



NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENT

August 29, 1995

JAMES R. LYONS
UNDER SECRETARY

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

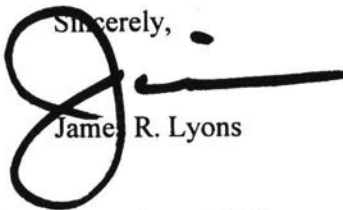
I want to express my sincere apologies for failing to meet your expectations in response to the forest fires in Westhampton, Long Island this past week. I have greatly appreciated the faith you have shown in me over the past two years in dealing with difficult issues -- from the L.A. fires, to the Forest Conference and development of the forest plan for the Pacific NW, to salvage timber sales. But on this one, clearly we did not come through.

I have directed that a complete investigation of the circumstances surrounding this incident be completed. A preliminary report will be sent to Harold Ickes today. I can only commit that these problems will not be repeated.

In the 24 hours after you gave the order to assist, we mobilized over 250 personnel, including firefighters from across the country and an incident command team to direct firefighting efforts. Aircraft we mobilized, including single engine bombers, helicopters, and other support were on the fire the next day and played a critical role in bringing it under control. FEMA and the Forest Service performed well, except for one, significant mistake. Thank God that mistake had little impact on our firefighting efforts.

I am proud to be a member of the Clinton Administration and proud of what this Administration has accomplished to date and the role that I have played. I hope you can accept this apology and my commitment to do better in the future.

Sincerely,



James R. Lyons

14TH & INDEPENDENCE AVENUE, S.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250
(202) 720-7173

cc:
Lesen
Harold
Baskine
Silverman

Câmara Municipal de Lisboa Presidents

95 AUG 31 P 4:08

Waney?
STAFF
SEE

His Excellency
The President of the United States

Your Excellency,

On behalf of the delegates of the VIII General Assembly of the International Association of Peace Messenger Cities, gathered in Lisboa, from the 26th to the 29th July, I am pleased to enclose a copy of the resolution on the abolition of nuclear weapon tests adopted by unanimity.

This resolution testifies the vital force of local communities for the construction of a fraternal world, contributing for the promotion of peace and security of all nations around the world.

I take this opportunity to renew, to Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Lisboa, the 18th August 1995

The Mayor,

Jorge Sampaio

-Jorge Sampaio-

Oficio nº 915/P/95

8-31-95

Todd -

Send to NSC for
action?

Yes ☒

no ☐



ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES VILLES MESSAGÈRES DE LA PAIX INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PEACE MESSENGER CITIES

RESOLUTION

Gathered for the 8th General Assembly of the International Association of Peace Messenger Cities at Lisbon, Portugal on July 27th, 1995;

Affirming the *raison d'être* of the existence of the organization of Cities designated Peace Messenger Cities by resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations on 24th October, 1985 (resolution 40/3) which states "the promotion of international peace and security requires continuing and positive action aimed at the prevention of war expressed in practical terms, the common aspiration of all peoples for peace";

Recognizing the statement of the Government of France to renew testing of nuclear weapons in the South Pacific; deploring the most recent testing of nuclear weapons by the Government of China; frightened by the rumored commencement of testing by the other nuclear weapons states; adding to this is the fiftieth anniversary of the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which wrought tragedies unparalleled in the history of humankind, providing valuable lessons for all of humanity;

Recalling the vigorous statement and resolutions of the International Association of Peace Messenger Cities calling for a Comprehensive Test Ban and total elimination of nuclear weapons;

Appreciating the concern of the non-nuclear weapon states that the recent Nuclear-Proliferation Treaty Conference, held in New York, on April 17, 1995 legitimizes the monopoly of the nuclear weapons by the five permanent Security Council members and their questioning the sincerity of the pledge to negotiate a permanent Comprehensive Test Ban in 1996 by the nuclear weapons states, and, finally, albeit reluctantly, agreeing to the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty with a mandate including a voluntarily imposed ban on testing in the interim prior to its conclusion;

Realizing that resumption of testing by any nation flies in the face of the lessons of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the assembled delegates solemnly reiterate their opposition to testing; insist testing violates the spirit and tenor of the Nuclear Proliferation treaty to which the nuclear-weapons states are signatories; appeal to the Government of France to rescind the decision to resume testing and to all nuclear-weapons states to desist from testing and seize this opportunity to create a world free of nuclear weapons - the dream of all peoples of the world. Such efforts will not only restore international credibility, but will help to protect the environment and the very future of humankind.

Further, resolve that copies of this Resolution be sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations; the Heads of States of the nuclear-weapon powers, all international news bureaus and media.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1995

Mr. President:

Attached are two items from Bob Reich on the problems of stagnant incomes: a copy of Steve Rattner's recent op-ed in The New York Times and Bob's speech to the Center for National Policy.

I have also forwarded a copy of these to Don Baer.

Todd Stern

VP

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

95 AUG 31 09:47
August 30

To: The President / HRC
Fr: His Secretary of Labor
F41

- ① Rattner's piece in yesterday's
NY Times
- ② my speech

Leaky Boats on the Rising Tide

By Steven Rattner

It's time to move on from the debate about whether income distribution in America is becoming more unequal. Countless studies have confirmed the greatest imbalance of earnings in decades. What we need is a partnership between Government and businesses that can attack the problem not by bringing down the rich but by lifting the rest of Americans.

