

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. form	re: AF Form 707A (2 pages)	06/02/1995	b(6)
002. memo	Bob Nash to Erskine Bowles re: DOT General Counsel (1 page)	05/17/1995	b(6)
003. letter	Jack Hausman to Rick Fleetwood (2 pages)	05/15/1995	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 5954

FOLDER TITLE:

June 1-3, 1995

2018-0662-S

rs3128

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

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

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/3/95

The Seagram Company Ltd.

375 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10152
May 22, 1995

CHAIRMAN

Dear Mr. President,

Like many Americans, I applaud the stand your Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor has taken against the Japanese and their refusal to open their markets to American automotive products. I also note that your approval ratings have risen very nicely, indicating that this country wants you to lead it, and when you do it applauds.

When you go to Halifax next month, would it be possible for you to tell our so-called allies that the United States is really serious about Iran? That you expected them to follow your lead, but since they are loath so to do, you are going to make it impossible for any of their companies that do business with Iran to do business in the United States.

The greatest weapon in our arsenal as the only super-power is not our capacity to win military wars, but rather economic ones. We are by far the most sought after market in the world. Those who want to take advantage of the openness of our market will have to contend with the fact that we will severely punish those who wish to deal with the rogue state that thinks it perfectly all right to use terrorism as a weapon against the free world.

I am sure that should you take a firm stand in Halifax, the American people will sing your praises. We don't want any more Oklahoma Cities or New York World Trade Centers.

With warm regards and respect,



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

She writes to him &
to run up

NATIONLINE

Official vows Doe will be identified

Expressing confidence that all participants in the Oklahoma City bombing would be caught, Deputy Attorney General Jamie Gorelick said Thursday that the widely sought third suspect known John Doe No. 2 might not have played an active role in the explosion. Nevertheless, she said the investigation would produce the identity of the man and determine "whether he was a participant" in the April 19 federal building bombing that killed 168 people. Also, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the Arizona Department of Public Safety received warnings about suspect Timothy McVeigh two years ago, the *Mesa Tribune* said. The warnings related to his description of how a flare gun could shoot down an ATF helicopter.



By J. Scott Applewhite, AP
'XANTHOSIS': Justin Carroll pauses, then spells the word

NEW C-H-A-M-P:

Justin Carroll, an eighth-grader from Wynne, Ark., became the nation's top speller, firing off "hirundine" (which means relating to swallows) and "xanthosis" (a yellow discoloration of the skin) to win the 68th Scripps Howard National Spelling Bee in Washington, D.C. Runner-up Marjory Lavery, 13, a seventh-grader from Copley, Ohio, lost on "cappelletti," a type of stuffed pasta.

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Dorskind has been asked
to write letter to
winner. Potus wants
runner up also.

B

reservation, the first of what could become a nationwide circuit of reservation magistrates. Many misdemeanors on reservations go unprosecuted due to a lack of magistrates.

FRIENDLY FIRE: Ten officers were chosen as the court-martial jury of Air Force Capt. Jim Wang, 29. He's accused of dereliction of duty as a senior officer aboard an AWACS radar plane monitoring the no-fly zone over northern Iraq on April 14, 1994 when two U.S. F-15 jets shot down two U.S. helicopters, killing 26 people. Wang is the only person to be court-martialed in the incident. The trial at Tinker Air Force Base, Okla., is expected to last three weeks.

Chon

THE WHITE HOUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
WASHINGTON

6/3/95

May 30, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a Lake/Griffin/Mikva memo concerning the asylum case of James Barr, together with proposed letters to Senators Bradley and Lautenberg on the matter.

Despite his clearly unlawful entry from Northern Ireland in 1984, Barr was granted asylum last summer by an immigration judge. INS thinks the decision was clearly wrong and is appealing; Justice agrees the decision is wrong, as do Tony, Pat and Ab.

The only issue is an equitable one -- Barr has been in the U.S. 11 years and has an American wife and child. But Tony, Pat and Ab are willing to stand by the decision to appeal, especially since Barr should be able to gain relief outside the asylum context, based on his marriage.

The letters support the appeal but make clear Barr should be able to gain relief based on his marriage.

Todd Stern

Q → can we push Barr to
asylum, tell him he will
promptly be OK and the
unlawful grounds to get out
of this ASAP? —

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1995

95 MAY 23 All : 00

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN *PL*
ABNER MIKVA *AM*

SUBJECT: Barr Asylum Request

Purpose

To respond to letters from Senators Bradley and Lautenberg asking that you review INS' decision to appeal the grant of asylum to James G. Barr.

Background

Barr fraudulently entered the US from Northern Ireland in 1984; this is uncontested. However, Barr was granted relief from deportation last summer because of a grant of asylum by an immigration judge based on a finding that Barr would be persecuted because of his religion (Catholic) and political views were he returned to either Northern Ireland or Ireland.

Barr's case has also been raised with us by various Irish American groups. Irish American groups allege that the Justice Department has singled out Irish nationals for especially vigorous enforcement of our laws because of the close U.K.-FBI working relationship. They will be critical of a decision to proceed with the asylum appeal.

At our request, Deputy Attorney General Gorelick has reviewed INS's decision. She agrees with INS that the grant of asylum was erroneous. We concur. To qualify for asylum, Barr must show that he has a reasonable fear of persecution in both Ireland and Northern Ireland. He certainly does not meet that burden with respect to Ireland, and the case for persecution in Northern Ireland is also far from clear.

The equities of pursuing the appeal are more debatable. Barr has been in the U.S. for eleven years now; he has an American wife and an American child and no convictions. However, Justice points out that Barr's length of stay here is of Barr's own

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

making, and that precedential reasons argue against allowing an intervening marriage or even child to derail a deportation.

We are convinced that Barr's case has received serious, senior-level DOJ review and accept their judgment on enforcement of our immigration laws.

In any event, we understand Barr now intends to seek to adjust his status based on his marriage to an American. (It is not clear why he did not pursue this option earlier.) If successful, such action would moot the asylum issue.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters at Tab A to Senators Bradley and Lautenberg.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to Senators Bradley and Lautenberg

Tab B Incoming Letters from Senators Bradley and Lautenberg

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bill:

You asked me to review the deportation case of James G. Barr to ensure that Mr. Barr was being treated fairly and in accordance with the law.

As you indicated in your letter, the United States Immigration Court in Philadelphia granted Mr. Barr's application for asylum. That ruling is currently on appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals. At the request of the White House, appropriate officials at the Department of Justice have reviewed this case and decided that the appeal is appropriate.

As to Mr. Barr's marriage to an American citizen, we understand that Mr. Barr now intends to seek to adjust his status based on that relationship. Such action could moot the asylum issue.

The Department of Justice will continue to ensure that Mr. Barr is treated fairly throughout the balance of the proceedings.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable Bill Bradley
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-3001

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Frank:

You asked me to review the deportation case of James G. Barr to ensure that Mr. Barr was being treated fairly and in accordance with the law.

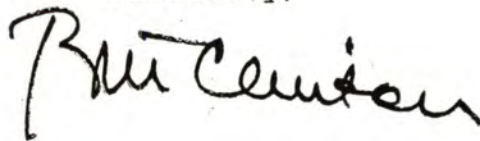
As you indicated in your letter, the United States Immigration Court in Philadelphia granted Mr. Barr's application for asylum. That ruling is currently on appeal to the Board of Immigration Appeals. At the request of the White House, appropriate officials at the Department of Justice have reviewed this case and decided that the appeal is appropriate.

As to Mr. Barr's marriage to an American citizen, we understand that Mr. Barr now intends to seek to adjust his status based on that relationship. Such action could moot the asylum issue.

The Department of Justice will continue to ensure that Mr. Barr is treated fairly throughout the balance of the proceedings.

Thank you for your interest in this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "B".

The Honorable Frank R. Lautenberg
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-3002

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3002

2165 2042
COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
BUDGET
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
SMALL BUSINESS
HELSINKI COMMISSION

March 14, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to inquire about the political asylum case of James G. Barr and would like to know why the Administration continues to pursue his deportation through the courts.

I understand that Mr. Barr, who is married to a woman from New Jersey, requested political asylum in the United States after he fled from Northern Ireland in 1984. In July of 1993, Judge John F. Gossart, Jr., granted the request based on a pattern of human rights abuses in Northern Ireland, which, he concluded, provided grounds for a "well founded fear of persecution."

Despite well-documented evidence of human rights abuses in Northern Ireland, I understand the Justice Department has appealed this decision and is seeking the authority to deport Mr. Barr immediately. I am not aware of any warrants pending against Mr. Barr in the United Kingdom, nor am I aware that he has been involved in unlawful activity in the United States.

I urge you to carefully review this case and ensure that Mr. Barr will be treated fairly and that justice is served.

Sincerely,



REPLY TO:

☐ 506 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3002
(202) 224-4744

☐ ONE GATEWAY CENTER SUITE 1001
NEWARK, NJ 07102-5311
(201) 645-3030

☐ BARRINGTON COMMONS
208 WHITE HORSE PIKE
SUITES 18-19
BARRINGTON, NJ 08007-1322
(609) 757-5353

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3001

March 6, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing concerning the political asylum case of James G. Barr. Mr. Barr fled Northern Ireland for the United States in 1984 and requested political asylum. After a prolonged legal battle, in July 1993, Judge John F. Gossart, Jr., granted the request. In his opinion, Judge Gossart pointed to a pattern of human rights abuses in Northern Ireland as providing grounds for a well founded fear of persecution.

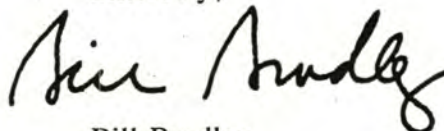
As you know, respected human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and the European Commission on Human Rights have expressed their concerns over evidence of human rights abuses and miscarriages of justice in Northern Ireland. The 1993 State Department "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" refers to allegations that "soldiers resorted to lethal force precipitately and carried out a 'shoot-to-kill' policy."

However, in the face of the evidence, the Justice Department has appealed Judge Gossart's decision and asked for authority to deport Mr. Barr immediately. I frankly do not understand why the Administration continues to pursue Mr. Barr through the courts. Mr. Barr is married to an American citizen, has a young daughter, and is gainfully employed. There is no evidence or even allegation that he has engaged in any unlawful activity in the United States. There are no outstanding warrants against him in the United Kingdom.

