgomery Knolls Elementary in Silver Spring, Maryland.

Environmental Protection Agency

• **Milwaukee and Reformulated Gasoline:** EPA and DOE continue to work with the White House to respond to the concern expressed by Milwaukee-area residents about potential public health and automobile engine performance effects of reformulated gasoline. Governor Thompson requested that EPA temporarily suspend enforcement of the oxygenate additive requirement in reformulated gasoline. On February 24, Administrator Browner informed the Governor that the Agency would not suspend the program because the industry had steadfastly refused to provide an alternative source of gasoline; at the same time EPA laid out a seven-point program to be implemented immediately to address concerns related to reformulated gasoline and a high-level EPA official visited the state today. DOE, EPA and DOJ attorneys are also now working to try and resolve legal problems raised by the oil industry over an alternative gasoline. Media interest and calls from the public to both EPA and the State of Wisconsin have declined dramatically each day this week.

exhausted on or about March 17th. After then, the program will be forced to shut down until April 1st.

Defense

- **Former Yugoslavia:** Step Two prepositioning is the critical issue for decision this week, particularly for the NAC meeting on March 8. Step Two is the deployment of NATO communications personnel and assets to link into and expand the commercial architecture established in Step One. DOD is still working on Tudjiman to obtain a reversal of his decision not to extend the UNPROFOR mandate in Coratia.
- **Somalia II:** 6,200 Sailors and Marines have just completed the execution of Phase IV of Operation United Shield, withdrawal of UNOSOM II forces and equipment from Somalia. The operation completed on March 2, 1995, was successful, with no casualties to our Marines or any of the UN forces.
- **Haiti:** The March 31 transition to UNMIH is largely on track and unlikely to be delayed; 70 percent of UNMIH's military forces are already in Haiti participating in the MNF. The 850 Pakistani troops slated to participate in UNMIH constitute the remainder of the force. It will be important that the Pakistani troops deploy to Haiti on time since they are to replace a significant contingent of U.S. troops prior to the March 31 transition; reports indicate the deployment is delayed, but expected to recover. The Rules of Engagement for UNMIH are sufficiently robust to allow our troops to respond to hostile acts or hostile intent.
- **Iraq:** DOD is watching with concern the possible movement of an Iraqi commando brigade in southern Iraq. Iraq is now on alert due to expected action by Iran.
- **Burundi:** Violent incidents continue in Bujumbura and northern Burundi (restarting the refugee flow in to Tanzania), but the selection of a Tutsi extremist as PM has not yet caused wide-scale Hutu reaction. Although the U.S. Embassy in Bujumbura remains optimistic, U.S. European Command is reviewing its Emergency Action Plan. DoD representatives met with State on February 27 to discuss planning for a possible NEO.
- **FY 1995 Supplemental:** The full Senate Appropriations Committee is scheduled to take up to the DoD Supplemental late this week. In contrast to the House approval of \$3.2 billion Supplemental offset by \$1.5 billion in rescissions, \$1.4 billion in domestic sources and \$.3 billion from allies and the UN, the SAC currently plans to approve a \$1.9 billion supplemental offset only by defense sources.
- **C-130 Procurement for the Reserve Components:** Although there are more C-130s in inventory now than are needed, 8 more were included in the equipment package at the request of Air Reserve Components and the Naval Reserve. The manufacturer, Lockheed, evidently wants the RC to buy 12 to 15 C-130s. DoD has received numerous

inquiries on the matter from lobbyists and Members of Congress, including Speaker Gingrich and Senators Byrd and Coats. DOD is working on a plan to get this reserve equipment budgeting process in order.

- **Child Support Enforcement:** DOD estimates that the number actual numbers associated with the President's Executive Order on dead-beat parents actually affects 47,000 military personnel, not 74,000. Of those, 22,000 are Reservists and Guardsmen who are on DOD payroll only two days each month.
- **BRAC:** During the week of March 6, Armed Services representatives will testify before the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission.

United Nations

- **UNPROFOR:** UNPROFOR is^{not} currently scheduled to remain in Croatia beyond June 30. US-UN is still trying to reverse this decision or to obtain some authorization for a new force in Croatia. However, contingency plans for withdrawal are under consideration and discussions continue as to the collateral effect of this decision on UNPROFOR's presence in Bosnia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The Council will also discuss the next 30-day report on the closure of the border between Bosnia and the Former Republic of Yugoslavia.
- **Humanitarian Shipments To Chechnya:** US-UN conveyed concern to the Russian Permanent Representative about the difficulties international relief agencies have been having getting humanitarian shipments into Chechnya. He agreed to raise the issue during his trip to Moscow next week.
- **UN Human Rights Resolution on China:** The Human Rights Commission will vote on this issue on March 7 in Geneva. The Chinese have vigorously opposed; we and the Europeans have just as vigorously supported. The Chinese have pushed for a no-action motion which will most likely be defeated. US-UN is less certain that the resolution will pass, but there are still a number of uncommitted countries which could push the vote either way.

State

- **Russia:** Based on Secretary Christopher's meetings last week with Deputy Foreign Minister Mamedov, the State Department recommends moving forward with the President's letter to Yeltsin on NATO expansion, which should pave the way for the Russians to finally accept the two Partnership for Peace documents Kozyrev declined to approve in December.

Secretary Christopher's next meeting with Kozyrev is scheduled to take place as early as March 22 or 23. A key item of that meeting is likely to be the President's participation in the May 9 VE celebration in Moscow.

- **North Korea:** Assistant Secretary Winston Lord had very successful talks with top officials in Seoul last week, coordinating the Administration's approach on north-South issues. One major result was the ROK announcement that Team Spirit would be cancelled this year; another was the ROK request that the US quietly broker a North-South meeting. While the South Koreans emphasized the need to be tough with the North, they also showed a surprising willingness to be positive and flexible.
- **Ireland:** Secretary Christopher's discussion with Irish Foreign Minister Dick Spring February 27 centered on the Joint Framework Document (JFD) that Irish PM Bruton and British PM Major announced last week. Secretary Christopher's press statement emphasized that the JFD is a negotiating text and not a blueprint to be imposed on the people of Northern Ireland. Secretary Christopher also urged those who have laid down arms to take the next step and begin a process of disarmament. The Irish pushed for a lift of the ban on fundraising by Gerry Adams; the Secretary noted the Administration will consider the issue carefully.
- **Senate CJS Testimony:** At Secretary Christopher's testimony before the Senate Commerce, Justice, State Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator Gramm made clear that the Administration's request for supplemental peacekeeping funding could only be accommodated if the Administration proposed offsets.

USIA

- **Civic Education:** Friday, March 3, USIA announces its participation in organizing "CIVITAS@Prague.1995" which will be held June 2-6, 1995 in Prague. Several hundred prominent civic leaders and educators throughout the world will inaugurate a partnership aimed at strengthening civic education in new and old democracies. The Department of Education and 7 NGOs join USIA in organizing this event.
- **Croatia:** USIS Zagreb has been aggressively pursuing a high profile public affairs campaign in support of the Z-4 Peace Process and US efforts to foster an enduring peace in Croatia.

OPM

- **Affirmative Action Report:** OPM expects to issue its annual report on the Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program (FEORP) in the next two weeks. The department expects significant media attention. Also, OPM expects to issue its final report on the study of the disparity between minority/non-minority discharge rates in the federal workforce sometime this month.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{3/6}

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 MAR 1 P7:01

February 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
LEON PANETTA

FROM:

Harold Ickes

SUBJECT:

Tort reform - Products liability legislation

On 23 February 1995, Senator Rockefeller called about the House "Product Liability Bill" which he does not think is a good bill. He has been working on a products liability bill for the past nine years and thinks his bill should pass through the Senate in relatively short order.

He specifically asked that the President, and the White House in general, not comment on the products liability legislation until the Senate votes on his bill.

cc Ab mikuc
LAURA TYSON
George S.

CLARENCE PAGE

Any hope for a calm, reasoned debate on the merits of affirmative action in coming months were dashed when California's Democratic state Assembly Speaker Willie Brown spoke out on the matter.

Attempts to eliminate minority preferences in hiring, government contracting and school admissions in his state are "totally and completely racist," he said.

Mr. Brown, one of the nation's most powerful black Democrats, was commenting on the proposed California Civil Rights Initiative and some similar pending State-house legislation.

By invoking the dreaded R-word, Mr. Brown showed how polarized this issue is bound to become, with name-calling all around, which is bad news for the Democrats. As an affirmative action defender, I am sorry to say I think it is bad news for affirmative action, too. If this issue is decided along racial lines, minorities by definition will lose since, after all, we are outnumbered.

Democrats also will lose, since their political base splits sharply along racial and gender lines over this "wedge" issue, much like abortion divides libertarian vs. authoritarian Republicans.

Republicans are hoping the proposed California initiative will lure conservative whites out to vote and, while they're at it, help whomever the Republican presidential nominee happens to be.

All of which puts President Clinton on the spot, searching feverishly for a position that will please the angry white males he is trying to reach without enraging the wary women and minorities he is trying to keep.

That's why I found myself doing something that a year ago I would not have expected to do. I called

Salvation based on need

conservative legal activist Clint Bolick, of the Washington-based Institute for Justice, for advice on how to save affirmative action.

Since Mr. Bolick, a former aide to President Reagan, is best known for leading the assault against Clinton Justice Department nominee Lani Guinier as a "quota queen," he is

If affirmative action is to be saved, its benefits must be targeted to the truly disadvantaged according to need, not race or gender.

not the sort of person one might immediately turn to as a savior of affirmative action.

But it shows how much the political landscape has shifted with the "Newt World Order," as some are calling House Speaker Newt Gingrich's new wave, that Mr. Bolick suddenly finds himself being sought out as a voice of reason and moderation. "We find ourselves in the middle, which is an odd place for us to be," Mr. Bolick chuckled over the telephone.

Coming at this from opposite directions, Mr. Bolick and I found common ground on this much: Reports of affirmative action's death have been greatly exaggerated. In a rapidly diversifying work force with more skilled jobs available than skilled people to fill them,

companies and universities will need some form of affirmative action, although one less objectionable than the "quotas" and other excesses that feed resentments among angry white males.

If affirmative action is to be saved, we agreed, its benefits must be targeted to the truly disadvantaged according to need, not race or gender.

Subtle racial preferences will continue anyway as a consequence of economic realities, not skin-color preferences. Because the growing divide between rich and poor since the '70s has been felt most obviously and painfully among blacks and Hispanics, any programs targeted fairly toward America's truly disadvantaged will benefit poor blacks and poor Hispanics disproportionately, without "creaming" benefits to those who would be most likely to succeed without them.

Can affirmative action be saved? A centrist response from the Clinton White House may quite likely take the form of Mr. Bolick's 1988 report called "Opportunity 2000: Creative Affirmative Action Strategies for a Changing Work Force" for the conservative Hudson Institute.

In it, he analyzed a wide variety of successful efforts by private companies working alone or in partnerships with government, foundations, community colleges, technical schools, business groups or consortiums with other companies that had similar training needs.

One outstanding example is Aetna Life & Casualty's Institute for Corporate Education, which has reached about 20,000 people a year since 1981 with education and basic

skills training for its own employees and for public school students in person and in television classrooms.