Since 1973, annual earnings of the bottom 10 percent of workers have dropped by 24 percent (after adjustment for inflation), while those of the top 20 percent have increased by 10 percent. As a result, the United States — the great egalitarian society — has the widest income disparity of any modern democratic nation.

And the problem has gotten worse over the last four years, a period during which more than seven million jobs were created and inflation

Steven Rattner is a managing director of Lazard Frères & Company, investment bankers.

and interest rates remained low. The average worker's wage dropped 2.3 percent (in real terms) during the fiscal year that ended March 31.

No one should doubt the risks of stagnant incomes and greater inequality. Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, said recently that the trend toward greater income disparity could be "a major threat to our society." Sustained economic growth can't occur without rising personal incomes to support consumer purchases. Can it be a coincidence that the last great period of income inequality — the 1920's — ended with the Great Depression?

The diminishing standard of living for many breeds resentment over issues like affirmative action and immigration. And conflict also grows between workers and bosses when a chief executive makes 150 times the average worker's salary (up from 35 times in 1974, as reported by Business Week).

With all these social and economic pressures, the current political instability — rampant anti-incumbent sentiment and talk of third parties and independent candidates — can hardly be surprising.

To reduce the income gap, we must do something about its source: the mismatch between the skills of the work force and the jobs that are available. Recent job creation has occurred mostly in the highly skilled, professional and managerial areas; but too

Clinton's plans to help workers are worth trying.

few workers are being prepared for such jobs. And even these jobs are at risk, since corporations are increasingly hiring educated workers overseas who will work for less.

As a result, for all but a highly skilled few, workers simply don't command the leverage they used to, particularly since the companies they work for face stiffer global competition. Thus, although worker productivity has been rising — the key ingredient for increased future in-

comes — the fruits of the recovery have been shoring up the bottom line rather than reaching workers.

Take the case of American Airlines, whose Transport Workers Union agreed this month to trade wage increases for job and pay protection. For the next three years, 27,000 employees, from mechanics to meteorologists, will receive no across-the-board pay increases. For the three years after that, they will receive only minimal increases. In addition, the airline will be able to hire new workers for less-skilled jobs at lower wages.

The same week came the report of the fate of 800 workers in West Virginia, forced to take lower-paying jobs when Maytag closed a vending-machine plant and opened a new, lower-wage factory in South Carolina.

Some workers are beginning to adjust to the new economy. The growing wage disparity and scarcity of good jobs has already encouraged young Americans to pursue more education. But Government also has a role to play in easing the oversupply of workers competing for low-skilled jobs. That means education initiatives that embrace the market.

One such approach would be to offer corporations tax incentives to encourage more training.

Training by employers, however, is not enough; many employers train very narrowly for the job immediately at hand. This can limit a worker's flexibility rather than enhance it. To avoid this pitfall, the Clinton Administration has put forth two creative proposals. First, families making less than \$120,000 a year would be permitted to deduct up to \$10,000 a year for education and training costs. The Administration would also replace some 70 Federal jobs programs with a voucher system that would pay up to \$2,620 a year for up to two years to allow workers the flexibility to get training where the jobs are.

In a period of anti-government backlash, these ideas should be greeted with enthusiasm. But Congressional Republicans have ignored the issue. Indeed, their proposals, essentially huge cuts in everything, would worsen matters. While proposals like the Administration's aren't the only solution, we need to give them a try. It's fine for the rich to get richer. It's not fine for everyone else to get poorer. □

Frayed-Collar Workers in Gold-Plated Times:
The State of the American Workforce 1995

Robert B. Reich
U.S. Secretary of Labor

Center for National Policy
Washington, D.C.
August 31, 1995

What's happened to the American economy since last Labor Day?

A year ago the unemployment rate was 6.1 percent. We won't have August's unemployment rate until tomorrow, but July marked the eleventh consecutive month below 6 percent. A year ago, the American economy hummed with 114 million jobs. Today, it brims with well more than 116 million. A year ago, the stock market was strong. Today, it's reached dizzying heights. Corporate profits are surging. Figures released yesterday show that profits in the past year rose 5.2 percent. On Labor Day 1995, by almost every traditional measure, the economy has had a solid year.

But as I travel the country listening to American workers and their families, I hear voices that respectfully dissent from that conclusion. The business page economy might be doing fine, these voices say, but from the perspective of my home the economy isn't doing so great. At my home, we're still living from paycheck to paycheck. We still can't save for retirement. If I want to earn enough to pay the bills, I can't spend enough time with my kids to raise them right. My job -- and our health insurance -- is none too secure. And how are we going to pay for college? Whose economy, they ask me, are you talking about?

The economy has caught fire. But the gains to most workers have gone up in smoke. Last year at this time, the median worker in this country--the person who'd be smack in the middle if we lined up Americans by their earnings--was taking home \$479 a week. This year, factoring in inflation, the median wage is \$475 a week--four dollars less in every weekly paycheck. And both this year's and last year's figures are lower (again adjusted for inflation) than the \$498 median weekly wage in 1979.

On Labor Day, 1995, the earnings of most American workers are either stuck in the mud or sinking. Millions of white-collar supervisors and mid-level managers are joining blue-collar production workers in a common category, frayed-collar workers--frayed collar workers in gold-plated times.