After 11 years, Mr. Barr is nearing the end of his financial and emotional resources. It would be a tragedy were he to give up and be deported only because he ran out of money and endurance, not because of due process.

I hope your staff will meet with Mr. Barr and his representatives to assist you in collecting complete information on this case, and that you will ensure that justice is served.

Sincerely,



Bill Bradley

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW SENS

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Attached is a copy of the letter sent to the President from Bill Bradley (D-NJ), concerning the political asylum case of James G. Barr. I would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call LeeAnn Inadomi at x67500.

Enclosure

Ce bis leton

to C Dodel

Don Fowler

Thong Sonin

F Green -

Bx



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1995

Dear Judge Higginbotham

Thank you for your fine letter
to Speaker Gingrich - Keep on speaking
out - free up our collective memory -
we can do that - and turn the
tide

Sincerely,
Bill Clinton

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138



A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
Public Service Professor of Jurisprudence

79 JFK Street
Tel (617) 496-4148
Fax (617) 496-6801
LeonH@KSG1.Harvard.edu

AN OPEN LETTER TO SPEAKER NEWT GINGRICH

May 19, 1995

Honorable Newt Gingrich
The Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 21515

Dear Speaker Gingrich:

I congratulate you on your election as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. For now, you are probably the most powerful Speaker this country has known in half a century. Power as great as yours brings terrible responsibilities. Because I care about this country and because I believe you do too, I write to you about your power and your responsibility.

As passed during the 100-day whirlwind session of the House of Representatives, the first draft of the Contract With America weakens the poor, the powerless and minorities. It has frightening implications that remind me as to how, in the past, the state rights doctrines were used to make African Americans and the poor almost powerless under the dominance of arbitrary state governments. Because of political spins and distortion, you and your colleagues have often branded the critics of your Contract as irresponsible "Liberals" detached from the real America. As Barbra Streisand has said: *"I am worried about the name calling, the stereotypical labeling. It was dangerous when Newt Gingrich developed a strategy in the last campaign of pitting President Clinton against so-called 'normal Americans.'* The new

scapegoats are members of what Gingrich calls the 'Counterculture McGoverniks.'" Liberals are now typecast as some non-normal, almost diseased, Americans. McGovern, the son of a Republican Methodist minister, has been married to the same woman for 51 years. He flew 35 combat missions in World War II. It is absurd that his patriotism is disputed or that he is branded as "counterculture" by a person who never served in the military and whose own family history can hardly be called exemplary.

To deal with those who might seek to besmirch me because of my condemnation of some aspects of your Contract, let me give my personal family history. I am a sixty-seven year old African-American man. For twenty-nine years, I served my country as a federal judge. I come from modest circumstances. My mother was a domestic, my father a laborer. Like them, I believe in the work ethic and that all able bodied adults should work when jobs are available and that people should go on welfare only when it is a rational alternative to their plight. We are not -- and never have been -- soft on crime, and we are advocates of fair and vigorous law enforcement. We always supported our church and family values. My parents were hard-working people, but the condition of their lives was limited. In their time, most African-Americans were treated like second-class citizens, and many poor people, despite their best efforts, could not survive without welfare assistance. These facts have shaped my life and my values and my concern about the poor. I am a survivor of segregation. I have been an architect and a beneficiary of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and a witness to its legacy.

In 1899, the United States Supreme Court had a simple case of racial discrimination against blacks in your state of Georgia. *Cumming v. County Board of Education*. The Richmond School Board closed the high school for blacks, claiming they could not afford a high school for 60 blacks and, at the same time, provide an elementary education for 400 black children. Despite alleged funding problems, the Richmond School Board made certain that *all* white children had options for a high school education; they provided a high school education for all white girls and they subsidized a high school education within the county for all white boys. The Supreme Court did not find unconstitutional the invidious discrimination of the Richmond County Board of Education.

In 1915, South Carolina was spending an average of \$23.76 on the education of each white child, and \$2.91 on that of each black child. As late as 1931, Georgia and five other Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and North and South Carolina) spent less than one-third for each black child as it did for each white child, and ten years later, this figure had risen to only 44%. At the

time of the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the South, as a whole, was spending, on the average, 43% more a year for a white pupil than it was for a black pupil.

Though, throughout Georgia, there were many public high schools accessible to whites, there was *not even one* public high school for blacks until the 1920s. Thus, perhaps the distant past and the "good old days" were relatively good for many whites who didn't care about excluding their fellow citizens from equal options, but those days were profoundly tragic for blacks and the poor. And, in many ways, even today we are suffering the consequences of the devastating inequalities that have been imposed by the education system short-changing blacks generation-by-generation-by-generation in thousands of school districts. I would have hoped that Congress would now be dealing with those past inequities by spending even disproportionate amounts of revenue to aid those who are weak and poor and who have had the maximum disadvantages in our society.

All of these *contracts* are permanently filed in the consciousness of this nation. So, there is no need to belabor the point. What all these contracts of the past have in common is that whenever politicians purported to enter into a "Contract With America," it seems that most often the weak and the powerless were not the beneficiaries of it.

No better example can be found than in your book, *Contract With America*. You devote a whole chapter noting your important concerns in enhancing "Fairness for Seniors." However, you have no chapter on enhancing fairness for *children*, and your first 100-day legislative program was an assault on federal entitlements for *children*. You propose letting the states decide their own standards for programs designed to help poor children, such as the school lunch program and aid to families with dependent children. If the concept of letting states determine the allocation of such vital financial benefits is so sound, then perhaps you and your colleagues should consider turning over the entire Social Security system to the states as well. If your proposed system of block grants is so good for poor children, then our senior citizens should not be deprived of its advantages. I suspect that you are willing to let the states do as they will with children, but not with senior citizens, because children do not vote and do not have political power, whereas senior citizens vote and have powerful lobbies.

Yet, surely politicians and academicians as informed as you and your colleagues must know, as the American Bar Association and the Children's Defense Fund have reported, in today's America, our children are at great and grave risk:

- More than 9.4 million children had no health insurance in 1993, an increase of more than 800,000 from 1992.
- A higher proportion of babies are born at low birthweight in the United States than in 31 other countries, including Romania, Greece, Turkey and Portugal.
- The United States ranks 19th among developed countries for infant mortality rates.
- The United States ranks 17th among all nations in the percentage of one-year-olds who are fully immunized against polio, behind Romania, Albania, Greece, North Korea and Pakistan. Our polio immunization rate for children of color ranks us 70th in the world.
- One in four children, or nearly 16 million children, live below the poverty line. In 1994, one in four homeless people was a child under the age of 18.
- 5,379 children and teens were killed by gunfire in 1992 -- one child every 98 minutes.
- A record level of 14.2 million children relied on food stamps to eat in 1993 -- up 51% since 1989.

I cite this data because of my concern about the welfare for all of America's poor children. I trust that Congress and more persons will come to grips with the hard core fact that there are more poor white children in this country than there are poor black children. Thus, any program that helps the poor benefits all Americans, regardless of their race, religion or national origin. Given these statistics, one then begins to wonder why this 100-day legislative program seems to ignore or victimize children.

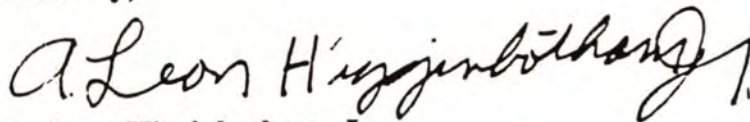
Abraham Lincoln closed his first Inaugural Address by stating, "*We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.*" He prayed that: "*The mystic chords of memory . . . will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.*" In applying Lincoln's words to the challenges of today, in seeking justice for the poor, minorities and women, "*we must not be enemies,*" whether one is white or black or any shade in between,

whether one is male or female, whether one is rich or poor, or Republican or Democrat, and we must exemplify the "better angels of our nature." Yet, I fear that some aspects of the recent legislative program has awakened the worst forces of our nature and has set them loose. These forces overshadow the lives of the poor, the weak and the powerless, and threaten to beat them down, back to the great miseries of the Great Depression. If this continues, then history will not place you along with your hero Abraham Lincoln. Rather, your place will be with Rutherford B. Hayes, who betrayed blacks in the 1877 Compromise to win nineteen electoral votes from the South and Oregon for the Presidency. After Hayes agreed with Southern Democrats to withdraw federal protection of former slaves, the Chairman of the Kansas Republican State Committee summed up their faustian pact as follows:

As matters look to me now, I think the policy of the new administration will be to conciliate the white men of the South. CARPETBAGGERS TO THE REAR, AND NIGGERS TAKE CARE OF YOURSELVES.

It seems that in order to win the white male vote, you and your colleagues have formulated a conciliation policy for white males that says: "poor people to the rear and minorities take care of yourselves." It may be a successful political formula for the moment, but ultimately, this country will pay a heavy price for those unwise diversions. The weak and the poor will not long tolerate programs that give persons earning \$200,000 a year tax breaks, while school lunches, food stamps and other programs for the needy are cut back with block grants that have tens of billions of cuts. There is no moral or economic justification to dismantle and replace federal entitlements with unaccountable state block grants. The retrogression that your Contract has set loose will not only beat down the poor, it will, in time, engulf us all, leaving no safe haven for either the enforcers or the victims of their inequitable Contract With America.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.", written in dark ink.

A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.

PUBLIC SERVICE PROFESSOR OF JURISPRUDENCE

Blacks remember other contracts put out on them

*Gingrich's pact
is aimed at the poor,
the weak, the powerless.*

By A. Leon Higginbotham Jr.

When I and many other African Americans listen to the rhetoric surrounding the Contract With America, we cannot help but be skeptical. Why? Because, in Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' phrase, "a page of history is worth a volume of logic." We know the history of this country and, sometimes, the Contract With America authored by House Speaker Newt Gingrich sounds much too historically familiar.

It reminds how, in the past, states' rights doctrines were used to keep African Americans poor and almost powerless under the dominance of arbitrary state governments. African Americans have been the subject of many contracts with America.

The first colonists contracted to enslave blacks, because slaves were the ultimate form of cheap labor.

The founders of our nation contracted in the Constitution to condone slavery, because the South could not do without its slaves.

Reconstruction-era politicians contracted to relegate blacks to segregation, because whites had come to seriously believe in their "superiority."