Aetna and other companies find that the cost of such programs is paid back by increasing the labor pool from which the company can draw for hiring and promotions.

Corporate managers often are amazed at the good results from such programs. Instead of treating women and minorities as beans to be counted, they find themselves benefiting from treating them as individuals worthy of investment.

Unfortunately, I am not yet as sanguine as Mr. Bolick that rigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination laws for individuals, but not groups, is enough.

Backlogs of complaints at the underfunded Equal Employment Opportunity Commission are very great — even worse than its notoriously bad years under Clarence Thomas a decade ago. Even its current chairman, Gil Casellas, recently told a Chicago Tribune reporter, "The average person who walks in the door today at an EEOC office is not going to be necessarily well-served."

As some wise person once said of democracy, affirmative action is a terrible system, except for the others, which have been so much worse.

It is up to all Americans who say they believe in a "colorblind" society to put some time, money and efforts into making that vision a reality. We're not there yet. We have a long way to go.

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1995

G/21-22-95
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Older Americans Cited in Studies Of National Savings Rate Slump

By SYLVIA NASAR

AI

Despite their reputations as role models of thrift, older Americans appear to be the ones chiefly responsible for the slump in the country's savings rate.

That is the surprising conclusion of several recent studies comparing the spending and saving of different generations over several decades.

If the researchers are right, the savings incentives for younger families in the Republicans' Contract With America and in the White House's new tax proposal — promising broader access to individual retirement accounts and the like — will not lift the nation's savings much, if at all.

The rate of savings suddenly collapsed in the early 1980's, dropping below 5 percent of national income from 9 percent or so during most of the previous three decades. A decade later, the savings rate has slipped further and is now barely more than 3 percent.

At first, most analysts pointed a finger at the baby boom generation, the supposedly self-indulgent 45 million Americans born from 1946 through 1964. Since people generally save more in middle age than in youth, some economists — including Michael J. Boskin, President Bush's chief economic adviser — optimisti-

cally predicted that savings would rebound as these boomers grew older and presumably wiser.

But evidence gathered by several researchers suggests that the baby boomers were not responsible for the problem to begin with and that counting on a natural recovery in the savings rate is probably a mistake.

"The great bulk of the decline was due to changes in the saving patterns of people born before 1940 — those who are 55 or older today," said Gary Burtless, an economist at the Brookings Institution and one of the first experts to reconsider the subject. "The saving of people who were

Continued on Page D12, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

born after 1940 is holding up pretty darn well."

A deep pool of savings has all kinds of beneficial effects for society. It can make people feel more secure; business has more to invest in ideas because money tends to be cheaper, and the nation has to borrow much less from abroad.

The ill effects of saving too little admittedly take a while to show up. But sooner or later they do, just like the sorry consequences of not flossing your teeth.

The updated picture of the nation's savings habits is based on a clutch of Government surveys on income, consumption and saving by Americans of different age groups from the 1950's to the 1990's.

Americans drawing near retirement age today are saving less than their parents did at the same point in their lives. Moreover, Americans who are already retired — beneficiaries of relatively generous Social Security payments, pensions and health care protection — are consuming considerably more than previous generations consumed.

For example, by the mid-1980's, Americans born during the Depression and approaching retirement were saving a much smaller part of their incomes than their parents had tucked away: 11 percent versus 17 percent. That is according to a study by Mr. Burtless; a Brookings colleague, Barry Bosworth, and John Sabelhaus, a researcher at the Urban Institute.

The same was true of those people's older brothers and sisters, born during the 1920's, who were setting aside only 16 percent of their income just before they retired, compared with 23 percent for their parents.

Most people think of saving as depositing \$100 in a bank account every month or contributing to their company's 401(k) plan. But economists take a different view. To them, saving is everything that is not spent by consumers, business and govern-

ment on their immediate needs. By consuming less now, people make it possible for themselves and their children to live better in the future.

"If you want to find out why our saving is down, find out who's consuming more," said Laurence Kotlikoff, chairman of the economics department at Boston University.

By consumption, economists do not necessarily mean lavish living. Consumption is also buying fuel to heat a house, or using an orthopedic surgeon or a nursing home.

And in looking at what people are consuming, analysts include items that people do not necessarily pay for themselves. In today's modern social welfare state, the elderly consume lots of resources, especially medical care, that the rest of society helps to subsidize.

Consequently, the consumption of older Americans has soared relative to that of younger generations. A study by Professor Kotlikoff, Mr. Sabelhaus and Jagadeesh Gokhale, an economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, found that today's average 80-year-old is spending \$1.16 for every \$1 that a typical 30-year-old spends. In the early 1960's, the average 80-year-old was spending just 65 cents for every \$1 a 30-year-old spent.

Much, but not all, of the increase in spending by the elderly reflects higher medical costs. Medical spending soared from less than 6 percent of household consumption in the early 1960's to almost 17 percent today. Meanwhile, personal consumption for everything but medical care grew, too, although its share of the national income, which rose even faster, fell by 23 percentage points, to 63.7 percent from 66 percent. (Government spends the remaining one-fifth or so of income directly.)

All of this suggests that the underlying source of America's much-lamented savings problem may simply reflect a decision by society as a whole — explicitly or not — to let the elderly consume a bigger share of the nation's resources. That consumption is paid for largely by tax-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN $\frac{3}{4}$

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 3/6
4A • THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1995 • USA TODAY

WASHINGTON

Clinton cracks down on food stamp fraud

The Clinton administration announced a broad strike against food stamp fraud Wednesday to ensure the \$27 billion a year program serves the needy, not the greedy. The crackdown imposes tougher requirements on authorized food stamp dealers and tightens screening to prevent people from buying, selling or trading food stamps for cash or other non-food items like drugs and guns. An estimated \$1 billion a year in taxpayer money is lost to food stamp fraud. "We are ensuring that the food stamp program will earn the public trust, and continue to help the people who need it," President Clinton said in a statement.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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95 MAR 6 P 1:14

Four Drug Firms Could Gain \$1 Billion Under GOP Nutrition-Program Revision

By HILARY STOUT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Four pharmaceutical companies stand to gain as much as a billion dollars under a Republican bill that overhauls federal nutrition programs for children and pregnant women.

The companies sell infant formula to the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program, a federal initiative that provides formula as well as milk, beans, rice and other nutritious foods to poor children and to pregnant and breast-feeding women. Since 1989 the companies have been required by law to enter into a competitive bidding process in order to sell formula to WIC, resulting in rebates to the government that are expected to reach \$1.1 billion this year.

A bill that cleared the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee on a party-line vote last week would turn the WIC program over to states in the form of a "block grant," and with it repeal the cost-containment competitive-bidding measure. An amendment to restore it was defeated by the committee. The legislation now moves to the House floor for consideration.

The four companies, the only domestic makers of infant formula — Ross Laboratories, a unit of Abbott Laboratories; Mead Johnson, a unit of Bristol-Myers Squibb Co.; Wyeth-Ayerst, a unit of American Home Products Corp.; and Carnation Co., a U.S. subsidiary of the Swiss conglomerate Nestle SA — fought the competitive-bidding measure fiercely when it came before Congress in the late 1980s. Until then, they were collecting retail prices for the infant formula they sold to WIC.

Sen. Patrick Leahy of Vermont, the senior Democrat on the Senate Agriculture Committee and the lawmaker who led the effort to enact the cost-containment measures, threatened to filibuster the bill

yesterday if it reaches the Senate. "It is really obscene," Sen. Leahy said. "The most conservative of people should, if being truthful, like the competitive bidding. . . . It's just rank hypocrisy."

If the bill reaches the Senate floor, Sen. Leahy continued, "I've spent 20 years building bipartisan coalitions and working on nutrition programs. If it's necessary to discuss my whole 20 years' worth of experience in real time, I'll do it."

In 1993, the latest year for which figures are available, the WIC program spent \$1.46 billion on infant formula but received \$935 million in rebates. That cut the overall cost of providing formula to \$525 million, nearly a two-thirds reduction. Moreover, the states, which administer the program, were allowed to use the rebates to add more people to the WIC program.

The action on WIC comes as a liberal-leaning research group, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, released a study questioning the continuing effectiveness of some of the infant-formula rebates. The center's analysis found that in the last year, despite the cost-containment requirements, the cost of infant formula purchased through WIC has almost doubled in many states.

Since last March, the study said, 17 state WIC programs have signed rebate contracts with at least one of the major formula manufacturers. Under those agreements, the average net cost of a 13-ounce can of concentrated infant formula was 60 cents, compared with a 32-cent average price under rebate contracts signed during the previous 15 months, the study said.

The Federal Trade Commission has been investigating the infant formula makers' rebate and pricing practices, and at least one state, Florida, has filed suit against the manufacturers.

China Sets Its Sights on Joining WTO

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 3/6
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/6/95

Department of Education

*Clear
what's the deal on this?*

- **Goals 2000:** A peer review panel is reviewing Kentucky's state improvement plan, and will soon send a recommendation to Secretary Riley. This will be the second Goals 2000 state improvement plan to be completed (Oregon was the first). Utah's plan is also ready for final peer review.

✓ **Abortion Teaching Requirement:** The *Washington Post* reported this week that the Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education will require programs that train obstetricians to teach abortion skills. Although this accrediting agency is not one of those recognized by the Department of Education, teaching hospitals need accreditation by this organization to receive federal reimbursement for patient care provided by resident physicians.

- **Direct Lending:** Under separate cover, I sent you a memo summarizing the Department's efforts to publicize the direct lending program. Mark Gearan, Gene Sperling, and I are working closely with the Department of Education on a series of events to promote your direct lending program and loan consolidation initiatives, while drawing attention to Republican efforts to repeal the in-school interest subsidy and direct lending.

Department of the Interior

- **Grazing Rule:** The Department announced publication of the final grazing rule today. The rules describe how the Bureau of Land Management will administer grazing on public lands and how BLM resource advisory councils will be organized. The rules will not become effective for 180 days. (This period will allow an opportunity for further Congressional review.)

The Department has made several important changes as a result of what they heard from the West. They have incorporated three models for public participation based on those developed through the efforts of the Colorado and Wyoming Roundtables and one developed by BLM in response to comments. They have modified many of the proposals relating to program administration and have decided in some instances to make no changes from the regulations currently in effect. The final rule:

- will not increase grazing fees
- will not affect any valid existing water rights
- will not affect the perfection of water rights on non-Federal lands
- will provide that water ownership stays with the land
- will provide for co-application and joint ownership of water rights consistent with state law between the Federal government and the permittee
- requires state residency on resource advisory councils
- provides for the development of state or regional standards and guidelines to improve rangeland conditions.

NE ✓

Per John --
President does not need
to make a decision on
this before his press
conference today, but
thought he would want
to see the framework
being suggested.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Todd Stern

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{3/4}

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 24, 1995

95 MAR 2 P3:46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA, ABNER MIKVA & BO CUTTER
FROM: JOEL KLEIN, BRUCE LINDSEY & PETER YU
SUBJECT: LEGAL REFORM ISSUES

This memorandum outlines for your approval a proposed strategy for addressing legal reform issues currently before Congress.