In macroeconomic terms, the nation is prospering. But

Americans do not live by macroeconomics. They live by home economics. They don't live by official statistics. They live by the number that matters most: the figure on their family paycheck.

The state of the American workforce this Labor Day is not bad -- but not nearly as good, paradoxically, as the state of the economy. Profits are up. Paychecks are not.

We should celebrate the good fortunes of Americans who are becoming wealthier -- the highly-skilled and well-educated portion of the workforce. But there is something terribly wrong, terribly unAmerican, about the fact that the economy's prosperity is bypassing so many working people. I am not referring to some unfortunate sliver of the population. I am talking about most full-time workers.

Closing the gap between paychecks and profits is our great remaining challenge. The steady decline in the median wage and the widening gulf between the rich and the rest, threatens the stability and prosperity of our nation. There are many indicators of this trend, and I direct your attention to the appendix of facts that economists in my office have compiled and that accompanies this speech.

Instead of reciting numbers, I'd like to tell a story -- only the most recent tale of frayed-collar workers in gold-plated times. This week, we learned about 12,000 more American jobs that will disappear. For most of us, 12,000 jobs going away -- 12,000 families being affected -- is bad news. But this news was greeted quite happily.

When two giant banks -- Chemical and Chase Manhattan -- decided to merge this week, white-gloved Wall Street high-fived the market's invisible hand. The announcement sent the stock prices of each bank climbing, and shareholders stand to reap a total of \$2.5 billion in gains. The corporate CEOs who hammered out the deal were praised for their vision and their toughness. So was the fund manager who helped force the deal. The lawyers and the investment bankers who hashed out the details also made out well. Almost lost in the celebration were the people who would lose these 12,000 jobs.

There are understandable reasons why banks decide to merge - economies of scale, more efficient use of new technologies. After all, none of us will prosper if we attempt to hold back technological progress or withdraw from the global economy. Chase and Chemical are not the villains of this story.

But this episode is yet another symptom of the disconnect between the paycheck economy and the paper economy. Jobs disappear and the markets cheer. There's something wrong with

this picture.

Now, the men and women who lose those 12,000 jobs will likely find new ones -- though perhaps not right away, perhaps not as good. But their experience, witnessed nationwide, intensifies the pervasive sense among average workers today that they're lucky to hold on to the jobs they have. American workers have been silenced by this, and by a thousand other such bitter demonstrations of their status. They won't complain if they don't get a raise, even if their company is making bundles of money. Many will even accept cuts in pay or benefits. When you feel your choices boil down to take it or leave it, there's not much to say.

So let this weekend celebrate this silent majority of American workers. And let us not forget that this coming Tuesday, when Labor Day weekend ends, tens of millions of these hard-working Americans will rise at dawn, dress the kids, make the breakfast, drive to child care or school, put in a long day's work, pick up the kids, scrape together dinner, put the kids to bed, clean the house, and yet still find the energy to listen to their children, talk to them about their problems and their fears, and read them a story before tucking them into bed.

These are the real heroes of the American economy. These Americans need the wind at their back if they are ever to cross the gulf of prosperity.

What does this mean specifically?

It means, first, a higher minimum wage. The current minimum wage of \$4.25 an hour is heading toward a 40-year low. Someone who works full-time at that wage brings home \$8,500 for a year's work--not enough to support a family. And some 40 percent of these people are their family's sole breadwinner.

It means an expanded Earned Income Tax Credit that makes work pay by putting money back in the pockets of 15 million tax-paying working families with modest incomes.

It means good schools--schools that give our kids a good start in life. We can't expect children to learn in classes of 30 or more, managed by teachers who must spend their time and energies maintaining simple order, during a school day lasting barely five hours.

It means low-interest direct college loans for any student who seeks higher education--and a family tax break for college tuition, the most important investment a family can make.

It means youth apprenticeships for kids who may not go directly on to college, so they can learn on the job. And skill

vouchers for people who lose their jobs and need to get new skills at a local community college.

It means affordable and safe child care. And time off from work to take care of a sick child or parent.

It means enforcing the nation's labor laws, coming down hard on employers who cheat and abuse their workers, and shutting down sweatshops that have no place in a civilized country.

It means a robust labor union movement, so workers can boost their bargaining power in order to earn a family wage.

And it means companies that treat their workers as assets to be developed rather than as costs to be cut. Companies that don't pass out pink slips while piling up profits. Companies that give workers a share of the wealth their hard work has created. Companies that invest in their workers' skills--not just in machines to replace them.

That's what it means. And that is the agenda we are pursuing. It is an agenda centered on home economics--an agenda for the blue-collar and pink-collar and white-collar workers who are struggling to build a decent life for their families. Some of this agenda is already accomplished. But there is far, far more to do. The long-term decline in the median wage, and the widening gap between the well-off and ordinary working families, can not be reversed easily or quickly. We are on our way, but it will be a long road.

And yet, there are some who want to reverse this direction. Often, they stride under the banner of "family values," but they lead a parade that's marching backwards.

They refuse to raise the minimum wage. They want to cut child care, Head Start, and the Earned Income Tax Credit for the working poor. They want to cut college loans, reduce opportunities for young people to make the transition from school to work, and slash other funds for education and job training.