Southern states contracted for separate and unequal treatment, so that whites would always receive the better options — in education, in jobs, in electoral politics.

In Gingrich's home state of Georgia, there were many public high schools accessible to whites, but not even one public high school for blacks until the 1920s. (In 1915, South Carolina was spending an average of eight times more on the education of each white child than it was on each black child.)

As late as 1931, Georgia and five other Southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida and North and South Carolina) spent less than one-third for each black child than they did for each white child. Ten years after, this figure had risen to only 44 percent. At the time of the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the South, as a whole, was spending on the average 43 percent more a year for a white pupil than it was for a black pupil.

Thus, perhaps the distant past and the "good old days" were relatively good for many whites who didn't care about excluding their fellow citizens from equal options, but those days were profoundly tragic for blacks and the poor.



PenTip International Features / RANDY MACK BISHOP

All of these contracts are permanently filed in the consciousness of this nation. And, even today, we, in many ways, are suffering the consequences of the devastating inequalities that have been imposed by the education system short-changing blacks generation-by-generation in thousands of school districts.

I would have hoped that Congress would now be dealing with those past inequities by spending money to aid those who are weak and poor and who have had the maximum disadvantages in our society.

But it seems that whenever politicians purport to enter into a "contract with America," the weak and the powerless are not the beneficiaries.

No better example can be found than in Gingrich's book on his contract. He devotes a

whole chapter to concerns about enhancing "fairness for seniors." However, he has no chapter on enhancing fairness for children, and his first 100-day legislative program was an assault on federal entitlements for children.

He proposes letting the states decide their own standards for programs designed to help poor children, such as the school lunch program and Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

If the concept of letting states determine the allocation of such vital financial benefits is so sound, then perhaps Gingrich and his colleagues should consider turning over the entire Social Security system to the states as well. Our senior citizens should not be deprived of its advantages. I suspect that they are willing to let the states do as they will with children, but not with senior citizens,

because children do not vote and do not have political power, whereas senior citizens vote and have powerful lobbies.

Yet, Gingrich must know, as the American Bar Association and the Children's Defense Fund have noted, that our children are at great and grave risk: One in four children, or nearly 16 million children, live below the poverty line. One in four homeless people is a child. A record level of 14.2 million children relied on food stamps to eat in 1993 — up 51 percent since 1989. A higher proportion of babies are born at low birthweight in the United States than in Turkey, and nearly 10 million lack health insurance. Moreover, our children are increasingly threatened by street violence — in 1992, 5,379 children and teens were killed by gunfire.

I cite these statistics because of my concern about the welfare for all of America's poor children. I trust that Congress and more persons will come to grips with the hard-core fact that there are more poor white children in this country than there are poor black children. Thus, any program that helps the poor benefits all Americans, regardless of their race, religion or national origin.

I speak as a 67-year-old African American man.

For 29 years, I served my country as a federal judge. I come from modest circumstances. My mother was a domestic, my father a laborer. Like them, I believe in the work ethic and that all able-bodied adults should work when jobs are available and that people should go on welfare only when it is a rational alternative to their plight.

I am not — and never have been — soft on crime, and my family and I are advocates of fair and vigorous law enforcement. We always have supported our church and lived by a code of values. My parents were hard-working people, but the condition of their lives was limited.

In their time, most African Americans were treated like second-class citizens, and many poor people, despite their best efforts, could not survive without welfare assistance. These facts have shaped my life and my values and my concern about the poor. I am a survivor of segregation. I have been an architect and a beneficiary of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and a witness to its legacy.

Yet when I and others rise to question Gingrich's contract, we are derided as some non-normal, almost diseased Americans.

Abraham Lincoln, contemplating the Civil War, closed his first inaugural address by stating, "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection." He prayed that: "The mystic chords of memory . . . will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

In applying Lincoln's words to the challenges of today, in seeking justice for the poor, minorities and women, "we must not be enemies," whether one is white or black or any shade in between, whether one is male or female, whether one is rich or poor, or Republican or Democrat, and we must exemplify the "better angels of our nature."

Yet, I fear that some aspect of the recent legislative program has awakened the worst forces of our nature and has set them loose. These forces overshadow the lives of the poor, the weak and the powerless, and threaten to beat them down, back to the great miseries of the Great Depression.

If this continues, then history will not judge Gingrich along with Lincoln. Rather, his place will be with Rutherford B.

Hayes, who betrayed blacks in the 1877 compromise to win 19 electoral votes from the South and Oregon for the presidency. After Hayes agreed with Southern Democrats to withdraw federal protection of former slaves, the chairman of the Kansas Republican State Committee summed up their Faustian pact as follows:

"As matters look to me now, I think the policy of the new administration will be to conciliate the white men of the South. Carpetbaggers to the rear, and niggers take care of yourselves."

It seems that in order to win the white male vote, Gingrich and his colleagues have formulated a conciliation policy for white males that says: "poor people to the rear and minorities take care of yourselves."

It may be a successful political formula for the moment, but ultimately, this country will pay a heavy price for those unwise diversions.

A. Leon Higginbotham is a former chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals and is the Public Service Professor of Jurisprudence at Harvard University.

*The party of
Abraham Lincoln
is not listening to
the "better angels
of our nature." It
is going back to the
inequalities of
the past as our
worst forces
are unleashed.*

Book is in
Staff Secy's
Office

I want book

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1995

Carlie Sorensen Dixon
4009 Highwood Court, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Carlie:

Thanks for your letter of May 25 and for what you said about my letter. It always means a lot to me to have your perspective on the national agenda, and I place a high value on our correspondence.

Thanks, too, for sending Armstrong Williams' book, the report on marriage, and the speech by Michael Novak. I look forward to reading all three and appreciate your sharing them with me.

Finally, thanks for your invitation to Hillary and me to visit you at Lake Anna sometime this summer. It sounds wonderful, and I hope we'll be able to take you up on your offer.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

(yes)
cc Summer
file?
cc Gift Unit

Carlie Sorensen Dixon
4009 Highwood Court, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Bill,

May 25

Thanks for your letter of early May about the Oklahoma aftermath. I especially appreciate your handwritten letters because they are on subjects you feel strongly about. It means a lot to me that you would use your precious time as President to respond to my correspondence. I am grateful you have been so kind and willing to continue an dialogue as President. It is a privilege for me and I hope it is interesting and enjoyable for you.

You have done a wonderful job in your Presidency of using the "bully pulpit" and speaking out on some of the issues in the cultural and moral crises that plague our society. So to go over to some of the subjects where our conversations began and to give you good for thought as you continue (hopefully) to use the "bully pulpit," I have enclosed a few items that have come across my desk lately and grabbed my attention:

1. Armstrong Williams' new book Beyond Blame demonstrates how the typical

conservative or liberal prescriptions for the underclass in the inner city barely scratch the surface of the real nature of the problem. In a series of letters to a young Washington D.C. drug dealer, ~~was~~ ^{Mr. Williams addressed every area of his life.} a father of 3 little girls who wants to straighten out his life after his life was threatened by some other drug dealers, ^{It} is one of the most brilliant pieces I have read just gets to the crisis of spirit and values that defy solution by government programs (a typical liberal answer) or by expanded opportunity in the private sector (a typical conservative answer). Bill Hybels could do more for these young people than anything else I know. Read it and tell me what you think.

2. David Blankenhorn's Council on Families in America sponsored by The Institute for American Values has put out a report on marriage in America recently. It is first rate. It states the case well and has a plan for action. After reading Beyond Blame where we see how marriage is literally gone from a whole segment of our culture that, ironically needs it most, (5% of intact families are

in poverty), this report seems all the more poignant.

3. Finally, the text of a speech by Michael Novak, is reprinted in Imprimis, a publication of Hillsdale College (which prides itself on accepting no federal money - perhaps if more institutions and businesses and individuals did that we wouldn't have a budget crisis!). It perhaps is the best articulation of how underlying values of Christians are also the necessary values for a successful democratic capitalistic society like our own. Maybe there's a gap in my education but I've never seen this subject dealt with so well in a short piece. Being one student of politics and devoted democra^(small d)t and Christian that you no I thought you would really enjoy this article.

We're beginning our summer season at Lake Arrowhead. We'll be back and forth on weekends ^{in June and July} and then stay there all of August. We have friends visit us back in the end to have real

quality time y^r conversation
and just plain fun. Every
year we add a new "toy" to
our inventory - this year, it's a
volleyball court by the water.

Interested? The Ladies are planning
to visit June 24-25 and the
Babes visit August 26-27. If you
and Hilary and Chelsea want to
zip down for the day (90 minutes
from D.C.), we'd love to host you
to some fun and relaxation.
Ask Dennis about taking!

I pray for God to give you all the
strength, courage and wisdom
you need.

Sincerely,

Carlie

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Book is in
Staff Secy's
Office

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CA

June 2, 1995

Carlie Sorensen Dixon
4009 Highwood Court, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Carlie:

Thanks for your letter of May 25 and for what you said about my letter. It always means a lot to me to have your perspective on the national agenda, and I place a high value on our correspondence.

Thanks, too, for sending Armstrong Williams' book, the report on marriage, and the speech by Michael Novak. I look forward to reading all three and appreciate your sharing them with me.

Finally, thanks for your invitation to Hillary and me to visit you at Lake Anna sometime this summer. It sounds wonderful, and I hope we'll be able to take you up on your offer.

See you soon.

Sincerely,

cc summer
file?

cc Gift Unit

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copy -
the enclosed a few
have come across my desk lately
and grabbed my attention:
1. Armstrong Williams' new book Beyond
Blame demonstrates how the typical

cc: VP
Leon

Some good ideas
any in them?

BC



THE PRESIDENT

6/3

Dear Roger

Thanks for your letter - It had
some very good ideas - We're working
through them

Sincerely
Bill Clinton



Administrator
General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/45

May 31, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Confirming our conversation of last Friday, I believe it is essential for you to present a balanced budget alternative. Reducing the deficit is your initiative; making government work better and cost less is your initiative; yours is the only administration in 40 years to actually reduce the deficit, reduce the size of the Federal workforce and bring current operating expenses in balance with current income. These are all your results, from your initiatives. Please take them back!