I. BACKGROUND. Congress is considering (i) civil justice reforms (such as the "loser pays" or English rule for actions brought under federal diversity jurisdiction), (ii) securities litigation reforms (such as limits on shareholder class-action suits), and (iii) product liability reforms (such as changes in the law of damages). Proponents of reform claim that the current system is unfair, wasteful, stifles innovation, and undermines US competitiveness. Opponents of reform contend that the proposals are unnecessary and serve only to shield defendants from liability and, in the case of product liability, to federalize an area traditionally controlled by state law.

Both you and the Vice President have been critical, or at least skeptical, of reforms of the legal system through preemptive federal legislation. Attachment A offers selected press accounts of your statements on these issues.

The empirical evidence regarding the need for reform is far from definitive. While each side marshals data that appear to support its claims, independent studies have reached mixed conclusions. These studies suggest that in the 1980s litigation increased significantly (largely due to asbestos-related claims), but also that the filings in more recent years evidence no clear trends. With regard to product liability cases, the studies also fail to support charges that damage awards have been increasing dramatically. In response, proponents of reform emphasize that the mere threat of large awards has a deleterious impact on American innovation and competitiveness.

The legal reform legislation included in the Contract with America is, by most accounts, quite extreme (see Attachment B). However, the House Commerce Committee recently moderated the securities provisions somewhat. Senator Dodd has introduced a securities litigation reform bill that is less extreme than the modified Contract provision; Congressman Markey has introduced an even more shareholder-friendly bill. With regard to product liability, Senator Rockefeller has for several years championed a more moderate approach than the Contract bill; last session, a cloture vote on his bill failed by only 3 votes. Most observers believe that the House will pass legal reform legislation relatively quickly (perhaps within a few weeks) but that the Senate will not begin work on a bill until late spring. Senator Rockefeller has not

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reintroduced his bill and it is not clear whether his bill or a more extreme version championed by someone else will be the primary vehicle in the Senate. It is possible that a Rockefeller-type bill on products reform and a Dodd-type bill on securities reform will emerge as "compromise" approaches.

A White House team led by the Counsel's office and the NEC has consulted with Justice, Treasury, Commerce, and the SEC to develop the following strategy for addressing these issues. The Vice President was involved with this issue in the Senate, and would like to discuss it with you prior to your decision.

II. CONSENSUS RECOMMENDATION. The group supports a three-part approach.

- With regard to **civil justice reform**, the group recommends that the Administration firmly oppose the "English rule" proposal in the Contract bill (which applies to *all* diversity actions in federal court), arguing that it is grossly unfair to innocent plaintiffs and may increase total litigation costs.

- With regard to **securities litigation reform**, the group recommends that the Administration work with the SEC to encourage reforms that fall somewhere between the Dodd and Markey bills. Such a package might include measures to reduce the "race to the courthouse" and the risk of meritless claims, but would not include reforms that would significantly weaken private enforcement of the securities laws, encourage fraud, or be inconsistent with the Administration's position on product liability reform. The Administration's initial public position would be to favor "reasonable" reforms and to list those provisions in the House bill that are problematic.

- With regard to **product liability reform**, the group recommends that the Administration emphasize a strong presumption against preemptive legislation, the need to ensure full compensation for victims and responsibility for unsafe products, and a package of federal-court reforms. This position would stress that product liability reform is generally a matter of state law (a position bolstered by a proactive position on federal securities litigation reform). The Administration would consider preemptive legislation only if the federal interest in preemption was clearly demonstrated. For example:

- If we were convinced an important national interest had been clearly demonstrated, we would not oppose reasonable preemptive standards (such as "clear and convincing evidence") for punitives. (Business groups argue such standards provide businesses with needed predictability.)

- At the same time, there has been little justification for federal preemptive provisions in other proposed areas -- particularly where the need to ensure full compensation for victims and responsibility for unsafe products are paramount concerns:

- * *arbitrary caps on or unreasonable standards for the awarding of compensatory or punitive damages and the discriminatory treatment of noneconomic damages* -- such standards are not only unfair to consumers, they also underdeter the manufacture of unsafe products; and
- * *regulatory defenses that immunize manufacturers* -- as demonstrated by DES, Copper-7 IUDs, and high-estrogen birth control, simply because a product survives government review does not ensure its safety and should not provide immunity to a manufacturer.

The Administration would also *advocate pro-consumer positions* such as limits on secrecy agreements in settlements in federal court and *reforms in federal court* designed to encourage alternatives to litigation and decrease frivolous suits without underdetering negligence.

III. ANALYSIS

This approach balances several purposes. First, it is consistent with your expressed concerns regarding both the fairness of reforms and the federalization of tort law. Second, it plays upon the extreme nature of the English rule as well as the Republicans' inconsistent positions (in supporting federalization of the legal system but devolution in every other sphere of government). Third, it indicates a willingness to entertain *justified* preemptive legislation and thus will not wholly alienate business interests. Fourth, it raises consumer concerns and challenges the premises of Republican reforms by highlighting portions of the Contract bill you find to be unjustified, especially given federalism's strong presumption against preemptive legislation and the lack of empirical data to support proponents' claims.

As always, there is some risk that such a modulated approach--while sound policy--will be viewed in the current environment as equivocal. However, the group believes that this approach places the Administration in the best position to influence the development of this legislation and to threaten a veto if consumer interests remain unaddressed.

IV. DECISION

____ Proceed with consensus recommendation.

____ Let's discuss.

ATTACHMENT A: PRESS ACCOUNTS OF PAST STATEMENTS

President Clinton

- "The proposals advanced by George Bush and Dan Quayle [presumably including S.640, the Rockefeller bill] are dramatically tilted toward big polluters, manufacturers and insurance companies, and against consumers and victims." *The Candidates on Legal Issues*, ABA J., Oct. 1992, at 57.
- "Bush and Quayle want to cap the ability of juries to award victims punitive damages, even when that is the only way to bring a powerful offender to justice, or to keep a dangerous product off the market." *Id.*
- "[Bush and Quayle] want to make victims pay the legal fees of big manufacturers, if, for some reason, they sue and lose. It is nothing more than trickle-down justice." *Id.*
- "As a general matter, I believe that legal reform should be enacted in the laboratories of the States, rather than at the federal level." *Id.*
- "In my view, the best reforms are those that make it less likely for people to go to court. We should encourage greater use of alternative dispute resolution to give consumers redress without having to litigate, such as mediation, mini-trials, and the multi-door courthouse. We should also encourage the use of special masters to help sort through complex cases. And we should restrict the use of secrecy agreements, which too frequently force litigants to refight the same battles, over and over, while endangering public health." *Id.*
- "But I will oppose any proposals that pretend to 'reform' lawsuits while actually encouraging dangerous products or marketplace fraud." *Id.*

Vice President Gore

- Voted against S.640, the Rockefeller Bill, in the Commerce Committee in 1992.
- Co-authored Minority Views in the Commerce Committee report on product liability legislation in 1990.
- Widely quoted in press as having deemed the Rockefeller bill "anti-consumer."

ATTACHMENT B: LEGAL REFORM BILLS

The more controversial provisions of the Contract bill (as revised in committee) include:

- Civil justice reforms for federal courts:
 - a "loser pays" or "English rule" attorney-fee regime for diversity actions brought in federal court; and
 - tighter rules regarding expert scientific testimony.
- Product liability reforms that govern both federal and state court claims:
 - limits on the liability of product retailers;
 - "clear-and-convincing" and "actual malice" standards for punitive damages;
 - a cap on punitive-damages awards; and
 - a bar on joint-and-several liability for noneconomic damages.
- Securities litigation reforms (as modified by the House Commerce Committee):
 - a fee-shifting provision if the court finds that a losing party's position was not substantially justified;
 - a recklessness standard and pleading requirements significantly greater than the law of several circuits; and
 - a proportionate liability provision in certain fraud actions.

The civil justice reform provisions could significantly reduce suits by smaller parties (such as consumers) against larger parties. The product liability provisions preempt an area long the province of state courts and legislatures. The securities litigation provisions would eviscerate private enforcement actions.

- The primary features of **S. 687**, introduced last session by Senator Rockefeller, include:
- establishment of a federal fault standard for punitive damages (including a safe harbor for FDA- and FAA-approved products), but no cap on punitive damages;
 - elimination of joint and several liability for noneconomic damages;
 - incentives for out-of-court settlements and for the use of alternative dispute resolution;
 - uniform statutes of limitation and repose for product liability claims.

Consumer and attorney groups were particularly critical of the distinction between economic and noneconomic damages, limitations on joint and several liability, and the FDA/FAA safe harbor.

- The **Dodd bill** on securities-litigation reform includes:
- guardians ad litem and steering committees for class actions;
 - a more stringent scienter requirement;
 - limits on attorneys fees to a "reasonable percentage of the amount recovered";
 - restrictions on the use of civil RICO in securities law claims; and
 - proportionate liability in certain fraud actions.

Consumer and attorney groups were particularly critical of the proportionate liability provisions and the limits on attorneys fees.

Pony/Sunday
New York on telephone
talking with Sam in New York to Kuba

95 MAR 6 P 1:56

Wesley
Wesley
PMS

Notes for talk w/ Sam Ummu on Haiti

Life situation OK → More traffic, more goods, fewer drugs
Police becoming good.

Aristide going to get rid of army - Ummu recommends
transition plan out during which corps of engineers type
work done.

Aristide has some pretty good political instincts but there
are people around him

Junkie system a "nightmare". The govt is corrupt; police know more than just
Prison better but awful.

Probs of electricity, telephone → Still w/ to elect. 2 weeks a night

Security OK → Big environmental problems → Still burning trees
Big TV problems → Still not coming in
Aid coordination not good → Need strong Aid contacts
Economic problems coming → Minister anti-inflation
still great.

Chron

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Buy / Sausy
What about
these questions?
↓

Gulf war sequel: Cla

The Pentagon denies that U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf war were exposed to chemical or biological agents, but there are a growing number of claims to the contrary.

By John Ritter
USA TODAY

The yellow ribbons are a fading memory, but reports that U.S. forces were exposed to Iraqi chemical and biological agents during the gulf war are mounting, despite the Pentagon's vigorous denials.

Active duty officers and enlistees, once reticent for fear of reprisals, are now signing a gulf war illness registry at a rate of 100 a week and challenging the military's position.

And this week a top official at the Department of Veterans Affairs said he lacks confidence in Pentagon assertions that troops were not exposed to biological or chemical agents.

"Despite having heard from the Department of Defense, I remain concerned about what actually happened, about exposures that either occurred or not," said Kenneth Kizer, VA undersecretary for health. "That's the area I feel most insecure about."

Even the White House has signaled uneasiness with progress in understanding gulf illnesses. Hillary Rodham Clinton, who made two high-profile visits with gulf vets last week and the week before, said the president has asked her to look into "what we have left to do."

But former senator Donald Riegle, whose two-year banking committee probe concluded last year that there's strong evidence troops were exposed to agents, says: "The problem is so big and the implications so serious, the professional bureaucracy at the Pentagon can't afford to acknowledge it. We saw this with Agent O-

ange, where the truth can be so calamitous to reputations and careers and budgets that bureaucracies will go to great lengths not to come clean."