They claim budget-balancing as their goal. But the details of their plan betray the values they claim to cherish.

For the fiscal year beginning October 1, they aim to spend an extra \$7 billion on national defense--\$7 billion more than even the Pentagon says it needs or can use--\$7 billion that they want to cut from education, job training, Head Start, and other investments in the economic security of our families.

Meanwhile, they refuse to touch tens of billions of dollars of special tax loopholes and subsidies for particular industries and companies--benefits that well-heeled corporate lobbyists have

written into the law--handouts which keep corporations in a perpetual state of welfare dependence. When the chairman of the House Budget Committee presented his Republican colleagues with a loophole-closing plan earlier this year, they blinked. Despite their call for austerity for working people, this Congress is open for business.

They want billions of dollars in additional tax breaks for companies that buy new machines, but not one penny of new tax breaks for investments in the skills of working men and women.

They want to chop the Earned Income Tax Credit for working families, and plan to award the proceeds to well-off Americans on the other side of the gulf of prosperity, in the form of a capital gains tax break.

There's an Alice-in-Wonderland quality to their logic. Liberate the economy with deregulation and tax breaks for companies and the rich, they say, and all Americans will prosper. Lift the heavy hand of government and set the markets free! But the economy is already liberated enough to sprint merrily away from a majority of Americans. The problem is that wages are stagnant while profits surge -- so how can higher profits be the whole solution?

Many of these politicians speak fervently of family values, but they leave out home economics. They talk passionately about the breakdown of American homes, but they neglect to mention the breakdown of family incomes.

They do recognize the frustrations of working families. But they direct these frustrations against fake targets: against immigrants, against welfare mothers, against affirmative action policies, against our own government.

The politics of resentment--of blame and intolerance--presents a distorted mirror image of the values most families try to transmit to their children. This technique pits working families against working families, or against the very poor, in a fight over a smaller and smaller slice of national income.

The true test of a society is its willingness to face up to its core problems--not to deny them, not to project them on to scapegoats, not to be diverted by issues of the moment nor become easily discouraged when the problems are not quickly solved--but to work at them with steadfast commitment and a fair sharing of whatever sacrifice is entailed.

For example, next week the Senate will debate welfare reform. There will be much pounding of fists and macho harumphing about the decline of family values. But does anyone really doubt that the best anti-poverty, pro-family policy ever invented is a

written into the law--handouts which keep corporations in a perpetual state of welfare dependence. When the chairman of the House Budget Committee presented his Republican colleagues with a loophole-closing plan earlier this year, they blinked. Despite their call for austerity for working people, this Congress is open for business.

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For example, next week the Senate will debate welfare reform. There will be much pounding of fists and macho harumphing about the decline of family values. But does anyone really doubt that the best anti-poverty, pro-family policy ever invented is a

good job? That poor teenagers with the prospect of jobs and careers when they finish school are more likely to finish, and far less likely to get into trouble? Welfare must be reformed, but the claim that most welfare recipients prefer a welfare check to a job is a cynical lie.

Self-righteous talk is easy and it's cheap. Securing people good jobs is neither easy nor cheap.

Or take the issue that will likely dominate Washington's conversation in the coming weeks -- the impending "train wreck" on the federal budget. To the pundits, this is high drama -- a trillion-dollar game of "chicken," in which one side must blink or government must shut down. But to many people outside Washington, this is a far less gripping drama. Out in America, where workers do the jobs that make the country go, the train wreck is already occurring -- a terrifying collision between the job they need and the families they love.

In the next month, the Senate can avert a budgetary disaster by addressing the real economic problem in this country -- home economics. But if it refuses, if it ignores the country's core problem, the President has vowed to give modern meaning to the ancient adage that the pen is mightier than the sword. If the Senate wields its family-slashing sword, the President will respond with his family-saving pen. If the Senate cuts pro-family initiatives as the House already has, he will veto the spending plan and send them back to try again.

Not too long ago, another President said, "Today, the economic issues are the primary social issue. The economic disaster confronting the United States hurts family values, destroys family savings, and eats away the very heart of family hopes and dreams."

What better moment than the Labor Day weekend to heed these words of a man named Ronald Reagan? What better moment than Labor Day weekend to reaffirm our national commitment to families who are working desperately hard and trying to do right by their children? What better moment to sanctify family values by doing everything in our power to value families? What better moment to pledge to lift the lives of the silent majority of the American workforce?

###

With the Compliments
of
The President

The Honorable Charlotte Schexnayder
Member of General Assembly in Arkansas
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Dumas, Arkansas 71639

The Washington Monthly

MAY 1995/\$3.95

The Perils of Privatization

What Newt Doesn't Know About History

PLUS: Greg Easterbrook, Timothy Noah, John Morton Blum and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

HE'S NO BILL CLINTON

Clinton's First Two Years Put Truman's to Shame

BY DANIEL FRANKLIN



He's No Bill Clinton

Everyone loves "give 'em hell" Harry. But Clinton's first two years have put Truman's to shame

BY DANIEL FRANKLIN

It was a tough year for the President. Foreign policy errors bogged down his domestic programs; nominations were stonewalled by a hostile Congress; party insiders even considered recruiting a challenger for the Democratic nomination. He was, in the words of one journalist, "essentially indecisive ... essentially vacillating." Quite simply, Americans began to doubt seriously that he had the character to be the country's top executive.