As to specific alternatives for spending cuts, I suggest the following areas for further consideration and development:

1. Rescission bill: Negotiate vigorously to stop virtually all building projects not already under construction. Exempt only repair and alteration projects, as these expenditures protect past investment. The Republican bill rescinds approximately \$580 million out of \$1.9 billion. This recommendation would rescind another \$800 to \$900 million. The rationale is that no building should take precedence over children, crime, education or medical care. Additionally, the downsizing initiative should start to free up usable space soon. And, although certainly inconvenient, even the courts could use vacated space temporarily.

2. Balanced budget:

A). Federal Buildings

Carrying forward the same rationale as in the rescission bill, you would support a moratorium as provided for in the House budget resolution, and additionally direct the GSA to coordinate a government-wide review of all Federal buildings and leased premises. Working with occupant agencies, GSA should recommend a long-term plan to capture billions of dollars of savings through consolidations, disposal and/or private/public real estate partnerships. GSA should seek legislation to streamline the disposal process for underutilized and/or excess properties to make funds available to effect prudent relocations and consolidation and to fund future capital projects that are determined to be a priority.



B) Other "operational" savings

In addition to program cuts that you make and/or for use as substitute cuts for excessive Republican program cuts, I suggest that there are several areas in the day-to-day operations of government that have been overlooked by everyone. It is difficult to get many inside Washington excited about operational savings because they have little or no experience in such reductions. Interestingly, however, they are usually the first place a business executive would look.

1) I propose that we freeze all new hires and all replacements, even in agencies that are scheduled to grow, e.g., Justice, until it is clearly proven that the opening cannot be filled from somewhere within the government. The number of inter-agency transfers is minute compared to the private sector. In a time when hundreds of thousands of Federal workers are being/will be reduced it is even more important to force this cross-agency view of manpower. There are dozens of obstacles in the way - mostly cultural - but when the alternative is a RIF of an experienced worker in one agency while hiring a new one in another, I can't believe that we couldn't get support. In any event, this will require the establishment of a government-wide people clearinghouse and probably the waiver of certain rules, but the result would be:

- (a) an accelerated reduction of the Federal workforce of possibly 40,000 to 60,000 net reduction per year, just from attrition,
- (b) a conservative estimate of 20,000 to 30,000 experienced Federal workers would be "saved" in transfers to other agencies to fill openings, and
- (c) creation of a major long-term breakthrough in the area of Federal worker mobility with all of its inherent benefits.

2) There are still billions of dollars of excess consumable inventories in our warehouses. There are supplies, tools, clothing, etc. These stores could be reduced by at least \$20 to \$30 billion over two to three years by introducing commonly-used inventory control techniques. This is not a fire sale as I understand you were previously told. The dollars are saved primarily by not buying any more until the desired levels are reached with a control system that then keeps inventories at desired levels. This provides immediate savings since the corrective action is to stop buying now! We will probably need outside help to do this, but there are several companies that specialize in this area.



3) We are buying over \$200 ^hmillion worth of goods and services per year! In the private sector I would target at least a 5 percent cost reduction program. In some areas, depending on the mix of purchased products, 10 percent would not be unrealistic. For example, in the computer industry both hardware and software costs have been reducing at rates of 20 to 40 percent per year! If the business were growing, the savings would, of course, be offset by added purchases due to the growth. (If the business were shrinking, which is, of course, the government scenario, then the savings would be captured in total.) There are few, if any, specific cost reduction incentives that I can see today. The mentality seems to be that everything goes up at least with the rate of inflation. That is simply not true. Careful analysis of our purchases will yield billions. This project, like inventory reduction, may need some outside help, but neither can be accomplished without the support of the senior management in each agency. Given the choice of a 10 percent reduction in purchased goods and services versus further cuts in programs might be enough incentive.

4) Capital Planning Process

We are wasting and/or losing savings of billions per year because we lack a proper capital planning process! I recognize that a majority of your advisors oppose capital "budgeting." They are wrong! However, dealing with that reality, I believe we can achieve 80 percent of the benefits while avoiding their concerns by simply implementing a separate capital planning process, without changing the "scoring" of spending.

A separate capital planning process will:

- a) force the planning and committing of savings and other benefits over time,
- b) capture those commitments such that actual results can be compared each year,
- c) start each subsequent year's budget process with a review of past committed performance, i.e., if \$1 billion in savings was committed for a project, then the actual savings becomes a net reduction from last year's budget before new spending is added, and if savings were not achieved, then corrective action is taken and/or this year's capital request is viewed with much less favor. Commitments in operating performance can be viewed and judged in much the same manner.
- d) rank projects in terms of return on investment in each agency and across agencies. The limited funds should go to those projects with the best returns! I do not believe you have any way of ranking these projects today. For example, in a



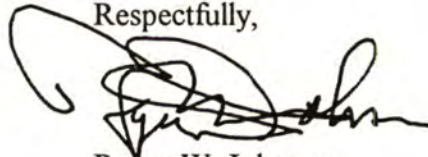
very tight budget period I would suggest you set a 30 percent return as a minimum threshold for capital projects. You might start by asking OMB to give you the actual rate of return for the government computer systems projects over the past four to five years. (We've been spending \$20 to \$25 billion per year on systems which should have yielded \$20 to \$30 billion in savings over the period.)

Failing to have a separate well-defined capital budget planning process has left the Federal government without even the simplest discipline for assuring that future period benefits committed at the time of a capital spending approval are ever achieved. No private business in the world - or most universities, hospitals or state governments - could tolerate such a condition

I believe the objection to capital budgeting comes from a conviction that if the process leads to "scoring" of expenditures over time versus all in the first year, then abuses will surely follow. My response is that the same temptations occur in the private sector and there are dozens of proven techniques to control attempts to abuse the process. However, my suggestion above introduces a separate planning and recording process which does not require that the scoring change at all.

Having said all of this, Mr. President, I have sadly concluded that "budgeting" in Washington is largely a political battle rather than a financial process, and, consequently, these suggestions have few or no constituencies. I still hope, however, that possibly through the NPR process, we can somehow at least begin. The lack of common sense in our operating management and systems is one reason why many of our citizens have lost faith in our ability to govern. Your strong endorsement of these programs would not only begin to generate very large savings but would also send a strong message to the country that you are committed to basic common-sense change.

Respectfully,



Roger W. Johnson
Administrator



General Services Administration
Washington, DC 20405

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Administration
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✓
The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

~~Confidential~~ - for the President
at his request

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: MI DATE: 1/29/14

2018-0662-S

- ① CC: his letter + my reply to
Tennison → someone in
Calif shows approach
about support —
I suspect he's a GVP —
- ② attach Wash. Mo article

cc Allen
~~Book~~ Emerson
Sonnet in Cal

Joseph
Let's
JSP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1995

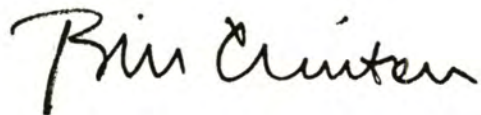
Mr. S. Michael Joseph
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer
Disinctive Appliances Corporation
950 South Raymond Avenue
Pasadena, California 91109

Dear Mike:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter. It was a pleasure to meet with you and the Young Presidents Organization.

As we work to keep our nation on a course of fiscal responsibility, I appreciate your support and look forward to your continued involvement.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping underline.

May 11, 1995

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

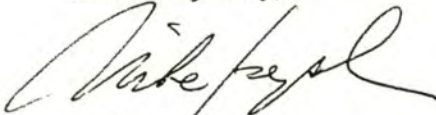
Dear Mr. Clinton,

I very much appreciate your meeting with the Young Presidents Organization during our recent trip to Washington. I believe we were all very impressed with the way you answered our questions as well as with the quality of your answers. I agree with you that the media does not do justice to the many hard working men and women in our government but seems instead to focus predominantly on the negative side.

It was encouraging that both you and Speaker Gingrich stressed how much common ground there is between your positions on many issues, and we hope that gridlock will be avoided and that the historic changes you both want will take place. As a group, I'm sure we would all be willing to forego a \$500 tax cut in order to achieve meaningful deficit reduction leading to a balanced budget.

Thank you again for the time you spent with us. I know we were all better informed as a result of your excellent presentation.

Yours very truly,



S. Michael Joseph
Chairman / CEO

SMJ:sb

MAY 17 1995

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 18, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

95 JUN 11 AM : 21

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JODIE TORKELSON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

SUBJECT: Officer Performance Report for Major
(Maj) Darren W. McDew, USAF

I. ACTION FORCING EVENT

Air Force regulations require officers to receive an annual evaluation. This will be Maj McDew's first evaluation as your Air Force Aide.

II. ANALYSIS

Maj McDew has served as your Air Force Aide since May 1994. As your aide, he has demonstrated outstanding abilities, sound judgment and tremendous potential. Darren is not only an outstanding representative of the Air Force and the White House but, most importantly, he has represented you with distinction.

III. RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached report, where annotated, as Maj McDew's Rater. Handwritten comments in block VII are welcomed if desired.

IV. DECISION

☒ Approve
☐ Approve as Amended
☐ Disapprove

Attachment

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. form	re: AF Form 707A (2 pages)	06/02/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 5954

FOLDER TITLE:

June 1-3, 1995

2018-0662-S

rs3128

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

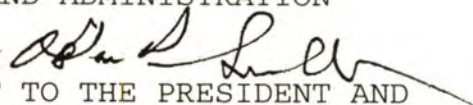
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 17, 1995

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

FROM: ALAN P. SULLIVAN 
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT: Officer Performance Report for Major (Maj)
Darren W. McDew, USAF

I. ACTION FORCING EVENT

Air Force regulations require officers to receive an annual evaluation. This will be Maj McDew's first evaluation as Air Force Aide to the President.

II. ANALYSIS

Maj McDew has served as the Air Force Aide to the President since May 1994. In that capacity he has demonstrated outstanding abilities, sound judgment and tremendous potential. I feel very confident Darren will continue to perform in an outstanding manner.

III. RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the attached report to the President for signature as Maj McDew's Rater.

IV. DECISION

 Approve
____ Approve as Amended
____ Disapprove

Attachments

June 2, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

Mr. President:

Version A

The April 15 radio address (transcript attached) set your "must list" as:

Real welfare reform.

Cutting spending and cutting taxes.

More effort to fight crime, not go back.

The draft we were directed to prepare for tomorrow refers to four specific pieces of legislation, which we tried to set-up to be consistent with the previous address:

Real welfare reform.