The Senate banking committee initially got involved because it oversees legal exports that may have military applications, such as chemical, biological and nuclear materials.

More than 50,000 gulf veterans have reported a range of ailments that include fatigue, muscle and joint pain, heart and intestinal problems, memory loss, rashes and sores. They suspect they were exposed to chemical or biological agents from Iraqi artillery and Scud missile attacks, fallout from coalition bombing of Iraqi chemical and biological targets, and exposure to munitions in Iraqi storage facilities.

The Pentagon steadfastly says troops were not exposed to chemical or biological agents. But there are many accounts to the contrary.

An Army chemical and biological warfare specialist received a meritorious service medal for "supervising the positive identification" of mustard agent in Kuwait. The Pentagon says there were no chemical agents in Kuwait.

Air Force battle repair mechanics say they were ordered to decontaminate F-111s returning from bombing missions of Iraqi chemical weapons plants but didn't have proper protective gear. At least 14 of them are sick.

Members of a 3rd Special Forces unit
tation coalition

ANGRY:

Karwan, Tammam

chemical sites

► A 2nd Marine

contaminated

A 3rd

Marine

End Game

McCumey
Gawron
Mayer used
brighter down
on a wire
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By Pete Hamill

AS THIS DREADFUL CENTURY winds down, its history heavy with gulags and concentration camps and atom bombs, the country that was its brightest hope seems to be breaking apart.

All the moves toward decency, excellence, maturity, and compassion have been made. They seem to have come to nothing. Everyone talks and nobody listens. Boneheaded vulgarians are honored for their stupidity. The bitterly partisan debate on the crime bill in the U. S. Senate is remembered only for Al D'Amato's rendition of "Old MacDonald Had a Farm." The Christian Coalition commandeers the Republican state convention in Virginia, and among the slogans on the wall is one that says WHERE IS LEE HARVEY OSWALD WHEN AMERICA REALLY NEEDS HIM? The American social and political style has been reduced to the complexity of a

The Last Talk Show



T-shirt. Outta the way, asshole: Give us gridlock, give us *Beavis and Butt-head*, give us room, man, give us respect, and get outta my fuckin' face!

We are approaching Endgame, the moment when the chessboard is clear and victory is certain. Victory over everybody. The reduction of the opposition to rubble.

American civil society, long founded on the notion of "from many, one," *e pluribus unum*, is being swept away by a poisonous flood tide of negation, sectarianism, self-pity, confrontation, vulgarity, and flat-out, old-fashioned hatred. Politics is an ice jam of accusation and obstruction, the hardest vulgarities honored for their cynicism, its good men fleeing to tend private gardens. Pop culture both feeds and reflects the larger society, and as evidence of collapse, it is chilling. Snoop Doggy Dogg and Al D'Amato have triumphed over Wynton Marsalis and George Mitchell. Good taste lies up the block with an ax in its back.

Day and night, from millions of car stereos and boom boxes, gangsta rappers and skinhead semi-demi-quasi-neo-Nazis give the nation its most persistent, defining soundtrack. Some call for the killing of cops, the raping and abandonment of ho's and bitches, the battering of whites or blacks or one another. Rob the weak, they croon. Stomp the soft. Rap videos are pathetic fantasies of force and power, visual tributes to the cult of the Big Gun and the Big Dick. There is no past and no future, only the eternal American present tense. Suburban white kids happily buy the CDs and lean into the lash. There is no room in the music for lyricism, melody, or wit. The only acceptable human emotion is rage.

The fake, the illusion, the performance, are everything. The truth? Hey, buddy, I got your truth, right here. At *The*

American society is being swept away by a tide of sectarianism, self-pity, confrontation, and old-fashioned hatred.

1994 MTV Video Music Awards, Michael Jackson walks on with his bride, the daughter of Elvis Presley. They hit their marks. They engage in a rehearsed kiss. Jackson whispers some clumsy joke about how nobody thought this would last: marriage as Special Material. They get a standing O. Of course. Nobody mentions that Jackson had to pay an estimated \$20 million to settle a child-molestation rap in California. Hey, man, lighten up. The man's got a multimillion-dollar career to save! Who cares if we're watching a big press-agented lie? He paid for his sins. Cold cash. Now he's redeeming himself with access. And if he acts as if he wants redemption, that is redemption.

So shut up, asshole, and listen to Roseanne deliver her spontaneously written opening remarks: "I'm not upset about my divorce. I'm only upset I'm not a widow. . . ." Pay attention to Kennedy. You know, the veejay. Look what she's doing. She's standing behind New York mayor Rudy



Giuliani, sucking off the microphone! Is that hip or what? You know the gag. Kennedy is a *right-winger*, man. That's why Roseanne said she saw Kennedy backstage and "she asked me to leave because she was blowing Rush Limbaugh." But Kennedy doesn't take any crap. Later on, she tells the audience: "I was backstage giving Rush Limbaugh a hummer. That's a [simulates fellatio] in case you guys didn't know. . . . I have to concede to Roseanne. He said that she gives a much better blow job. So the Prozac's working." But here comes Roseanne right back: "I would like to respond to Kennedy. I'm no longer on Prozac, bitch. Rush Limbaugh told me you swallow."

God bless America.

But if Rodgers and Hart are long gone, so are Edmund Wilson and Ralph Gleason and James Agee. The greatest critics loved the subjects of their examinations: literature, music, movies. They celebrated quality and dismissed the fraudulent, examining each new object of art the way a master watchmaker looks at another man's watch, admiring the accomplishments, pointing out the flaws. There were always literary ax murderers among them. But in a way, the best of them were attorneys for the defense. They've been replaced by prosecutors. And the penalty they demand for imperfection is death. Behind them have arrived the success-meisters, those who rank artists as if they were entrants in the National Football League, failure the unforgivable sin. Book didn't work? Record didn't make it? Movie opened on Aeromexico? That's it: Arraign him, convict him, get him outta my sight. Sentence him to teach. Book him as a lounge act. Make him an usher. Drop him off the gibbet.

In sports, the style established thirty years ago by

Muhammad Ali has been appropriated by his inferiors, who emphasize the "dissing" but leave out the irony and the humor. (Only Charles Barkley really gets it.) Prizefighters learn how to demean a man before they've mastered the uppercut. Reggie Miller isn't satisfied with playing better than most men in the NBA; he has to make choke signs and grab his crotch and keep up a torrent of trash talk. No football player seems able to carry a ball for a touchdown without following up with some taunting dance in the end zone. Goodbye, Jim Brown; farewell, Gale Sayers; hello, Neon Deion. No baseball player since Don Baylor has been able to endure the occupational hazard of a knockdown pitch without charging the mound in retaliation. In all sports, grace is treated like a character flaw. Athletes snarl and mock in triumph—and whine in defeat.

But they have one large excuse: They are only part of this America, the torn, violent country where everybody now plays for keeps. The nation approaching Endgame.

Everybody seems infected with the virus of argument and the need for triumph. Leaders of tiny sects are granted huge television audiences, provided their messages are sufficiently drastic, violent, or stupid; more people know about Louis Farrakhan, of the Nation of Islam, than know about Octavio Paz or Isaiah Berlin. Hour after hour, across the day and deep into the night, talk radio spews forth a relentless message of contempt for democratic institutions, from the presidency, the Congress, and the Supreme Court to the governors, state legislators, and mayors. Rush Limbaugh is the master of this electronic genre, but his imitators make him sound like Henry Adams. They have none of Limbaugh's gift for brittle humor and venomous

bers of Americans—including, sadly, the best-educated—are again being taught to identify themselves with the qualifying adjectives of race, religion, ethnicity, and gender. The idea of the melting pot is dismissed as cultural genocide, replaced by a social worker's version of predestination. American identities, state the clerics of the new dogma, are not shaped by will, choice, reason, intelligence, and desire but by membership in groups. They are not individuals but components of categories, those slots and pigeonholes beloved of sociologists, pollsters, and the U. S. Census Bureau. And such categories, they believe, are destiny.

The ferocious logic of the adjective insists that the individual take sides. To refuse is to betray the larger group, your own flesh and blood. In America now, it is always Us against Them and Them against Us. And to display its anger, its innocence, its righteousness, our side must be in conflict with their side. It's not enough to be an American; you must despise, attack, diminish, and empty the guts of those millions of other Americans who are not like you. Every grave must be pried open by scholarship, every smashed bone waved in triumph like a relic, every ancient crime posted on the schoolhouse door.

The result is a society in apparently permanent, teeming, nerve-fraying conflict: blacks against whites; straights against gays, gays against priests, priests against abortionists; sun people against ice people; citizens against immigrants; Latinos against Anglos; people who work against those who don't; town against gown; blacks against Jews; the orthodox against the reformers; cops against bad guys, lawyers against cops, Crips against Bloods. Good guys and bad guys. Oppressors and oppressed. White hats and black hats. And vice versa. Us against Them. Them against Us. And get outta my fuckin' face.

But there are additional confusions. All the victimized ethnic categories contain *men*. And the feminist rhetoric of the Endgame insists that men are themselves a group of oppressors—brutal, insensitive, selfish, murderous. Catharine MacKinnon and others use the word *men* in the same generalized, blurry way that *women* is used. This astonishingly broad category—men—is defined all too easily by people who believe that the same state of victimhood is endured by the Wellesley graduate and the woman grinding corn in the hills of Chiapas, by Billie Holiday and Katharine Graham, by Jean Harris and Ilse Koch. The existentialist philosophers of my youth insisted that existence preceded essence, that you were born and then you forged your identity; the philosophers of gender and ethnicity insist that essence precedes existence.

The ideologues of gender don't care much about making distinctions among men or women. Common sense and experience tell us that among the earth's billions, there must be some women who are happy and free and others who are brutal and evil. Common sense and intelligence tell us there are millions of black Americans who are not trapped in lives of welfare, violence, illegitimacy. But common sense is in disrepute. The examination of healthy lives is too often dismissed as sentimentality or "anecdotal" gossip, unverifiable under the cold-eyed scrutiny of such exact sciences as sociology or anthropology. The Endgamers of race and gender will limit their investigations to their own kind, the victims. They will define the group by its pathologies and defeats, not its triumphs. Like all believers, they begin with the truth and find evidence to support it.

We live in a country that has never made a movie about Leonardo da Vinci and has produced three about Joey Buttafuoco.

They adhere to a faith, abstract and rigid, full of iron certainties, free of the century's only useful lesson: doubt.

But doubt is unsettling. And the overriding educational goal these days is to make students—in particular, minority students—feel better about themselves. Unless they *feel* better, the argument goes, unless they acquire greater "self-esteem," they can't learn. The need to *think* better, with greater subtlety and lucidity, is seldom mentioned. And of course nobody—black, white, or Latino; middle-class or poor—should be forced to work very hard. Not at school. Not after school. Kids need time to watch television. They need time to hang out. They need time to work on their *images*.

They are in much trouble, and so are we. The notion of education as therapy has led to the distortion of history, the reduction of standards, and, in the new-fashioned American style, the creation of enemies. The examination of an American identity is made subservient to the word before the hyphen. Obviously, the accomplishments of American blacks, Latinos, other minorities, and women should be made known to *all* Americans, not to make them feel better but to make them know more about their own country and the world of which it is a part. Alas, that is not the goal.