Yes, 1946 just wasn't Harry Truman's year. But he bounced back, won reelection in 1948, and has received from history a reverence that borders on the Rushmoric. For many Americans now, Truman is seen as a model president—a man of integrity, modesty, and decisiveness. Walter Isaacson of *Time* called him "America's greatest common-man president." Eric Sevareid said that "Remembering him reminds people what a man in that office ought to be like.... He stands like a rock in memory now." So revered is the Man from Independence that in 1992, both parties' nominees fought to be considered "the Truman candidate."

Now that Republicans have both houses of Congress for the first time since 1946, Clinton aides are scanning David McCullough's best-selling Truman biography in search of the magic bullet that will hand Bill Clinton a Trumanesque comeback in 1996. Clinton took the Truman title in 1992, but now the country—and the press—is skeptical. "Bill Clinton," wrote historian James Pinkerton in the *Los Angeles Times*, "is no Harry Truman."

That's true, but those White House staffers looking for a magic bullet are missing the point. Clear away the historical fogs and set aside the acerbic press coverage and you cannot escape a startling conclusion: Clinton's first two years have put Truman's to shame. By April 1995, Clinton has accomplished far more for the American people than "give 'em hell" Harry had by April 1947. Clinton has guided the economy more successfully. He has enacted more laws with real impact. Yet while Truman is held in near-Jeffersonian regard, Bill Clinton is written off as a Warren Harding in jogging shorts.

Consider one of the core issues of any presidency: the economy. With the war over, the country began the painful conversion to a peacetime economy. Hundreds of thousands of veterans returned from

World War II to an economy that had reached record production levels without them. In Chicago alone, at least 100,000 veterans were jobless. Major industries—including coal, railroad, and steel—convulsed with labor strikes that threatened to paralyze the entire country. Truman's response was heavy-handed and ineffectual. He threatened to seize coal mines and draft striking railroad workers into the military. Both measures were rebuffed by the Supreme Court and Congress, respectively, for being blatantly unconstitutional.

The economy grew but the growth was more than overshadowed by inflation rates that soared to 14.6 percent in 1947. There were shortages in many of the products people needed, including housing, automobiles, sugar, coffee, and meat. And with the Great Depression fresh in the American memory, many wondered whether another economic crash, one even greater than before, was just around the corner.

Truman could have prevented the inflation. After the war, Republicans in Congress launched an effort to repeal wartime price controls. Truman saw that decontrol had to be gradual, so that it would not unleash inflation. But, as *The New Republic's* "TRB" columnist wrote in 1946, "The trouble is, Truman didn't make a real fight.... He didn't carry through.... He saw and predicted the recession but let Congress and business have their way. Truman won the argument all right, but that isn't quite enough in politics."

Clinton knows this. He is the first president in the last 30 years to achieve both job growth and low inflation. The "misery index"—inflation plus unemployment—is currently below nine; under Bush it was above 11; under Truman it was nearly 20.

The key to this achievement is Clinton's budget plan, which passed through Congress in 1993 only after a knock-down, drag-out fight led by the president—a fight won with only the votes of a fractious Democratic party, and against a vehement and united Republican front. Phil Gramm was one of the loudest critics, predicting that "hundreds of thousands of Americans will lose their jobs because of this bill."

Gramm was dead wrong. By cutting the deficit to \$192 billion in 1995, from \$290 billion just three years ago, the President has succeeded in bringing down long-term interest rates and encouraging business investment that has stimulated extraordinary job growth. Already, the economy has produced nearly six million new jobs—five million more than it did during Bush's entire term. The unemployment rate, which was 7.6 percent when Clinton took office, has dropped to 5.5 percent.

In his first two years as president, Truman never seemed to have the stomach to enter the ring and fight like Clinton has. In September 1945, Truman delivered a 21-point program to Congress that rivaled the New Deal in its scope. The plan increased federal funding to agriculture, housing programs, and a variety of public works projects. But Truman let nearly every major component of his domestic program go down in defeat without a fight. In a way, says McCullough, that was the point. "His whole strategy on these domestic issues was to go for the high ground. Be more liberal in the program, and if they knock it down, you'll have something to run on."

This is fine if your only concern is winning reelection, not so fine if you want to solve the country's problems. Clinton has staked his presidency on the passage of his economic and social programs and fought like a junkyard dog for his victories. Elizabeth Drew recounts in *On the Edge* that during the battle to pass the North American Free Trade Agreement, "Clinton threw himself into the fight—meeting members of Congress in one-on-one sessions, making many phone calls to them, giving speeches, meeting with opinion leaders, meeting with individual members. Shortly before the vote, there were White House dinners for undecideds." He brought the same energy and conviction to the fight to pass the Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Clinton was willing to alienate the labor interests that are among the Democrats' strongest constituents because he believed that the treaty would produce jobs for the country. Regardless of your opinion of these treaties, you must respect the fact that he risked his neck to get them

passed.

Clinton has stuck to the path of ambitious achievement throughout his presidency and tried to avoid the partisan posturing that might serve him better at the polls. His success, by any objective measure, has been astonishing. Eighty-six percent of the legislation he endorsed has passed through Congress, a record unmatched by any president since Johnson.