A responsible budget that cuts spending and cuts taxes.

A rescission bill you can sign (which is obviously a legitimate subset of "cutting spending").

The anti-terrorism bill. We think that intervening events since the April 15 address allow you to include this as part of the effort to fight crime.

This is Leon's preferred topic.

Version B

For what it's worth, we think that the second address can be Presidential, and we've done our best to make it so by: Framing it as a defense of volunteerism, giving, and civic involvement; not referring to Rep. Armey by name; and keeping the tone even-handed and avoiding grandstanding. This is Dick's preferred topic.

Please call if you need us. We'll see you in the morning.

Don Baer and Jonathan Prince

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed For Release
Until 10:06 A.M. EDT,
Saturday, April 15, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. This weekend all across our country, Christians and Jews are gathered with their families to celebrate Easter and Passover. For them and for every American, Hillary and I wish that this season of faith and renewal will also be a time of hope.

In a few weeks Congress will return from their own Easter recess and begin to sift through all the bills passed by the House and, in some cases, those passed by the Senate, too. A lot of that work is good. A lot of it I campaigned on in 1992 -- spending cuts, the line-item veto, paperwork reduction, tougher criminal sentences and greater flexibility for the police to do their jobs. These things are also consistent with actions already taken by our administration to cut the deficit, the size of government, the burden of regulation, to tighten enforcement on child support and college loan repayments, and to give more support to Head Start and affordable college loans, national service, and family leave.

But a lot of these proposals, these new ones, go too far -- cuts in education and job training, undermining environmental protections, undermining our efforts to put 100,000 new police on our streets, legislation to permit the sale of assault weapons, and penalties for going into court to assert your rights as a citizen. I'm concerned that important issues will be lost in all the welter of detailed legislative proposals Congress has to consider. So I want to tell Congress and the American people what my priorities are.

There are three areas that I assign the highest priority. They're my "must" list. First is welfare reform. We must pass a bill that reforms the welfare system and restores mainstream values of work and family, responsibility and community. We must demand work and responsibility by setting definite time limits for welfare recipients and enforcing strict work requirements. We must promote family and

responsibility by passing the toughest possible child support enforcement, including our plan to deny driver's licenses to parents who refuse to pay their child support.

We must also give the states more flexibility, building on the work I've already done by giving states freedom -- 25 of them -- from federal rules so they can find new ways to move people from welfare to work. At the same time, we have to uphold our values of community and responsibility by avoiding proposals that punish children for their parents mistakes.

Recent proposals by a number of senators for welfare reform that don't penalize children born to teenage mothers are certainly a step in the right direction. And the House of Representatives has adopted all my proposals for tougher child support enforcement. I appreciate these efforts. We have to keep on working, however. All the proposals are still too weak on work and on helping people to move from welfare to work. We can and must work together to pass a welfare reform bill that I can sign into law this year. Delaying reform any further would be a betrayal of what the American people want.

Second on my "must" list are tax and spending cuts -- the right kind in the right amount for the right people. These tax cuts must be directed at the right people, that is, the middle class Americans who need them to help them build a successful future. And they must be fully paid for by spending cuts. Tax cuts must include a deduction for the cost of college or other education after high school.

Then Congress and I need to work together to go beyond the \$600 billion of deficit reduction we've already enacted. And I've already proposed another \$80 billion in cuts on top of paying for all the tax cuts that I have proposed for the cost of education after high school for helping people with raising children and for an IRA which can be withdrawn from tax free for the cost of education or health care, first-time home buying or caring for an elderly parent.

We've also worked with Congress on \$15 billion of further cuts. And I am ready to do more. But we have to focus on our twin deficits -- we have a budget deficit and an education deficit. And we cannot cut one at the expense of the other.

The third thing I want to do is to build on last year's crime bill, not tear it down. We should all be open to new proposals for tougher penalties and more support for our police, but they must not be a cover for cutting back on our commitment for 100,000 new police officers on our street, or for repealing the assault weapons ban that would put our police and our citizens more at risk. If that happens, I'll veto it.

More police on the street is the single most effective crime-fighting tool we know of. And assault weapons have no place on our streets. Last year's bill did ban assault weapons in the future -- 19 of them -- whose only purpose is to kill people. But it also, for the first time, gave legal protection from government meddling to over 650 kinds of hunting and sporting weapons.

Congress must send me a bill that doesn't scale back or repeal the efforts so I can sign it and it can become law. There is too much to do in crime to play politics with it or to go back.

Real welfare reform, tax and spending cuts that reduce both the budget deficit and the education deficit, and more steps to fight crime, not to back up on the fight -- those are my top priorities. The first 100 days of this Congress produced a blizzard of ideas and proposals. The next 100 days must get down to the hard task of passing bills that command majorities in both Houses, bills that will help to build a stronger America, bills that I can sign into law.

In the coming months, we have an historic chance to make progress on the issues of great concern to all Americans. Let's get on with it.

Thanks for listening.

State of Vermont
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
Montpelier, VT 05609

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ^{6/3}

Chase
concordia
BC

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

HOWARD DEAN, M.D.
Governor



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/3/95

State of Vermont
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
Montpelier 05609

Tel.: (802) 828-3333
Fax: (802) 828-3339
TDD: (802) 828-3345

June 2, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

Vermont is at a crucial point in our negotiations with your administration on our Medicaid 1115 waiver. Our proposal advances our mutual goal of universal access to health care by expanding access to a significant number of uninsured Vermonters. The Vermont Health Access Plan has strong bipartisan support and is funded at the state level primarily through an increase in our cigarette tax.

Mr. President, I respectfully request your assistance in breaking the logjam we are now experiencing on budget neutrality issues with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). While you should know that the staff at both agencies and at the White House have been extremely cooperative and have expedited the review of our application, I believe we cannot make further progress without your assistance.

The following is a brief summary of the outstanding issues as we understand them:

Expenditure growth Vermont needs approval of our projected expenditure trends that reflect historical patterns in our Medicaid program and recognizes our disproportionate share payments to hospitals.

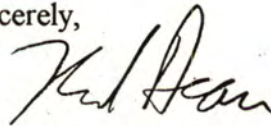
Budget base Vermont has used the latest information available as a budget base, including authorized provider payment increases and current disproportionate share payments to hospitals. Our legislature has approved these payments. They are not "hypothetical." We are making them with federal matching funds and we believe they should be reflected in our waiver base year.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
June 2, 1995
Page Two

Pharmacy benefit for Medicare population Vermont has the option to extend the full range of Medicaid benefits to this population today under Section 1902(r)(2) of the Social Security Act. We already provide full coverage for the elderly and disabled group up to 120 percent of poverty. Our waiver anticipates providing pharmacy-only benefits to the group under 150 percent of poverty. We have constructed this benefit so it is comparable in value to the benefit provided to the waiver-eligible population, which we believe addresses the concern expressed by HHS that we are limiting service to this group of individuals.

Mr. President, it is critical that Vermont's waiver be approved in the very near future. Vermont stands ready to negotiate with your administration on each of these issues, however these discussions must take place in an expedited manner. Thank you in advance for your assistance with this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Howard Dean", written in a cursive style.

Howard Dean, M.D.
Governor

HD/ko

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Bob Nash to Erskine Bowles re: DOT General Counsel (1 page)	05/17/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
John Podesta (Chron Files)
OA/Box Number: 5954

FOLDER TITLE:

June 1-3, 1995

2018-0662-S

rs3128

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

Done

we need to meet on
this - I have a whole
strategy in mind -

BC

need full list of
chairmen & of pres-
list of corporations -

BC

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC

CONGRESSMAN DICK ARMEY
26TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

MAJORITY LEADER

April 12, 1995

Dear Mr. **CEO!**

As you are undoubtedly aware, corporations give millions of dollars to charity every year. Most of this money supports traditional, service-providing charities like the Boy Scouts, Red Cross, and Salvation Army. Increasingly, however, many companies are using their philanthropic budgets to support public policy advocacy groups.

One might expect corporate contributions to favor advocacy on behalf of free market policies. But the evidence, gathered in the enclosed eighth edition of Capital Research Center's annual study, *Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy*, suggests the opposite: big business is firmly behind the welfare state.

Corporations gave liberal advocacy groups \$3.42 for each dollar that went to conservatives in 1992, the most recent year for which records were available. In fact, they gave the top five liberal grant recipients over \$1 million more than they gave to all 87 right-of-center groups listed. Author Stu Nolan argues that among the most entrenched special interests, liberal groups like the Brookings Institution received six dollars for every dollar given to conservative groups like the American Enterprise Institute.

Unfortunately, *Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy*, which includes a preface by Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., places **Q** among companies that support expansion of the welfare state.

Voters have demanded an end to big government's high taxes, heavy-handed regulation, and welfare-driven cultural decay. With your help, we can reinforce the work ethic and rebuild a prosperous America.

Sincerely,

Q

Dick ArmeY

Wash Post
5/22/95

Unwanted Advice

HOUSE MAJORITY Leader Dick Armey (R-Tex.) has sent a letter to 82 chief executive officers of some of the nation's largest companies warning them that their corporations were "among companies that support expansion of the welfare state." Golly. He also thoughtfully sent as well a copy of a book, "Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy," published by the Capital Research Center, a conservative group, and said it contained some bad news. "Unfortunately," Mr. Armey wrote, "Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy," which includes a preface by Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr., places [here the name of the company in question was inserted] among companies that support expansion of the welfare state." He concluded: "Voters have demanded an end to big government's high taxes, heavy handed regulation, and welfare driven cultural decay. With your help, we can reinforce the work ethic and rebuild a prosperous America."

Look who's talking about "heavy handed." Mr. Armey's letter is a classic case of what the Republicans (when they were in the minority) used to criticize as the arrogance of power. Who is the majority leader of the House of Representatives to tell business people that "unfortunate-

ly" they're making contributions to the wrong causes? Might some of them wonder just what Mr. Armey was trying to tell them, given that Congress is considering all sorts of far-reaching legislation affecting how these companies are taxed, subsidized and regulated? Mr. Armey's spokesman notes that the letter was not sent out by his office but by the Capital Research Center. But the letterhead has "Congress of the United States" right up at the top and the words "Majority Leader" are right up there, too.