The endless, energy-sapping debate over "multiculturalism" is an example of the more general problem. The word itself is an oxymoron. Every bookshelf is multicultural. Every library is multicultural. Every educated man and woman is multicultural. *Culture* is multicultural.

But the most rigid advocates of this form of the hyphen aren't really talking about the multiple, the plural, or about the natural human movement toward synthesis. They don't want to add to the fund of individual knowledge. They are insisting upon indoctrination, on the replacement of the many with the singular. There is only one road to Rome—and they know what it is.

Afrocentrism, for example, is not multicultural. As preached by men like New York's City College professor Leonard Jeffries Jr., it is a segregation of the mind. It is also a fraud. As Václav Havel said in 1990, as part of his struggle against the Endgame impulses of Communists and anti-Communists: Lying can never save us from another lie.

In the raging battle over education, Endgamers like Jeffries are now demanding the right to peddle lies. Literature and history have common intentions: to discover the truth about human beings. They can't be shaped by a creed, an ideology, or a thesis; they can't be wrapped in the strait-jackets of political fashion. Stalinist novels were not novels; they were tracts. Hitler's movies were not art; they were propaganda. Mao's poetry is the stuff of wall posters. There have been great Marxist historians, including our own

Eugene D. Genovese, but they didn't alter the facts to prove the thesis. In the end, history should be history, not an alibi.

"If some Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan wanted to devise an educational curriculum for the specific purpose of handicapping and disabling black Americans," wrote Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., "he would not be likely to come up with anything more diabolically effective than Afrocentrism."

Most purveyors of this therapeutic nonsense attack their critics as racists. But the basic trouble with infusing kids with racial or ethnic chauvinism is that it doesn't even work as therapy. Instead of feeling better about themselves, most of these kids come out of the process seething with bitterness. And this being the United States, anger and rage are followed by the need to blame. Hell, it can't be *my* fault.

The demands for reparations and revision go on and on, spilling into the newspapers, then amplified by talk radio and television. As presented, there is no solution, because the apocalyptic demand is for the alteration of the past or a surrender of intelligence or an assumption of guilt by the living for the crimes of the dead. But resolution really isn't the point of all this sound and fury. Fragmentation is the point. Segregation is the point. Conflict is all. We're Americans. We have been conditioned to prefer conflict to boredom. We prefer violence to talk. We prefer war to peace. We prefer lies to the truth. Clear the board, citizen: We're reaching Endgame.

III. Professional Cynics

THE ENDGAME culture of cynicism and bitterness is, of course, best observed in Washington. The genius of the American system has been its ability to compromise. We learned from the fratricide of the Civil War that a failure to compromise could unleash the darkest, bloodiest impulses in the American character. Over the years, we developed in Washington a nonideological style that helped us avoid direct conflict.

Sometimes you won, sometimes you lost; politics was a long season, like baseball, in which even the greatest hitters failed six times out of ten. Most of the time, the system worked. Slowly. Tediously.

There were human reasons for this. The state was founded on a document, not evolved through a long, shared common history; its principles and promises were abstract. But after 1890, the nation was populated by huge numbers of Europeans who were different from the original British settlers. They were Catholic or Jewish; they often spoke languages other than English or were illiterate farmers. In one big country, they joined the survivors of the slaughter of the Indians, liberated slaves, conquered Mexicans. To meld them into a unified nation required immense efforts of mediation and compromise on the part of the agents of the state. The greatest task was to make the idealism of the Constitution real for every citizen; the alter-

native was the kind of deep, abiding cynicism that eventually eroded the Communist states, which also had idealistic constitutions. This wasn't easy. Along the way, there were unspeakable crimes against the newcomers, uncountable social offenses, bloody riots, and the horrors of the Civil War. But slowly, decent, intelligent men and women created a living nation from the abstract principles of the state.

That agonizing process created the twentieth-century American political style. The most effective politicians—Sam Rayburn, Everett Dirksen, Lyndon Johnson, Robert Taft—employed a basic courtesy in dealing with their opponents. They disagreed on many things. They were capable of immense vanity. They knew that in the end, politics was about power. But they didn't think it necessary to destroy the enemy. The enemy was over there: Hitler, Tojo, Stalin. Those who swung the broadsword of racism or ideology at other Americans—the Joe McCarthys, the Bilbos and Eastlands—accomplished nothing. They were cheap, vulgar men—ignorant, parochial, and cynical. They never rose to higher office because the American people would not have them. The tougher men who truly changed the country, who moved it along, who made it better, did so with a clarity of vision and a certain amount of grace. They were mercifully free of the utopian instinct. They were always willing to settle for half a loaf. And they each in their own way did think about what was best for the country. They were, after all, Americans before they were Texans or Ohioans or Democrats or Republicans. They respected the contract. They respected the presidency.

That era is behind us, perhaps forever.

Look at what is being done to Bill Clinton.

I don't think Bill Clinton is the greatest president we've ever had. But I know he is certainly not the worst. This is a country, after all, that elected Warren G. Harding once and Richard Milhous Nixon twice. But from the moment of his election, Clinton has been subjected to the most sustained campaign of *personal* abuse of any president in memory. No rumor, no allegation of promiscuity, goes unprinted. Jerry Falwell, an alleged man of God, peddles videos that virtually accuse Clinton of murdering Vincent Foster Jr. A newspaper for which I used to work ran a series of stories about the same case that put quote marks around the word *suicide*. The implication was clear: If Foster didn't kill himself, he must have been murdered. Aha! A movie plot! Melodrama!

While reporters were chasing around after Whitewater, Gennifer Flowers, various state troopers, Paula Jones, and God knows who else, Clinton was actually accomplishing a few things as president. The Republicans linked arms in a spirit of mindless obstruction, led by Dole, but Clinton somehow managed to get an economic plan through Congress, cutting the deficit for the first time in a generation, creating more than four million new jobs. He got NAFTA passed, doing so in opposition to organized labor and Ross Perot. He finally won passage of his crime bill, too, directly challenging the National Rifle Association. He lost on health-care reform, overwhelmed by the Endgamers who spent millions on attack ads and refused to join the process of compromise. He couldn't overcome the Republican filibuster on campaign reform and lost that, too; Dole continued to make the world safe for lobbyists and cynicism. But in some real ways, the country was in better shape than it had been on the day he took office. Unemployment was down. The economy was stronger. The stock market was

The press corps works under the assumption that everyone has a dirty little secret and that it's their duty to sniff it out.

healthy. In the Middle East, South Africa, Northern Ireland, the forces of peace and conciliation were winning the day, supported by American policies and actions.

And yet Clinton is the most hated president in memory.

His reluctant intervention in Haiti was an example of the process. Jimmy Carter, Colin Powell, and Sam Nunn worked out a deal that would allow American troops to go into Haiti without shooting. The junta of Raoul Cédras would give up power on October 15. The deposed president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, would return to power and serve out the term to which he was elected in the only free election in that nation's agonized history. For a few hours, most sane people thought this was a rational solution to a miserable situation. At least American soldiers wouldn't have to go in shooting. And some of them wouldn't have to die.

But before anybody could know how this would work out, the attacks started. The Republicans, who cheered for intervention in Grenada, Panama, and the Persian Gulf, suddenly developed the white wings of doves. Bob Dole sounded like George McGovern, stating that Haiti was not worth a single American life. The radio chatterers unleashed ferocious barrages, attacking Clinton for ducking Vietnam and now putting Americans in harm's way, dismissing Aristide as an anti-American Marxist nutcase. Joe Klein in *Newsweek* called the intervention "a bizarre Caribbean adventure" while also stating that Clinton "did the right thing" and sneering at Carter as "the Prince of Peace." Michael Kramer in *Time* wrote that "Bill Clinton at war has the disquieting countenance of Bill Clinton at peace; few principles seem inviolate; indiscipline and incoherence are the norm; careful planning falls to last-minute improvisation; steadfastness is only a tactic."

Journalists are not cheerleaders, of course; they must maintain an adversarial stance with politicians. But the vehemence of the attacks on Clinton seems more a reflex than thought and analysis. A line has developed on Clinton, and to swerve from it entails risks, most of them social and professional. Few people like to face the question, "Are you fucking kidding?" My objection here isn't with the facts or the implications of disaster but with the venomous tone.

In modern times, that slashing, lacerating use of language came into the discourse with Vietnam. It was first employed against Lyndon Johnson (I used plenty of it myself), then Richard Nixon, justified by the endless slaughter of the war and then by Watergate. Irony was lost, along with a sense of shared tragedy. What mattered was the casting of anathemas. The Left used the tone first, then the Right picked it up; now it comes easily to almost everybody. The tone is sometimes apocalyptic and always

judgmental, and its essential component is the sneer.

These days, most members of the Washington press corps wear a self-absorbed sneer. They sneer at any expression of idealism. They sneer at gaffes, mistakes, idiosyncrasies. They sneer at the "invisibility" of national-security adviser Anthony Lake but sneer at others for being publicity hounds. They sneer at weakness. They sneer at those who work too hard, and they sneer at those who work too little. They fill columns with moralizing about Clinton and then attack others for moralizing. The assumption is that everyone has a dirty little secret, and one's duty is to sniff it out.

Lost in this rancorous process is any regard for the great American art of compromise. Clinton, a professional politician, obviously believes in it and is sneered at for being an incessant placater of his opponents. Give us the whole loaf or nothing, comes the intolerant call. Make me feel better. Make me happy. Make life perfect. If you don't, then give us term limits. Get rid of the professional pols and give us amateurs. Oliver North. Ross Perot. Don't tell me the world is complicated.

Pericles couldn't govern that polity. What chance can Clinton have? Domestically, he's indicted for being too liberal or too conservative, too soft or too callous, too indifferent to public opinion or too desirous of consensus. In foreign affairs, his most poisonous critics remain in thrall to Ronald Reagan's Hollywood worldview, the Big Dumb Ox theory of foreign engagement, using naked power to get your way.

After all, if a president won't smash his domestic opponents, if he won't kill foreigners with icy dispatch, how can he deal with the blacks and the Mexicans and the immigrants and the feminists and the Cubans and the poor and the rich and the disabled and the pornographers and the liberals and the guys with the hyphens in their names? How can he be a leader? How can he be a man?

If this goes on, escalating by the hour, the country is doomed. It will remain a state, of course, a geographical entity; but it won't be a nation. We are in the midst of the largest immigration wave since the turn of the last century. If we have already succumbed to our own jagged forms of tribalism, we can't hope to absorb and assimilate the new arrivals. If we tell the new immigrants that to be an American is to insist on status as a victim, to hate the president and the government, to fear one's neighbor, to reduce all discourse to the most primitive level, then our twenty-first century will be a horror. *E pluribus unum* was not intended to be a gigantic mockery. It's time for all Americans to think about what we're doing to ourselves. It's time to ostracize the sectarian swine who, in Yeats's phrase, multiply through division. It's time to honor good taste, hard work, and all those men and women who cherish human decency.