The bills he has passed will make real contributions to the welfare of millions upon millions of Americans. Take education policy. While the economy has changed, putting a higher premium on education and skills, the American education system hasn't. Everyone knows that a high school diploma no longer guarantees a good job. But before Clinton took office, high school graduates who did not go on to college—nearly 40 percent—were stranded because the United States was the only major industrial nation without a vocational apprenticeship program.

Clinton's Schools-to-Work program created a network of apprenticeship programs to give those students real job skills that can't be learned in high school. The students intern with workers—electricians, plumbers, carpenters—and learn the skills needed to find and keep a job. When the program reaches full implementation, one-half million students will be enrolled annually. That's one-half million more skilled workers entering the workforce every year than before the program.

To counter the staggering growth in college tuition, Clinton reformed the student loan program so it would lend money directly to college students, and collect the debt as a percentage of their income. Previously, students received their college loans through banks and paid back a set amount for 10 years. From 1985 to 1991, the size of the average college graduate's total debt had jumped 150 percent. For many, the debt was stifling; 40 percent of graduates said their debt payments forced them to work two jobs.

But under Clinton's plan, defaults will be cut drastically because the debt payments, extended over a 25-year-period and based on the graduate's income, are manageable. A graduate with a \$30,000 income and a \$50,000 debt will pay \$345 per month, instead of the \$581 under the previous plan. As graduates' salaries rise, so do the amounts of their debt payments. As a result,

graduates are able to perform low-paying but meaningful work, such as teaching or social work, that the country desperately needs.

Then there's Americorps. While Republicans seek to slash this domestic Peace Corps, 20,000 volunteers are on the streets immunizing babies, restoring national parks, and counseling troubled teens. For their 10- to 12-month commitment, the volunteers earn vouchers worth \$4,725 toward tuition or for paying off student loans. And, carried out properly, the program has the potential to radically change the way Americans view community and national service. "It provides what might be called a social glue," argues Labor Secretary Robert Reich, "by bringing young people from all different backgrounds and incomes together to work on community projects, and enhance the health and safety or beauty of a community. It not only improves community but it creates community ... connecting people to other people across socioeconomic barriers."

Truman's contribution to equal opportunity and economic fairness—the heart of the Democratic Party—was meager during the first two years of his term. Yet again, his proposals that did aim to aid the poor—unemployment compensation, minimum wage increases, and housing funds—were all abandoned to high-minded defeat in Congress. As with his economic programs, and in stark contrast to Clinton, Truman refused to enter the fray. "I don't think," says Stanford historian Barton Bernstein, "Truman really committed himself."

Even Clinton's harshest critics must grant that the President is committed to economic fair play. And that commitment has led him to push through a program that gave significant help to the most deserving group of society: the 3.2 million working poor, who are struggling to break themselves out of the cycle of poverty. The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) guarantees that any person working 40 hours a week, even at minimum wage, will not fall below the poverty line. Whereas earlier a mother of two may have received more money by staying on welfare and other aid programs, the EITC goes a long way toward making work more profitable than the social dole. Thus, without any of the messy bureaucracies that rankle conservatives, Clinton made the road out of poverty substantially easier. And to pay for his deficit-reduction program and the

EITC. Clinton wisely raised taxes on the very rich, who have benefited most from this country and can afford to give something back.

Nearly as significant has been Clinton's fight to reform and expand Head Start. Nearly one out of every five children in the country lives in poverty. Head Start takes poor children as young as three years old and gives them pre-school education, immunizations, healthy meals, and other services. Clinton increased federal funding by nearly 50 percent from 1992, and added 100,000 children to the program's rolls. And Clinton moved to address the deficiencies in individual Head Start programs by instituting rigid quality standards. If a program does not meet the standards, the government can cut its funding and find a more worthy recipient. Even if Congress fails to pass a single line of welfare reform legislation, between the EITC and Head Start reforms, Clinton will have made one of the more significant contributions to social policy in decades.

And let's not forget Clinton's efforts to solve what many consider the most serious and vexing of America's problems: crime. Amid the partisan attacks and counterattacks, which the press recorded faithfully, the clear benefits of the President's bill were lost. Even the most conservative estimates say that the bill will put around 20,000 more police officers on the nation's streets through support to community policing programs. And the \$8.8 billion that Clinton's bill allocates to prisons will help ensure that violent criminals are not forced back on the streets due to overcrowding.

Clinton is also the first president in history to have the courage to take on the 800-pound gorilla of special interests: the National Rifle Association. The organization is the ninth-largest PAC in the country, donating nearly \$2 million to congressional campaigns in 1994. For years their money and ability to mobilize their 3.3 million members led many to consider them the single most powerful interest group in Washington. For the past 25 years, their friends in Congress have stalled the banning of armor-piercing bullets and assault weapons. But Clinton has defied the gun lobby, including in his crime bill a provision that bans 19 different kinds of assault weapons. He also passed the Brady Bill, which requires five-day waiting periods for all gun purchases so

background checks can be conducted. The law, which had been stonewalled by the NRA's congressional proxies since it was first introduced in 1986, prevented 44,000 convicted felons—and 2,000 fugitives—from purchasing weapons in the first year of its enactment.