And what groups does the Capital Research Center include in the list of those presumably undermining the work ethic and fomenting cultural decay? Oh, the wild-eyed folks at: the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the American Lung Association, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the League of Women Voters, the Nature Conservancy, the NAACP Special Contribution Fund and the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Mr. Armey can say anything he wants about corporate philanthropy. But the House majority leader should not be writing CEOs on congressional letterhead to tell them where they should or shouldn't make their charitable donations. Talk about intrusive federal government.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1995

✓
MR. PRESIDENT: THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/3/95

A copy of the attached fax
from former President Carter
has been provided to the NSC.

Todd Stern

Tony
Metry good letter
will agree - when
do you think?
R

June 2, 1995

95 JUN 2 A10:00

To President Bill Clinton

As we discussed briefly on the phone, the world is in a quandary about Bosnia-Herzegovina. Let me be presumptuous and review the situation, even though I realize that you are much better informed than I could possibly be.

The basic question is, what can be done to end the bloodshed, sustain a peace initiative, and at the same time continue the isolation of the Bosnian Serbs for their unconscionable acts?

This question itself is the root of the problem. Knowing the major players personally in Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Pale, I am convinced that there is no way to resolve the conflict peacefully without being willing to talk with both sides to the dispute -- and by this I am including the Serbs in Bosnia.

Even if we can work out a deal with Milosevic, exchanging a lifting of the embargo for his recognition of Croatia and Bosnia, this may not assuage or control the Serbs in Bosnia. In fact, it may exacerbate divisions in the area.

There is an understandable affinity for the existing 51-49 plan among those who have negotiated it, with the Bosnian government adamantly objecting to any deviation from it. However, the Serbs have made it clear that they will not accept this territorial division in advance. We know that they are tough, parochial in their concepts, and almost impervious to international condemnation.

During the four-month cease-fire, the Serbs agreed to negotiate "on the basis of" the Contact Group-Sarajevo plan, but refused to "accept" it in advance. Subsequently, they presented to me (and, I think, to the Contact Group) their own map, which reduced their existing 70% of the territory to 53%. Although short of the 49% requirement, this could be an opening proposal for negotiation.

✓ Despite the obvious diplomatic reluctance, it may be necessary for the Contact Group to convene negotiating sessions in a neutral location without any precondition. With U.S. persuasion, the government would likely participate. During another cease-fire period, which I believe would be honored during peace talks, the international forces could reassess both political strategy and military deployments.

The final map may be somewhere between the 49% and 53% boundary lines, with some mutually agreed exchange of territory to accommodate legitimate needs by both sides. At the same time, the permanent status of Bosnia-Herzegovina can be explored, including the degree of autonomy for the three major ethnic groups and their freedom to affiliate in some way with their neighbors.

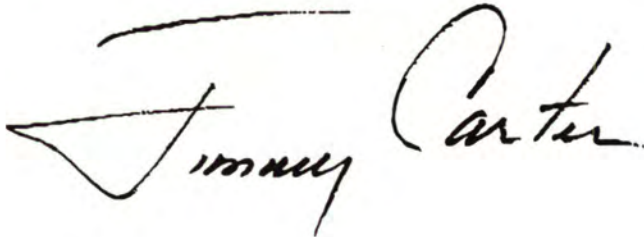
During further talks, NATO bombing can be retained as an option, all hostages released, relief routes open, and shelling of civilian zones prohibited.

[With approval from State, in April we offered to explore these premises with both sides. The Serbs agreed, but the government rejected this proposal, stating that prior acceptance of the Contact Group plan was the only basis on which any talks could begin.

If the Milosevic option does not work out and if it is not possible for the Group to explore new possibilities with both sides, we would like to make another unofficial effort to explore some common ground. We would need your approval, and some encouragement for the Sarajevo leaders to cooperate.

You have my best wishes as you wrestle with this intractable problem.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink on a white background.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

95 MAY 30 A 7:

May 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ~~PRESIDENT~~

FROM: Alexis Herman *AK*

RE: News Articles

You might be interested in the two news articles
on the Progressive Evangelical Network.

Attachments(2)

cc: Harold Ickes

AMH:RGM

*Gore Street
Hoping can help
R*

Rival to Christian Coalition is born

Religious leaders herald Progressive Evangelical Network

By Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Evangelicals who want the country to know they have a different brand of politics than the media-savvy Christian Coalition yesterday announced the formation of an alternative Christian organization.

With a statement signed by 100 religious leaders and visits to House Speaker Newt Gingrich and House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt, the Progressive Evangelical Network launched itself yesterday.

"We challenge any political litmus test that distorts the independent moral conscience that faith can bring to politics," said the group's founding statement, "The Cry for Renewal," released at a news conference.

Though signed by some mainline Protestant and Catholic leaders, the manifesto was drafted and backed mostly by evangelicals to clarify that the Christian Coalition does not speak for them.

"The religious right has been such a strong, singular media voice on matters of politics and morality that even the word 'Christian' has become associated with a particular brand of conservative Republican politics," said Jim Wallis, editor of *Sojourners* magazine.

Such Christians actually make up only a third of the nation's 60

million evangelicals, said Tony Campolo, a seminary professor at Eastern College in St. Davids, Pa., and an evangelist who runs an inner-city project near Philadelphia.

The Christian Coalition "is not morally authorized to speak for 23 million doctrinally conservative black Christians," said the Rev. Eugene Rivers, leader of the Azusa Christian Community in Dorchester, Mass.

The new group said it is not the "religious left," but the middle ground, which is "concerned about the subversion of prophetic religion when wealth and power are extolled rather than held accountable."

The group's first step in a three-part strategy is to gain a voice in evangelical forums, such as the National Association of Evangelicals and National Religious Broadcasters.

In addition, it will initiate a student movement, working with the InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, and encourage churches to become centers of "community politics."

At the news conference, a panel of more than a dozen endorsers attributed the success of the "religious right" to its radio and TV ministries, local organizing, money and simplifying of political

issues. Others said the right caters to racism, middle-class selfishness and Republicans.

"Their characterization of us is skewed from the outset," said Christian Coalition spokesman Mike Russell, noting that his group works with pro-family and pro-life Democrats.

"All of us are animated by our faith," Mr. Russell said. "We want to see the elected officials of our day address the decay of our society. The only way to do that is form a grass-roots movement that will make a difference at the polls on Election Day."

Mr. Campolo, a friend of President Clinton's, said that in the past decade, "we've been so busy doing community work, we have had no time or money to do media work."

Yet he thanked religious conservatives for "making Americans aware that politics is a religious matter."

Roberta Hestenes, president of Eastern College, said religious conservatives succumbed to the "seduction of power" and polarized politics. "As an evangelical Christian, I don't think salvation is by politics," she said.

Mr. Wallis likened the new group's approach to the civil-rights movement, whose nonviolent protests, community organizing and media exposure changed national politics.

The Washington Times
★ WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1995

Christian Leaders Challenge the Right

Ecumenical Group Urges Civic-Church 'Partnerships' to Tackle Community Problems

By Laurie Goodstein
Washington Post Staff Writer

An ecumenical group of more than 80 Christian leaders yesterday issued a challenge to the religious right and claimed to offer an alternative to those they accused of using the church to pursue a narrow partisan agenda and abandoning Jesus's call to serve the poor.

The coalition representing evangelicals, mainline Protestants, Catholics and Greek Orthodox, as well as African American church members, seeks to amplify the voices of Christians who have been whispering with dismay among themselves about the recent resurgence of the religious right in local and national politics.

"Even the word 'Christian' has become associated with a particular brand of very conservative Republican politics," said the Rev. Jim Wallis, founder of Sojourners magazine, based in Washington. "The religious contribution to the political debate of late has made it more divisive, polarized and less sensitive to the voiceless."

The ecumenical leaders said they do not plan to form a national organization or organize coherent opposition to politically potent groups like the conservative Christian Coalition. Instead they said they plan to foster "partnerships" between churches, local governments and businesses to combat problems such as unemployment, poverty and violence.

The group met yesterday with House Speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.), House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (Tex.) and other Republicans, and separately with Democratic legislators. Wallis said his group emphasized that "there really is another voice, and the Christian Coalition does not represent the whole evangelical community, let alone most of the churches."

Their Capitol Hill debut comes less than a week after the Christian Coalition unveiled a new 10-point "Contract With the American

Family," winning a pledge from Gingrich to bring each measure to a House vote.

Yesterday Gingrich told the ecumenical leaders he would hold an extended session with them next month to listen to the grievances of Christian activists whose community programs have been threatened by Republican-backed budget cuts and welfare reforms.

At a news conference at the National

"The religious contribution to the political debate of late has made it more divisive, polarized and less sensitive to the voiceless."

—Rev. Jim Wallis,
founder of Sojourners magazine

Press Club, the ecumenical leaders issued a two-page manifesto called "The Cry for Renewal," rejecting "the old political language and solutions of Right and Left, liberal and conservative" as "completely dysfunctional."

The statement criticizes the "almost total identification of the Religious Right with the new Republican majority in Washington." But it also condemns religious liberals whose alliance with the Democratic Party was "lacking in moral imagination or prophetic integrity."

The statement was drafted and spearheaded by two leaders widely known as religious liberals—Wallis and the Rev. Anthony Campolo, an evangelist based at Eastern College in St. Davids, Pa., who is the founder of several urban youth programs and a friend of President Clinton.

The signers also include moderate and conservative evangelicals such as J.I. Packer, a renowned theologian and senior editor at the magazine Christianity Today; Stephen Hayner, president of Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, which claims student activists on 800 campuses, and Myron Augsburger, president emeritus of the Christian College Coalition.

Mike Russell, spokesman for the Christian Coalition, said, "We are the first ones to admit that we don't speak for all people of faith. There are people who share our faith who don't share our politics, and there are people who share our politics who don't share our faith."

Russell said it was "unfair" to characterize the Christian Coalition as partisan because "we have a very up front track record of trying to work with both parties."

Among the signers of "The Cry for Renewal" are several prominent African American and Hispanic clergymen, including Bishop John Hurst Adams, senior bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Rev. James Forbes Jr., senior minister of the Riverside Church in Manhattan.

Leaders of the religious right, said Forbes, "preach concern for family values but do not respect families which have not been blessed with the benefits they have amassed for themselves. They gloat over a few dollars of tax relief when this in itself may result in the shutting down of social services which have sustained lives of brothers and sisters."