The gulags are gone. The concentration camps exist only in memory. Nobody worries much anymore about atom bombs. But fear is a habit like any other. So is the need for an enemy. And as the great cartoonist Walt Kelly said long ago, "We have met the enemy and he is us." We can't allow that to replace *e pluribus unum* as the American national slogan. We have to learn how to pipe down and back off. We have to stop shouting for a little while and learn again how to listen.

Otherwise, it's black hats and white hats.
Us against Them.
Me against you.
Endgame. 14

Allen / E Brown Fyl - De

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{3/4}

An Army of

the Faithful

Through old-fashioned grass-roots tactics,
the Christian Coalition is battling for the soul
of the Republican Party.

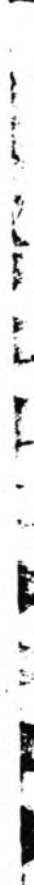
By Robert Sullivan

orig
w/
Ickes
Bowles



Laura

Don't the people give
US a chance to narrow
the gap?



A Big Mexican Company

Continued From First Business Page

lion, American bankers and Mexican officials said.

With Finance Minister Guillermo Ortiz and Mr. Zedillo's chief of staff, Luis Téllez, expected to travel to Washington on Thursday for talks, Mexican officials said they hoped that a final loan agreement could still be reached by early next week.

But even some Mexican officials said they were worried that their Government had yet to outline the new policies. And market analysts said Grupo Sidek's failure to meet a \$19.5 million debt payment today would only heighten the skepticism with which with a new plan was eventually received.

"The actual amount is not really that important," said Eduardo M. Cabrera, a Latin American analyst at Merrill Lynch. "The question is how many more corporations are going to miss their payments. What will the impact be on the banking system? Things are going to get worse before they get better."

Many Mexican companies have

been squeezed badly by the more than 40 percent fall in the peso's value against the dollar since the Government began to devalue the currency on Dec. 20, and it came as little surprise that a company like Grupo Sidek would be the first to withhold debt payments.

The Sidek subsidiary that owed most of the money, a resort and real estate-development company called Grupo Situr, has about \$100 million in commercial paper maturing over the next two months and nearly \$1 billion in total dollar-denominated debt. At the end of January, the rating agency Duff & Phelps esti-

mated \$60 m

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Japan Trade Surplus Falls

TOKYO, Feb. 15 (Reuters) — Japan's trade surplus plunged more than 50 percent in January, and analysts said today that the gap would probably continue to shrink as reconstruction after the Kobe earthquake last month drew in imports.

The trade surplus fell to \$2.88 billion in January from \$6.03 billion in the corresponding period a year earlier. But the surplus with the United States rose to \$3.19 billion from \$3.09 billion a year earlier.

Economists said the earthquake that struck the city of Kobe on Jan. 17 was likely to push imports higher on new demand for materials used in the reconstruction.

Japan's overall exports in yen terms shrank by 6.1 percent in January from a year earlier, mostly because of damage to Kobe's port operations, an official at the Ministry of Finance said.

Though imports were also affected by the damage to Kobe, those cargoes were able to be quickly moved through other ports like Tokyo, Yokohama and Osaka, helping to minimize the effect on Japan's overall imports, the official said.

Exports rose 4.9 percent in January from a year earlier, to \$27.24 billion, and imports rose 22.2 percent, to \$24.36 billion.

Economists said exports were also affected by slowdowns and temporary stoppages at some factories after the earthquake because of shortages of parts.

POT
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INCLUDES

★ CONVERTIBLE
SIMULATED T

★ CD CHANGER

★ GOLD PACKAGE

★ UPGRADED
REMOTE ALA
SYSTEM

WITH SMARTCAR
SCHEDULED
MAINTENANCE
INCLUDED

Includes: Lubrications
Oil Filter, & Tire Rotati



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{3/4}

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
Washington, D.C. 20500

March 1, 1995 95 MAR 2 P2:13

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LEE P. BROWN *LB*
SUBJECT: Cabinet Agenda

You have asked me to inform you of potential opportunities to assist me in amplifying your message regarding this Administration's commitment to drug issues.

In January, your meeting with representatives of the Department of Defense was extremely helpful in raising the involvement of the CINCs in counternarcotics activities.

Several events in February also reinforced your concern and regard for vigilance in anti-drug efforts. The events with the Partnership for a Drug Free America, the announcement of the National Drug Control Strategy with the COPS event, and the Radio Address with the DARE students, were all welcomed and effective.

Your leadership and voice pertaining to drug prevention, education and treatment, as well as law enforcement and interdiction, cannot be substituted. While it is anticipated that you will continue to make public statements and attend events and ceremonies to underscore your interest, it is critical that you are also heard by all members of the Cabinet.

Including drugs as a part of the agenda for an upcoming Cabinet meeting would indicate your appreciation for and dedication to this vital topic.

Speaking to the Cabinet as a group will lend the high regard for this issue that it deserves and that will be most helpful in reinforcing your strong stand and continued support.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3/6/95

TO: *Wadey Soderberg*

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

*Here's the person
I mentioned. He's
good.*

John

bcc

PO MARK Geeran

✓ bcc

PO MARK Geeran

CHIP REID

4230 1/2 River Rd., NW, Apt. A
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 537-3015

EMPLOYMENT

Reporter, Fox News, Channel 5, Washington, D.C. 1991-1994
Covered all types of Washington news including Capitol Hill, White House, international relations, local politics, courts, and crime; extensive live reporting.

Editorial Producer, Fox News, Channel 5, Washington, D.C. 1990-1991
Helped launch the "Fox Morning News," a 2 1/2 hour news and interview program; supervised producers and assigned reporters.

Field Producer, ABC News, Washington, D.C. 1988-1990
Covered all major Washington news beats for "World News Tonight;" produced pieces for "American Agenda."

General Counsel, Biden Presidential Campaign, Washington, D.C. 1987
Directed campaign legal operation; supervised legal staff.

Attorney, Kirkpatrick and Lockhart, Washington, D.C. 1986-1987
Practiced law, specializing in litigation and lobbying.

Attorney/Chief Investigator, U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee 1982-1986
Advised Committee Senators on pending legislation; coordinated investigations of nominees to the Justice Department and the federal courts.

EDUCATION

Columbia Law School, New York, N.Y. *Juris Doctor* 1982
● Award for Best Paper by a Third-Year Student
● Study Abroad: Awarded scholarship to International Institute of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France.

Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. *Master of Public Affairs* 1982
● Concentration: International Relations
● Study Abroad: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. *Bachelor of Arts* 1977
● Major: Psychology
● Phi Beta Kappa; Special Departmental Honors

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1995

Mark W. Erwin
300 Eastover Road
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Mark:

Thanks for your letter of February 10, which I have carefully read. I appreciate your candor in sharing your perspective on my staff, and I will think about what you suggest. I am also, of course, deeply appreciative of your willingness to help out here.

I've taken the liberty of sharing your letter with Leon Panetta for his consideration.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Barack
Obama
back in
touch -

cc COS
C: Leon
Richard
Sullivan: B.

Mark W. Erwin

300 EASTOVER ROAD, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA 28207

Rec'd Terry
3/1

February 10, 1995

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for meeting with us last week to discuss issues of mutual concern. I hope you felt the sense of commitment and dedication to you and to your future success that was evident to me. All the comments seemed to be heartfelt and constructive.

It appears that the inclusive style of both you and the Vice President is not necessarily shared eagerly at some of the staff levels. You may recall that during one of the events at The White House you said to me that you wanted to make sure that we got more of our North Carolina people up to see you. I conveyed that comment to the head of the DNC and attempted in every way I could to follow up to make sure your wishes were fulfilled to no avail. Tim Collins recently resigned as Chairman of the Business Leadership Forum out of the same frustration.

May I suggest that a management system needs to be put in place within The White House to pursue proactively the inclusion of those citizens who are important to the Administration, both now and in the future. The management system needs to be devised to overcome the natural inclination of some people to protect their own positions and improve their exclusivity by building barriers against others sharing whatever access or proximity they may have.

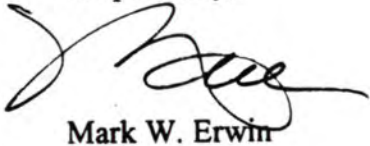
In the event you decide this concept has merit, I am willing to come to The White House for six months, as a volunteer, to put the program together for you and get it kicked off. In order for this program to succeed, it would be necessary to have your personal authority and blessing. I believe that the results of this concept could be nothing short of incredible in terms of financial support, as well as positively influencing opinion leaders across the country.

Page 2

Assuming we are all successful in getting you a second term, I feel that you have the opportunity to go down in history as one of the most effective Presidents of all time. You are currently the only world leader left on the stage and, as such, your ability to influence the future is tremendous. There are many of us around the country who are proud of the courage and strength you have exhibited and will do all within our power to help you continue to succeed.

With best personal regards to you, I am

Respectfully,



Mark W. Erwin

MWE:saw

*Please see the
highlighted area
on page 8 of the
enclosed comments
of J. B. Fuqua. He seems
to be saying the
same thing.*





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
3-5-95

U'

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Summa

M. Thü

Bo

Dear J B,

I just got a copy of your
last year's talk "What Business
Experts From Business Schools" from
my friend Mark Smith of Charlotte.

It's a fine document and has
some good advice for me too—especially
the part on accessibility.

Rev. Schuler was here the other
night and we had a good talk about
you. I hope you're well—Comsecon.

Sincerely
Bill Clinton

J. B. Fuqua
McColl School of Business
Queens College
1900 Selwyn Avenue
Charlotte, N.C. 28274

J.B. FUQUA

WHAT BUSINESS EXPECTS FROM BUSINESS SCHOOLS

*"Entrepreneurs are just
like everybody else except
for one basic thing:
they have courage."*

An address to Queens' McColl
School of Business by the founder
of Fuqua Industries and the
benefactor of Duke University's
Fuqua School of Business

November 22, 1994

McColl
School of Business

QUEENS COLLEGE
C H A R L O T T E

INTRODUCTION

Hugh L. McColl, Jr.

*Chairman & CEO, NationsBank Corporation
Chairman, Queens College Board of Trustees*

If I were to describe the perfect person to address the McColl School of Business, it would be someone who rose from humble beginnings to be a major entrepreneur; someone who makes a substantial mark on a city and a region; someone who knows the importance of business education, particularly education for a lifetime ability to live in our rapidly changing world; someone who knows the worth of his own good name and is willing to share it; someone who values family and friends; someone who wants to leave the world better than when he came into it.

Of course, I have just described my friend J. B. Fuqua. He is indeed the perfect person to address the McColl School of Business on the subject "What Business Expects from Business Schools."

Mr. Fuqua was born on a farm in Virginia. He migrated to the second best city in the South and made his Fuqua Industries into a major economic force in Atlanta. In an incredible act of generosity, he gave both his name and a piece of his fortune to the business school at Duke University.

And the only thing that stands between J.B. Fuqua and absolute perfection was that he was born in Virginia instead of South Carolina.

Mr. Fuqua, we welcome you. You honor the McColl School with your presence, and we look forward to hearing from you.

WHAT BUSINESS EXPECTS FROM BUSINESS SCHOOLS

Before I get to the subject at hand, please allow me to tell you where I came from. It will show just how far I am from perfection.