Other domestic triumphs? The President early in 1993 passed the Family and Medical Leave Act, which ensures that family members who take time off from work to care for a newborn child or a sick relative will have their jobs waiting for them when they return.

And his "Reinventing Government" initiative has had several notable successes, such as the elimination of over 1,200 field offices of the bloated and overextended Department of Agriculture. Perhaps no government function is more burdened by red tape than the government procurement process. Before the President's plan, buying an office computer could take as much as three months of wading through the swamp of regulations that nearly doubled the retail cost of computers. Now a government worker can go to a computer store and buy one off the shelf like anyone else. This may sound picayune until you realize that 70 to 80 percent of government acquisitions are small, everyday purchases like these. And it is only through this concern for government reform, for which Clinton is unique among recent presidents, that government will begin to work under the guidelines of common sense.

One of the most lasting legacies of any president is the lifetime appointments he makes to the nation's highest court. In this, too, Clinton outshines Truman. Stephen Breyer and Ruth Ginsburg breezed through Senate confirmation with bipartisan support both on Capitol Hill and within the legal community and are universally hailed as being pragmatic, intelligent, and moderate. "These two have helped calm the waters and soothe what had been an inflamed Supreme Court process—inflamed by Bork, inflamed by Thomas," says Yale Law Professor Akhil Amar. "The long-term stability of the Court and the Republic is not well served by confirmation donnybrooks and spectacles." In his first two years, Truman nominated Fred Vinson and Harold Burton, two men whose mark on the Supreme Court was far from exemplary. It was Chief Justice Vinson who, with Burton's assent, delivered one of the most damaging blows to the First Amend-

ment in the Court's history. The *Dennis v. United States* decision, written by Vinson, declared that even the teaching of communism was illegal and punishable by imprisonment.

Truman himself didn't have the most pristine record on civil liberties. He instituted the Federal Employees Loyalty Program, which directed the FBI and the Civil Service Commission to weed out those federal employees suspected of communist or socialist activities. As a result, 212 federal employees were dismissed; thousands more resigned in protest or fear. It was, writes McCullough, "the most reprehensible political decision of his presidency."

It had its competitors. Under Truman, Navy ships were ordered to sail into the fallout zone around Bikini Island after a nuclear weapons test. When the tragic effects of the test were brought to Truman, he decided to keep them secret for fear the embarrassment would hurt the country's nuclear programs—and his reelection chances. This set an ugly precedent: In succeeding years, the government tested the effects of radioactivity on humans and then covered it up.

By marked contrast, it was under Clinton that the government began an active effort to reveal incidents ostensibly classified for national security, but actually hidden to prevent political embarrassments. And it has been under Clinton that the government has finally made a concerted effort to make reparations to the victims of the nuclear tests.

In general, Truman steered clear of the nation's dealings with nuclear issues. In one cabinet meeting, Truman admitted to not knowing, and not wanting to know, the exact number of nuclear weapons in the country's arsenal. "Mr. President, you *should* know," said Secretary of Agriculture

Henry Wallace. But Truman kept his distance, leaving nuclear arms production to the military and Atomic Energy Commission.

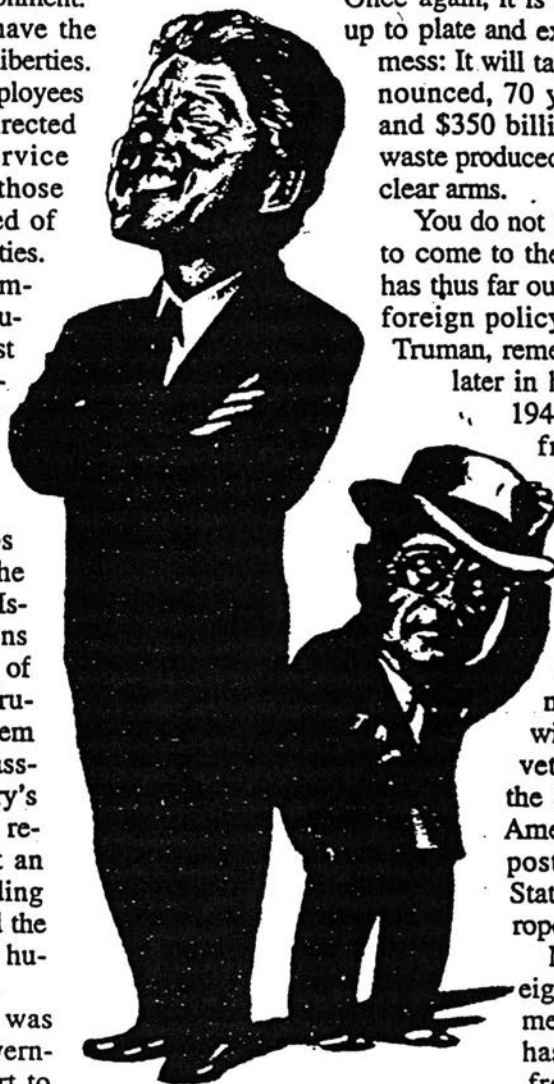
Once again, it is Clinton who has stepped up to plate and explained the extent of the mess: It will take, the administration announced, 70 years and between \$230 and \$350 billion to clean up the toxic waste produced by the production of nuclear arms.