Campolo said his group would form a "progressive evangelical caucus" to represent an alternative at traditionally conservative evangelical events, encourage Christian students to organize through churches instead of campuses, and convene town meetings to address community problems like teenage pregnancy and "gay bashing."

The group shares some common ground with the religious right. "We agree that . . . most of the social and political issues we are facing have a moral core," Wallis said.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/3/95

June 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ABNER MIKVA *AM*
CHRIS CERF *cc*

RE: Forthcoming Testimony on Flag Burning Amendment

Senator Hatch has asked Walter Dellinger to testify before the Judiciary Committee next Tuesday to present the Administration's position on a proposed flag burning amendment. We have attached for your review a decision memo you previously signed on this issue as well as relevant excerpts from your remarks at the "veterans roundtable" last week. As there is some minor tension between the two, we thought it prudent to solicit your views prior to authorizing Walter to proceed.

We have also drafted an outline we propose that Walter follow. We recommend that you authorize testimony along these lines.

✓
Agree

Disagree

Let's Discuss

*I would change
only last para as noted,
~~not~~ just a subtle change
of emphasis—*

OUTLINE OF PROPOSED TESTIMONY ON FLAG DESECRATION AMENDMENT

- . The President has a long and vocal record in support of protecting the Flag from burning and other forms of desecration. His abhorrence of those who would show disrespect to our national symbol is profound and unambiguous.
- . As governor, he supported legislation that would have outlawed all intentional desecration of the American Flag.
- . Also as governor, he initiated a state-wide "Flag Respect" program designed to encourage a better understanding and appreciation of both the Flag and the Pledge of Allegiance. The program has since been adopted by other states, and the President has received awards from both the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Vietnam Veterans of America for his support of the program.
- . While the President worked hard to craft legislation that would survive Supreme Court review, it now appears that that goal cannot be achieved.
- . Nonetheless, he is reluctant to support the proposed Constitutional amendment. There is an enormous difference between Congress enacting legislation to protect the Flag and Congress proposing to amend the Constitution.
- . To be clear, our sympathy is with those who believe that the flag is a unique symbol and as such should be protected from physical violation. The fundamental question, however, is whether that desire draws upon considerations of sufficient magnitude to trigger not legislation but the extraordinary process of a constitutional amendment. We are not persuaded that it does.
- . The Bill of Rights was ratified in 1792. Since then, the Constitution has been amended only 17 times. And the Bill of Rights itself has never been amended. This sparing resort to the amendment process reflects a long held tradition that the fundamental law should not be freely amended.
- . James Madison noted that constitutional amendments ought to be limited to "certain great and extraordinary occasions." He also objected to the use of the amendment process when appeals to passion are likely to be a driving force.
- . The proposed Flag Burning amendment ~~would violate both of these principles.~~ *Does not meet these standards* While we all do, and should, object in the strongest terms to any form of flag desecration, we should not use this occasion to tinker with the Bill of Rights.

3/22
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a memo from Ab Mikva and Chris Cerf on a constitutional amendment to ban flag burning which Senator Hatch and others are expected to propose.

Ab and Chris recommend that, if asked about this, you reiterate your abhorrence to flag burning and your regret that the problem evidently cannot be solved legislatively, but oppose a constitutional amendment on the ground that the Bill of Rights is too precious to be tinkered with. Your rationale for opposing the amendment would thus not be that reprehensible forms of speech like this still deserve constitutional protection.

Leon concurs with the recommendation to oppose an amendment. George does too, though he points out that your August 16, 1990 letter to a constituent (see p. 2 of the attachment to the memo) might be construed as tacit support for an amendment.

Approve___ Disapprove___ Discuss___

Ted
Todd Stern

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
March 8, 1995

55 MAR 11 AM 11:42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON PANETTA

FROM: ABNER J. MIKVA
CHRISTOPHER D. CERF

SUBJECT: Proposed Flag Burning Amendment

Senator Hatch and others intend to propose a constitutional amendment granting "Congress and the States . . . the power to prohibit the physical desecration of the Flag of the United States of America." Attached are: (1) a brief chronology of relevant events and (2) a collection of your previous statements on the issue.

In 1989, after the Supreme Court struck down a Texas statute that criminalized flag burning, you responded by: (1) expressing your abhorrence of flag burning; (2) sponsoring legislation that banned such conduct (hoping that it would pass constitutional muster); and (3) initiating an award-winning "flag respect" educational program. In 1991, after a second Supreme Court opinion struck down a similar federal statute, the Arkansas state legislature passed a non-binding resolution urging Congress to propose a constitutional amendment. (43 states have now done the same.) We are informed that such a "memorializing resolution" would not have required the governor's signature. Nor, so far as we are aware, have you ever specifically endorsed a constitutional "fix." Indeed, on one occasion, you expressed your disinclination to carve out a "specific exception" to the Bill of Rights.

Discussion

If asked directly about your position, we recommend that you:

(1) Express your complete abhorrence of flag burning, as reflected by your established record on the issue.

(2) Note, with regret, that it would appear that the problem is not amenable to a legislative solution.

(3) But, nonetheless, express your opposition to a constitutional amendment on the grounds that the Bill of Rights, which has survived unchanged for 200 years, is too precious for this kind of tinkering. This position is premised on a reverence for the Constitution and an appreciation for our historical reluctance to resort to the amendment process lightly. It does not, however, depend on "first amendment values," i.e., the view that even reprehensible forms of speech should be protected.

Agree ☒

Disagree ☐

Let's Discuss ☐

lt
dis
not
equi

Flag Burn

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D

26-May-1995 03:28pm

TO: (See Below)
FROM: Margaret M. Suntum
Office of the Press Secretary
SUBJECT: INTERNAL TRANSCRIPT: Remarks at Veterans Roundtab

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

May 26, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN VETERANS ROUNDTABLE

The Roosevelt Room

1:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Whoever wants to go first, have at it.

Q Mr. President, the Fleet Reserve Association supports a concept called Medicare -- and this plan would allow the health care financing administration to reimburse the Department of Veterans Affairs for medical services provided to veterans, age 65 and older. I think this was part of your health care plan, something you --

THE PRESIDENT: It was.

Q -- but I'd still like some comments. We as an association feel that it would profit our veterans. It would also be a cheaper way to go, and we'd very much appreciate your remarks on this.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as you know it was a part of my health care reform package, and I might say just by the way, I still have some hope that before this budget process is finalized, when the Senate and House Republicans look at the

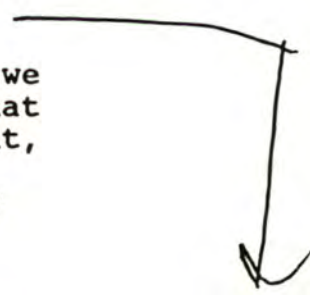
and explain why this was a wrong-headed way to deal with the 50th anniversary of the second world war, then we will not have historical revisionism as a way of dealing with contemporary sensitivities. There are other ways to deal with the realities of today without rewriting what happened 50 years ago.

I feel very strongly about it. But I think that the common sense center of American feels this way so strongly that the main advise I have to you is just to make sure that you speak out about it, that you write about it, and we make a clear record of what went wrong here so we don't do it anymore.

Q American Legion -- Mr. President. Yesterday we had the first tangible action up on Capitol Hill on an issue that a lot of the organizations around this table feel strongly about, and that's the constitutional amendment on the flag. Can you tell us a little bit where you stand and how you see the issue?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I don't know very much about where it is because I have been overwhelmingly preoccupied with the terrorism legislation and the budget issues in the last few days. And the President also neither signs, nor

Press RETURN to continue, GOLD MENU for options or EXIT to cancel



vetoed proposed constitutional amendments. It's a referral to the states.

I believe -- I disagreed with the Supreme Court decision that said that the statutes weren't legal. I mean, I didn't agree with the decision. And I supported statutory relief. And I had a flag education program that we organized with the veterans groups in Arkansas -- we went into every fifth-grade class in the state just about with a program we put together that we got some national recognition on, didn't we, from the veterans groups, because it was an amazing thing. We had all these veterans in the wake of all that flag burning a few years ago -- flooded our schools and our kids. We found out there were whole classrooms where kids didn't know anything about the flag, how it was supposed to be treated. Some of them didn't even recite the Pledge of Allegiance. Some of them would put their left hand over their heart instead of their right. It was amazing what we found.

So we made something good happen out of something bad. And so I'm very proud of that, and I don't believe that desecration of the flag has to be legal. I think you can make it illegal. Having said that, I have to be honest and tell you that I, as a man who has been the target of a lot of the exercise of the First Amendment -- probably nobody has paid much of a higher price than I have for believing in the First Amendment -- I'm always loathe to see the Constitution amended when it affects the First Amendment, just because I'm always scared how the courts are going to interpret it.

But I personally believe that people ought not to desecrate the flag, and I've done what I could. I thought we had the best response in the country to all that flag-burning, both in the legislation we passed, which has, as you know, been subsequently set aside by the court -- but also in the education we promoted. I have mixed feelings about the constitutional amendment just because it amends the First Amendment, and I've always been for a very broad view of the First Amendment. But it's one fight that I don't have to be involved in one way or the other. (Laughter.) I've got enough to do.

Q Mark Peterson, Stars and Stripes. Later today you're going to be signing the presidential order to establish the Persian Gulf Advisory Committee. Is that going to be independent of the VA-DOD Health and Human Services Joint Task Force, and if so, what exactly that commission going to do that the task force is not doing?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I will release the -- obviously, later today I will release the executive order on the composition of the committee. But I decided to do this because there were so many continuing questions about whether there had been a truly independent look at what was causing the Persian Gulf illness. And this committee has two Gulf War veterans on it, 12 doctors, scientists, defense experts, and veterans. And I just wanted not only to have our government able to pay for disable veterans with undiagnosed illnesses that we believe were connected to their service, but I wanted the people there. I've got some of these Persian Gulf War veterans and I

Back to Don Beer

Draft

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION -- VERSION B
JUNE 3, 1995

Good morning. Last week, I heard about a letter that was sent to the chief executives of 82 major American corporations. It warned these CEO's that their corporations contributed funds to organizations which, and I'm quoting now, "support expansion of the welfare state."