I'm an entrepreneur's entrepreneur. I started out with nothing and have done well from the wonderful system we have. I'm very grateful for that opportunity.

As Hugh McColl said, I grew up in rural Virginia on a tobacco farm, about 75 miles north of Durham. I went to a country high school with eight other students in my class.

I knew the farm couldn't support me. I knew there had to be a better way. At the county seat, I'd see that the biggest houses were owned by bankers, so I knew I had to get into business.

But the first job I had was not in business, but as a radio operator on a freight ship. I went to Norfolk; I had never seen a ship up close before in my life. Fortunately, I knew what to do with radio equipment. We took off for South Africa with a 17-year-old kid from the country as radio operator. It worked out alright, but I knew that wasn't the way to go either.

So I got a job as a summer relief engineer at a radio station in Charleston. I became chief engineer, and rebuilt the equipment completely.

When I was 21, I thought I knew as much as the station manager and therefore I ought to be running the show. I made a business plan which showed how new radio

— 2 —

stations in Augusta, Columbus, and Roanoke would be profitable. I went to Augusta and called on the Chamber of Commerce. I told the secretary of the Chamber that I wanted somebody to endorse a note for \$10,000 so we could build a radio station. He made some calls, and before the end of the day, I had three people putting up the \$10,000.

I learned early on that I had to show banks that they could depend on me.

The station made money from day one, and I really never had a boss after that.

I learned early on that I had to show banks that they could depend on me. So, for example, I would take my savings and buy a building lot. Then I would go to a bank and borrow the money to build a house on the lot. I'd sell the house and make a little profit. Then I'd do it again.

The next move I made came when a lawyer told me that the owner of the Royal Crown Bottling Company wanted to sell his business. He had a lot of cash in it and couldn't get it out except from dividends. This was during the war, and tax rates on dividends were very high. But rates on capital gains were much lower, so he needed to sell his business to get his money out. At 8:00 the next morning I was in that man's office, and I used his money to buy the business. The lawyer became my partner. After a few years he began to take a lot of money out of the business. I wanted to put money back in and modernize the equipment, but the lawyer didn't want to give up that cash flow. We had a buy or sell arrangement, so I went to

— 3 —

the bank and described the situation. The bankers knew my partner well enough to know that he was not going to let me buy him out. He couldn't walk down the street if he did that. So, they agreed to lend me \$125,000 to buy his share. I marched up to his office and told him I wanted to exercise the buy-sell agreement, and I'd give him \$125,000. Like I figured, he said he'd buy, so he gave me \$125,000.

With that I bought my own radio station and started some other little businesses. Meanwhile, television was up and coming, and I built one of the first television stations in Georgia, then more television stations and more radio stations. I got involved in the automobile finance business, then an insurance agency business. Then I started a life insurance company and, like entrepreneurs around small towns do, got involved in a little bit of everything.

I also did my civic thing; I served three terms in the Georgia House of Representatives, one in the Senate, and four years as Democratic State Chairman.

I bought control of a listed public company and changed its name to "Fuqua Industries." The company went from about \$10 million in revenues to over \$2 billion. Some years ago I sold my position, and since then I've been primarily doing my thing with my right expensive philanthropic interests.

Now that you know who I am, let me talk about what business expects from a business school. You ask me why I am interested in business schools. One reason is that we need to make better use of our human and natural resources.

— 4 —

The basis of my own modest success is knowing how to use other people's money and other people's brains. OPM and OPB. You learn how to borrow money and use it profitably, but at the same time you have to surround yourself with bright people. Many people don't do that because they don't want to be around somebody smarter than they are, but it never bothered me.

When I grew up, I thought that organizations should operate like the military — everything flowing from the top down. But later I began to believe in delegating, especially if you employ smart people.

But in my whole business experience I don't think I ever appointed a committee. If you have a committee, you will not get as good a solution to any problem as you will if

*...an employer expects
business schools to turn
out people who have a
well-rounded education.* you pick the person who you have the greatest confidence in and let that person be

responsible. So I am a great believer in delegating. If you have a tough problem that you can't solve, if you're smart enough, you get someone else to do it.

I think an employer expects business schools to turn out people who have a well-rounded education — not just number crunchers.

What you're doing here at the McColl School is certainly the greatest contribution that I believe a business school can make in the business community. You are actually running an executive training program.

In business, things are changing so

— 5 —

rapidly that a person who has been out of school for five to 10 years gets behind. He needs to go back and be retreaded. I think it is so important that business schools teach communications. The ability to express yourself on your feet without trembling or reading from a manuscript is so important. It's been particularly useful to me in my political career. You can train people to have real smarts, but if they can't convey that knowledge to somebody else, it doesn't do them much good.

At the Fuqua School at Duke, the one thing that I insisted on was a required class in communications, not only in speaking but in writing. All of us in business get letters from people who have been through college but who can't express themselves. There's no excuse for that.

Back in my little country high school, we had only three teachers, one of whom was principal. One teacher got me interested in reading, and it has served me well in my life.

In this country there are hundreds, maybe hundreds of thousands of people whose only reading material is the monthly issue of *Readers Digest*. Why? Because it takes them a month to read it.

We should teach people not just to enjoy reading, but to learn from reading. If you tell me how much an executive spends on books, periodicals, and newspapers, I can pretty well predict how far he will make it in his career.

Another one of these three teachers taught me how to speed read. That's a simple procedure, but I don't see any high school or college with a speed reading course. Someone

who can read three times as fast as the average person obviously has a great advantage. I hope you will consider adding a speed reading course at the McColl School.

Reading is a serious matter to me. During my adult life, I have read several hours a day. That's the only way to keep up with things. I'm not proud of it, but I've not read a piece of fiction in 40 years. I get so much more enjoyment out of reading about the real world and learning new things that I don't read fiction. Often we miss the opportunity to read those things which give us different viewpoints. I would really feel deprived if I couldn't get the *New York Times* on Sunday because the *Times* gives us many different viewpoints on politics and world affairs. I consider it to be must reading.

You may be wondering what that third teacher taught me. It was that I could borrow books through the mail from the Duke University library. Thirty-five years

later, the Duke librarian decided to find out if I

had a library card back in the 1930s. Sure enough, they found one. Sure enough, they found some overdue books. Sure enough, they told me how much the compound interest had amounted to on those books. And sure enough, I paid up.

Certainly, we ought to teach the basics of entrepreneurship in business schools. Entrepreneurs are just like everybody else except for one basic thing: they have courage.

In business, you must have the three C's: capacity, capital, and courage. To gain the capacity to take on big responsibilities, you can be trained in school, or you can be self taught. And if you can get the capacity, you should be able to get capital.

But the next point separates the men from the boys: courage. Many people have many opportunities, but they don't have the courage to take the next step. And I've heard that you can't teach courage in school. But we ought to try.

One more thing that I'd like to see business schools teach: accessibility. I try to talk with everybody who wants me. I often say, I don't want to miss Santa when he calls. Any one of us could call the Chairman of AT&T, and we would either reach him directly or we'd get a call back. But you call some assistant vice president and you may never get a call back. The top guy got to be chairman because he was accessible. He's got all these ideas flowing in.

What I have been talking about is not just how to run a business school. I have also been describing how to be successful in business. Let me sum up. My advice to both students and executives is to surround yourself with bright people; assign important tasks to individuals — not to committees; delegate; learn to communicate; learn new ideas; act with courage; be accessible; and read, read, read. And if our business schools, including the McColl School, can teach these things, they also will make a major contribution to the well-being of our country.



J.B. Fuqua's presentation to the McColl School of Business is part of a series that includes speakers such as **Paul A. Volcker**, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, **Erschine Bowles**, former administrator of the U.S. Small Business Administration and **Ross Perot**, former U.S. presidential candidate.



McColl School of Business
Queens College
1900 Selwyn Avenue
Charlotte, NC 28274
(704) 337-2234

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/4

March 4, 1995

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Senator Bob Kerrey

DATE: Over the weekend.

RECOMMENDED BY: Doug Sosnik, Pat Griffin

PURPOSE: To discuss Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell's switch to the Republican party.

BACKGROUND: Following Senator Campbell's party switch, Senator Kerrey held a press conference saying that he thinks that Senator Campbell's switch to the Republican Party was a result of Colorado state party politics and not a result of the President or the vote on the Balanced Budget Amendment. He said that several other Democratic Senators had voted for the amendment and they were not announcing party switches after it was voted down. He noted that from time to time, we all have our differences with our party (he parenthetically added here that he certainly had) but that was no reason to abandon our party or more importantly our principles.

We think this would be a good opportunity for you to make a friendly contact with Senator Kerrey, and let him know you appreciate the way he handled the press conference and agree with what he said.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION: 1. Senator Campbell's party switch.
2. Senator Kerrey's press conference.

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS: Contact through the Capitol Operator.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: March 4, 1995.

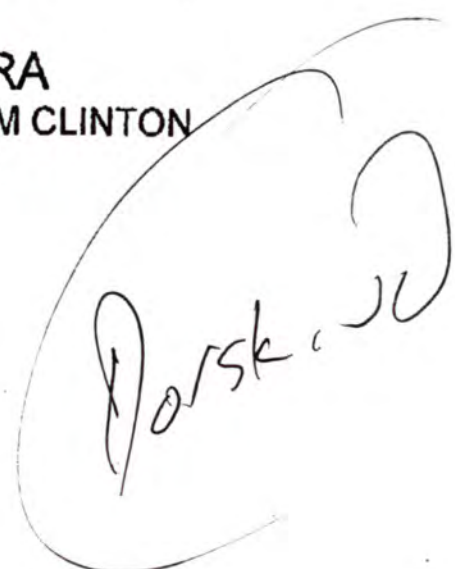
ACTION: _____

95 FEB 22 A 7:39

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To: JOHN PODESTRA
Company: PRESIDENT WILLIAM CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
Phone:
Fax:

From: EPSTEIN
Company:
Phone: 215 968 2200
215 860 1862
Fax:

A large, handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Podest", is written over the recipient's contact information. The signature is enclosed within a large, hand-drawn oval.

Date: 02/22/95
Pages including this 3
cover page:

DEAR JOHN;
PLEASE SEE THAT THE PRESIDENT REALLY
READS THIS. IT IS SOMETHING THAT HE
SHOULD USE IMMEDIATELY.

REGARDS

SIR EUGENE EPSTEIN

Sir Eugene Epstein
Lady Marlene Epstein
Penn Oak
1238 Wrightstown Road
Newtown, Pennsylvania 18940
(215) 968-2200

Mr. William Clinton, President
The White House
2/22/95

PARTIAL WELFARE SOLUTION

I believe that there is one way that will reduce future welfare costs and at the same time reduce the spreading of AIDS. Whenever an out of wedlock mother applies for welfare payments she must identify the father. Then judgment shall be placed against him for the costs to raise the child. His wages should be garnished. If he shows no wages because he is sixteen or so then he will have a judgment placed against him so that in the future he will not be able to purchase a car or obtain credit without acknowledging his responsibility to support his child. A driver's license should also be canceled if payments are not made. Kids love their freedom of driving. We all do. They may find a way to purchase a car but chance losing it if they don't pay up.

This should bring some reality for ones actions knowing that unprotected sex will produce a child that will be an encumbrance to the father and mother for years to come. It will also reduce the spreading of AIDS.

Wages should also be garnished for all fathers who have not made timely court ordered support payments.

All welfare payments should be eliminated in the event another child is borne while being a welfare recipient

ON REDUCING THE DEFICIT

Incentives should be offered to any employee or group of employees that identifies waste or foolish projects in their department. There is virtually no way that sitting in Congress one can find waste in any particular department without extensive costs and time. The simple answer is at the root of the

FEB-22-95 WED 7:48

Sir Eugene Epstein
Lady Marlene Epstein
Penn Oak
1238 Wrightstown Road
Newtown, Pennsylvania 18940
(215) 968-2200

expenses. The actual departments where the waste is occurring . I propose to offer bonuses up to ten percent of the savings that are made . If a department or agency is loaded with people that have little or no real work to perform and one identifies it then that person or small group should be awarded with a bonus for saving the government huge amounts. For example if this person or group shows that it is loaded with ten extra people who do nothing but sit around or that the project that they are working on can be either eliminated or done more efficiently then I say we should provide a ten percent bonus to those who identify such waste. To protect them from losing their own job in the event that their own department will be eliminated then I propose that they be guaranteed their bonus plus a three year government job.

The incentives will be so great that many people will be reaching for the brass ring. If the savings amount to five million dollars they will be entitled to a \$500,000. bonus. That is cheap for the taxpayer since we will be saving \$4,500,000.00.

This will encourage good workers to think how efficiently their department could be run. It will be better than having prudent efficiency experts in every department in the government.

Sincerely

Sir Eugene Epstein
1238 Wrightstown Road
Newtown Penna 18940
215 968 2200



IN U. ROOSEVELT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Run government more like a business

Twenty-one years ago the late Sam Walton, the founder of Wal-Mart which today is the nation's No. 1 retailer, set up a scholarship program. He gave a grant to encourage college students to come up with ideas to further free enterprise in their communities.

Walton began with a small five-and-dime store in Bentonville, Ark. Today, his stores are in virtually every small and mid-size community in America. Lower Bucks County will have one soon.

Last Thursday, Gene Epstein, a Wrightstown resident who parlayed business acumen into a personal success story as an automobile dealer, spoke to the organization. Students in Free Enterprise. His audience in Morristown, N.J., included 50 heads of major U.S. corporations and 150 award-winning students.

Epstein told the chief executive



Joe Halberstein

officers and the students that Americans are too complacent when it comes to government. He said Congress is permitted to do what it wants, not what it should.

"We have forgotten they are there to serve all of us."

Epstein said the American people deserve more than generalities. A laundry sheet of the promises elected officials make should be kept. There should be a "watchdog" to check on the performances of representatives and senators.

"It's past time to run government with the same efficiency as a business. If lawmakers are not on the right track, fire them. Pay them until the end of their term because that still would be cheaper than waiting longer for results."

Epstein said smart employers do not continue the contract of inefficient managers. Why should government be different?

He said the president should set up an award to be given to any person or group of persons in each department of the federal government who show how waste can be eliminated.

"If it means the elimination of their own project, so be it. There are no efficiency experts who know more about where the waste is than those already working for the federal government."

Epstein says anyone who finds a way to save, say \$1 million, would be

given a 10 percent bonus from the savings that would be realized.

"A bonus of \$100,000 would energize government employees to look for waste. Also, give them a two-year guarantee of a job in government because they might be eliminating their own."

The savings would be enormous, Epstein calculates. He acknowledges there are thousands of hard-working and dedicated government employees. But some work on projects that are a total waste.

That's just one of Epstein's ideas. Another has to do with a tax credit for purchasing American-made automobiles. He has a letter from President Clinton thanking him for the suggestion. That's another story for another day.

Joe Halberstein has retired. His column will continue to appear Monday and Thursday.



August 18, 1992

Gene Epstein
1238 Wrightstown Road
Newtown, PA 18940

Dear Gene:

I agree with Carol Huddleson's characterization of you: I think you're nifty! Thanks so much for writing. I can only imagine how difficult it must be for you to switch tickets after thirty years, but we sure need your support. I've turned your offer of assistance over to the campaign headquarters. Thanks.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", written over a horizontal line.

Bill Clinton

BC:ss

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3/6/95

TO: Erskine, Billy, Mark G.
Mike McElroy, Nancy Soderberg
FROM: JOHN D. PODESTA Don Baer
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

This event is a
long way off, but
should be noted on
the calendar. A good
forum to make a lofty
speech.

John



Fédération
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de Journaux

International
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Mr W.J. Clinton
President of the United States
of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500
USA

6 March 1995

Dear Mr President,

// The 49th World Newspaper Congress and the 3rd World Editors Forum, organised by FIEJ and the Newspaper Association of America, will take place in Washington D.C. from 20 to 22 May 1996.

One thousand newspaper executives and their guests from at least 60 countries are expected at this event.

I am writing well in advance of these conferences to formally invite you to be present at their joint opening, on the morning of Monday 20 May 1996.

// The opening ceremony is traditionally the occasion for our Federation and its members to solemnly reiterate our profound attachment to the values of freedom of the press, to which we know you are deeply attached.

Your personal presence would strongly underline the importance that the United States of America has always accorded to the role of the free press in democracy world-wide.

We shall, in due course, be in further contact with your staff to inform them of the evolution of planning for these major events.

Yours sincerely,

K. Prescott Low
President

Enc. 'Facts About FIEJ'



**Fédération
Internationale
des Éditeurs
de Journaux**

**International
Federation
of Newspaper
Publishers**

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FACTS ABOUT FIEJ

Founded in 1948, FIEJ is the world association for the newspaper industry. It groups 50 newspaper publishers associations in 48 countries, individual newspaper executives in 73 nations, 14 national and international news agencies, a media foundation, 7 affiliated regional press organisations and an international TV company.

In all, the Federation represents more than 15,000 publications on the five continents.

FIEJ has three major objectives:

- Defending and promoting press freedom and the economic independence of newspapers as an essential condition for that freedom.
- Contributing to the development of newspaper publishing by fostering communications and contacts between newspaper executives from different regions and cultures.
- Promoting co-operation between its member organisations, whether national, regional or world-wide.

In pursuit of these objectives, FIEJ notably:

- represents the newspaper industry in all international discussions on media issues, to defend both press freedom and the professional and business interests of the press.
- promotes a world-wide exchange of information and ideas on producing better and more profitable newspapers;
- opposes restrictions of all kinds on the free flow of information, on the circulation of newspapers and on advertising;
- campaigns vigorously against press freedom violations and obstacles;
- helps newspapers in developing countries, through training and other co-operation projects;
- channels legal, material and humanitarian aid to victimized publishers and journalists;

Through its **Newspaper Management & Marketing Bureau**, FIEJ:

- helps newspapers to increase readership and sustain and increase advertising and other revenues through study tours, seminars, publications and so on;

Through the **World Editors Forum**, FIEJ:

- provides opportunities for senior news executives to exchange ideas and information about the business of editing newspapers.

Through **The Fund for Press Freedom Development**, FIEJ:

- promotes the growth of free and independent newspapers in developing countries through training and other forms of assistance

Through its **Newspapers in Education** programme, FIEJ:

- organises international co-operation to encourage the culture of reading newspapers through the establishment and development of NIE activity world-wide.

FIEJ has formal consultative status to represent the newspaper industry at UNESCO, the United Nations and the Council of Europe.

The full members of FIEJ are:

Argentina	Asociación de Editores de Diarios de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires
Algeria	L'Association Algérienne des Editeurs de Journaux
Austria	Verband Österreichischer Zeitungsherausgeber und Zeitungverleger
Belgium	Association Belge des Editeurs de Journaux
Bosnia	Independent Publishers of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Brazil	Associação Nacional de Jornais
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Association of Newspaper Publishers
Canada	Newspaper Association of America
Colombia	Asociación de Diarios Colombianos
Cyprus	Cyprus Newspaper & Magazine Publishers' Association
Czech Republic	The Czech Association of Newspaper Publishers
Denmark	Danske Dagblades Forening
Dominican Republic	Sociedad Dominicana de Diarios
Ecuador	Asociación Ecuatoriana de Editores de Periódicos
Estonia	Eesti Ajalehtede Liit
Finland	Sanomalehtien Liitto
France	Syndicat de la Presse Parisienne
	Syndicat de la Presse Quotidienne Régionale
FR of Yugoslavia	Independent Media Association
Great Britain	Newspaper Society
Germany	Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger e.V.
Ghana	Guild of Newspaper Publishers
Greece	Athens Daily Newspaper Publishers Association
Hungary	The Hungarian Publishers Association
India	Indian Newspaper Society
Indonesia	Serikat Penerbit Surat kabar
Ireland	National Newspapers of Ireland
Israel	The Daily Newspaper Publishers Association of Israel
Italy	Federazione Italiana Editori Giornali
Japan	Nihon Shinbun Kyokai
Korea	Korean Newspapers Association
Latvia	Latvian Publishers and Editors Association
Luxemburg	Association Luxembourgeoise des Editeurs de Journaux
Netherlands	Vereniging de Nederlandse Dagbladpers
Norway	Norske Avisers Landsforbund
Peru	Asociación de Diarios del Peru
Poland	The Polish Association of Newspaper Publishers
Portugal	Associação da Imprensa Diária
Romania	Romanian Press Editors Association
Russia	The Russian Association of Editors and Publishers
Slovak Republic	The Slovak Union of Newspaper Publishers
South Africa	The Newspaper Press Union
Spain	Asociación de Editores de Diarios Españoles
	Editores de Diarios Asociados
Sri Lanka	Independent Newspapers Ltd.
Sweden	Svenska Tidningsutgivareforeningen
Switzerland	Association Suisse des Editeurs de Journaux et Périodiques
	Association des directeurs des journaux

Publishers, directors and chief editors in most of these countries are also FIEJ individual members. In addition, newspaper executives in the following countries belong to FIEJ as associate, or honorary associate, members: Benin, Brazil, the Cameroon, Iceland, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Lithuania, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Namibia, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Taiwan, Tchad, Uruguay, Zaire and Zimbabwe.

The following agencies are associate members:

Agence Belga (Belgium)
Agence Télégraphique Suisse (Switzerland)
Agencia EFE (Spain)
Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (The Netherlands)
Athens News Agency (Greece)
Deutsche Presse Agentur (Germany)
Gannett News Service (USA)
Kyodo News Service (Japan)
New York Times Syndication Sales Co. (USA)
Norsk Telegrambyra (Norway)
Press Association (United Kingdom)
Reuters
Ritzau (Denmark)
Tidningarnas Telegrambyra (Sweden)

and also: Cable News Network

The following organisations are Affiliate Members of FIEJ:

CPU, the Commonwealth Press Union
ENPA the European Newspaper Publishers Association
IAPA, the Inter-American Press Association
IPTC, the International Press Telecommunications Council
PANPA, Pacific Area Newspaper Publishers Association
PFA, the Press Foundation of Asia
RSF, Reporters Sans Frontières