I suspect most Americans will be as surprised as I was when you hear exactly what groups this letter went after. Among others, it condemned contributions to the American Cancer Society, the American Heart Association, the American Lung Association, the League of Women Voters, B'nai B'rith, the NAACP, the Nature Conservancy, and the Chamber of Commerce.

The amazing thing is that this letter wasn't sent by some extremist hate group. It was sent on official-looking stationery by the Majority Leader of the United States House of Representatives.

I can't understand why the Majority Leader wants people to give less to groups that are dedicated to reducing disease, fighting racism, protecting the environment, promoting jobs, and encouraging Americans to vote. We have a long and noble history in this country of supporting private groups fighting to improve our lives.

Voluntary organizations are an important and powerful alternative to government. They are a concrete expression of the great American spirit and sense of community that has helped to build this country and make it great. I don't believe any government official should send an "un-fundraising" letter targeting these valuable, mainstream organizations because he or she doesn't agree with every single position a group might take. These groups shouldn't have to pass the litmus test of any political leader in order to qualify for voluntary support from the American people -- their good work to help our country is more than qualification enough.

Especially in this time of government belt-tightening, we need more people helping to fight cancer, and heart disease, and lung disease. We need more people fighting hatred, racism, and anti-semitism. We need more people helping to protect the environment, helping to fight for American jobs, and getting involved in the electoral process. That's the American way.

So I really can't believe that the Majority Leader would send a letter urging big businesses not to contribute to charities like the Cancer Society, the Heart Association, and the Lung Association. These groups are doing crucial work fighting disease and funding research to determine causes and develop cures. Especially as Congress seems determined to try and slash funding for important medical research, we need more and more Americans sending personal funds to help these groups. Nobody should

discourage anybody from helping out.

Another group on this list is the League of Women Voters. I know them very well. They sponsor Presidential debates between candidates of both parties. They do a lot of terrific work to increase public awareness and understanding of issues and candidates during elections. They always take great care to explain both sides in any contest. If this fosters the welfare state, it's news to me.

The Nature Conservancy is a tireless defender of our planet and environment against degradation and pollution. They have bought up land from coast to coast with the sole goal of preserving and protecting it. They should only be congratulated, and certainly not condemned.

The Chamber of Commerce speaks up for American jobs and productivity. I haven't always agreed with them, and they certainly haven't always supported me or everything I've done. But they have always stood up for American businesses and jobs, and I have always respected their integrity and commitment to mainstream values. I can't for the life of me understand how anyone could accuse the U.S. Chamber of Commerce of fostering the welfare state.

Finally, attacking B'nai B'rith and the NAACP is particularly wrong. These two organizations are dedicated to stamping out

racism and anti-Semitism. We should all follow their example, not cut them down. We must all join together to stop hate speech and hate crimes. The results are all too plain, if we don't.

Beyond what I consider to be the misguided labeling of these groups as unworthy of support, I am particularly concerned with the whole idea of name calling. These are exceptional organizations. I can't imagine Americans being opposed to their high-minded goals. If anyone objects to a group's specific positions on certain issues then, by all means, speak against it. But to try and discredit them with broad-brushed attacks, like "the welfare state" is unfair, dishonest, and unwarranted.

We need, more than ever, to come together as a nation and work together to solve our problems as we move into the 21st century. Any group that is dedicated to helping us solve those problems is acting in the best tradition of the American spirit of service. They deserve our thanks and our support. They certainly have mine, and I hope they have yours as well.

Thanks for listening.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/3/95

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION -- VERSION A
JUNE 3, 1995

Good morning. In a few days, Congress will return from their Memorial Day recess. There's a lot of work ahead in the next few months, and a lot of different bills and proposals competing for attention. Many of these proposals deal with important issues, but a few are especially urgent. Four pieces of legislation deserve top priority, and I urge Congress to get them done before its next recess, July 4th.

First, I sent Congress a sweeping proposal to crack down on terrorism and help protect innocent Americans. In the immediate aftermath of the Oklahoma City tragedy, Congressional leaders promised to have that bill on my desk by Memorial Day. Well, we all know that Memorial Day has come and gone -- and I'm still waiting for the anti-terrorism bill.

This bill gives law enforcement officials the new tools to crack down on terrorists they asked for after Oklahoma City. It will provide 1,000 new law enforcement personnel, a domestic anti-terrorism center, and tough new punishments for trafficking in stolen explosives. It will help track terrorists down by marking explosive materials so they can be traced more efficiently. It will help the authorities monitor terrorists by allowing them to move legal wiretaps when terrorists move their headquarters. And it will allow law enforcement to call on the unique resources and technical expertise of the military when chemical or biological

weapons threaten Americans here at home -- just as they can already call on those capabilities to fight nuclear threats.

Some Members of Congress are opposed to a few of these proposals. They have the right -- and the responsibility -- to review my bill to make sure the civil liberties of American citizens are not infringed. But there is no excuse for Congress to delay action any further. Terrorists don't delay. They sow death and destruction on their own timetable, and we must do everything we can to stop them from succeeding.

Second, Congress must pass a sensible budget that cuts government spending at the same time it invests in Americans working to build a successful future. I know Congress can do that, because that's exactly what my budgets have done for the last two years. I have said it before and I will say it again: The budget should be balanced. But there's a right way and a wrong way to do it.

The economic plan I proposed, and Congress passed, two years ago, is already cutting the deficit by over \$1 Trillion in seven years. At the same time, we invested in the education and training of our people -- from Head Start through college -- so more Americans can learn the skills they need to get and keep high-paying jobs. I want to build on the deficit reduction we've started. I also want to give a modest tax cut to middle-class Americans to help them invest in their education and their future. We can and should do both.

But I am opposed to balancing the budget on the backs of elderly Americans or our children. We must not cut education or gut Medicare in order to pay for a huge tax-cut for the wealthiest Americans. Instead, we must cut wasteful spending and continue to invest in our people.

In that spirit, I want to once again urge Congress to pass a rescission bill that cuts pork in the current budget, not people. I want to sign a rescission bill. I want to cut another \$16 Billion of wasteful spending this year, and give the American people a down payment on more deficit reduction. But I will not sign the rescission bill in its present form. Congress has it backwards. They are cutting education spending so they can save pet projects. If they fix it, if they protect education and cut pork, I'll sign the rescission in a New York Minute.

Finally, I want Congress to pass a serious welfare reform bill that restores the mainstream values of work, family, and responsibility. We must demand work by setting definite time limits for welfare recipients and enforcing strict work requirements. We must promote family by passing the toughest possible child support enforcement.

But we must not punish children for their parent's mistakes. We must not cut people off just to save money without helping them get the education and childcare they need to get and hold down a job. We can and must work together to pass a welfare reform bill

that moves people to work and doesn't punish children.

A comprehensive anti-terrorism bill as soon as possible. A responsible budget that cuts spending and moves us toward a balanced budget while it protects Medicare and education. A rescission bill that cuts pork from the budget without hurting people. Serious welfare reform. This is what I urge Congress to do before they leave town for Independence Day.

I am eager to work with Congress on all these things. Let's keep the fireworks out of our work in the next few weeks, and save them to mark our success on the 4th. That way, the American people will have good reason to celebrate.

Thanks for listening.

Wm. R. Wilson, Jr.
600 West Capitol, Room 149
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
501-324-6863

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6.2.95

May 12, 1995

President William Jefferson Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C. 20544

My Dear Mr. President:

Jim and Lee Powell have just finished a biography on Senator Fulbright. I read portions of the manuscript, and believe it is extremely well written, and an important work on the life of a great American.

The book is generally favorable to Fulbright, but it doesn't pull any punches (for example it candidly discusses his studied failure to step front and center, during the great civil rights crisis of the 50's and 60's).

Lee and Jim talked to me the other day and asked me if I would talk to you about the possibility of your writing a forward to this fine book. I hereby submit this possibility to you for your consideration.

Cordially,

Wm. R. Wilson, Jr.

Leon (B) Gears
I'm inclined to do
them Powell was the editor
of the Mr. Gears
JR

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

6.2.95

United States District Court
for the District of Columbia
Washington, DC 20001

June 1, 1995

Chambers of
Joyce Hens Green
United States District Judge

AW/Utley
(UCKY RADD)

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

Dear Mr. President:

Please be advised that on July 1, 1995, I intend to retire from regular active service as a United States District Judge for the District of Columbia, pursuant to the provisions of 28 U.S.C. § 371(b)(1). It is my intention to continue to render substantial judicial service to the Court in senior status.

I shall forever treasure the extraordinary opportunity to serve on this Court.

Now is the time to move forward, while happy, healthy, energetic, enthusiastic and steadfastly curious about the world and its inhabitants. So much to see, so much to do. I eagerly await the opening of yet another window on the amazing adventure of life.

Respectfully,

Joyce Hens Green

Joyce Hens Green

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 16, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR LAURA TYSON, NEC
SANDY BERGER, NSC
BO CUTTER, NEC
KATIE McGINTY, OEP
MIKE McCURRY, PRESS
ANDY SENS, NSC
MELANNE VERVEER, OFL
RICH WILHELM, OVP
DAVID LANE, NEC
JOAN SPERO, STATE
ALEC WATSON, STATE
RICH BROWN, STATE
JEFF GARTEN, COMMERCE
CHARLENE BARSHEFSKY, USTR
LARRY SUMMERS, TREASURY
ANDREW SAMET, LABOR
MARK SCHNEIDER, AID

Sharon
OK to
go
Rohlf
6/2/95

Janet Abrams
62857
report
needs approval
to go to print
FW

FROM: MACK McLARTY *Mack McLarty*
SUBJECT: SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS REPORT

Attached is the final draft of the Summit Report. I believe it will be a valuable communications tool as we move forward to implement the commitments made in Miami. We are ready to send the report to press and would appreciate knowing if there are any critical changes you feel must be made to the document. Please contact Richard Feinberg's office with your comments no later than Wednesday, May 24, 1995. (Phone: 456-9131; Fax 456-9130)

I would also ask that you submit to Rich Brown's office at the State Department your proposed distribution list for the report. Upon publication, we will mail several thousand reports to Members of Congress, the Summit partners, press, NGOs, and other interested parties. Your lists are due by Wednesday, May 24, 1995, as well.

Many thanks for the significant contributions you have all made to this project.



Building a Partnership for Prosperity

White House Report on The Summit of the Americas

Miami, Florida - December 9-11, 1994