You do not have to stop at our shores to come to the conclusion that Clinton has thus far outshone Truman. The great foreign policy decisions attributed to Truman, remember, did not come until later in his term. In the spring of 1947, the country was reeling from the succession of communist victories. Every Eastern European country had fallen to communism except Czechoslovakia, which would not be far behind. China's fall to communism was imminent. And with their reckless use of its veto in the United Nations, the Soviet Union was halting American efforts to shape the post-war world. The United States, it seemed, was on the ropes.

Meanwhile, Clinton's foreign policy, though ridiculed mercilessly by Republicans, has been, on the whole, refreshingly successful. The passage of NAFTA and GATT were hard-fought and

significant victories. Other successes have been jawdroppers. Answer me this: If you were told two years ago that Israel would sign peace agreements with the PLO and Jordan; that Haiti would have a democratically elected president; that there would be a cease-fire in Northern Ireland; and that the third-largest nuclear power in the world would voluntarily disarm its nuclear capability, what would you say? That's what I thought.

All four developments, to varying extents, can be credited to a foreign policy team that has been



Clinton's first two years outshine Truman's.

derided as hopelessly incompetent. The success has even impressed Owen Harries, editor of the conservative *National Interest*. "The charge against the Clinton Administration has been that it is all show and no substance," Harries wrote in *The New Republic*. "But the opposite may be nearer the mark.... [S]ome sensible decisions have been made and some dangers avoided. It could have been a lot worse if the advice given by many of the people now criticizing Clinton had been followed."

Take Ukraine, a newborn Soviet successor state with a government considerably less than stable, which suddenly found itself holding the third-largest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the world. Clinton, Gore, and Secretary of State Warren Christopher pressured and cajoled the country to abandon its hopes of becoming a nuclear power. Under this constant pressure, Ukraine agreed last November to dismantle its 1,800 nuclear warheads. Kazakhstan and Belarus, with considerably smaller nuclear forces, followed suit, giving the world three less nuclear nightmares to worry about.

In the Middle East, the first praise for peace accords certainly goes to the major players: Israel, the PLO, and Jordan. But the Clinton Administration deftly walked a very fine line: Israel would never have agreed to the deal without a strong friend in Washington, while the Palestinians and Jordanians would have balked if they felt the administration was one-sided or unfair to their concerns. It is a testament to the trust won from both sides that the peace treaty was signed on the White House lawn.

Most pundits felt that democracy in Haiti was a pipe dream. Bush hemmed and hawed as the military junta settled in and terrorized the Haitian people; thousands fled to the United States. But Clinton's policy, despite messy appearances, has led to the bloodless overthrow of a military dictatorship and the restoration of that country's first democratically elected president.

And in an effort to bring an end to the decades-long fighting in Northern Ireland, Clinton has stood up to England (our "special relationship" notwithstanding) to force it to deal with its troubles in Northern Ireland. When in 1993 Clinton agreed to grant a visa to Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams to visit the United States for the first time, British legislators openly insulted the President,

saying that America had betrayed its trust. But over British objections, Clinton has allowed Adams to return twice more to meet with the administration and continue the push for peace. Eight months into the cease-fire, Clinton's persistence has paid off in lives.

True, there is no "Clinton Doctrine" by which to measure every foreign policy question that comes down the pike. It would no doubt make things easier if there were. But simple doctrines work in simple worlds. Presidents from Truman to Reagan could vow to fight communism wherever it reared its head. Whether or not they met their promise, they at least had the pose.

Clinton, then, is being penalized because there is no mortal threat to the country. The vast majority of armed conflicts in the world today are either civil wars or ethnic conflicts. No simple formula applies. The process has at times seemed messy, but in a subtle and deft fashion, Clinton has loosened diplomatic knots of Gordian complexity.

Truman went on, of course, to make some of the shrewdest and politically courageous decisions of the century: the Marshall Plan in the summer of 1947; the desegregation of the military in 1948; and the Berlin Airlift that same year, which, without provoking war with the Soviet Union, broke the blockade of West Berlin. While pundits hang the lame-duck tag on Clinton, they ignore that if Clinton maintains this pace, and continues to better Truman domestically and abroad, Americans could see an enormously successful presidency.

Similarly, the predictions that Clinton has no chance in 1996 miss a crucial point. Like Truman, Clinton has an uncanny ability to project an empathy with the American people. Truman was profoundly unpopular at this point in his first term. In November of 1946, his approval ratings stood at 32 percent. But in 1948, voters compared the warmth and humility of Truman to the arrogance of Thomas Dewey and chose the man they felt cared most about their problems. By this standard, Bill Clinton will never suffer from comparison to a man like, for example, Phil Gramm. Clinton could still pull off that Trumanesque comeback, and those who wish to make parallels between the Man from Independence and the Man from Hope will have one more comparison to draw. □

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1995

Todd:

Regarding the attached note to
Charlotte Schexnayder -- do
you want Jim Dorskind to do
a cover letter from the President
to her forwarding the Truman
article or just put a card "with
the compliments of the President"
on article?

Dorskind Letter ☒

Just Card ☒

Let's Discuss ☐

Carol

CAROL 8-29
put a note on to Todd
asking if Dorskind should do
a cover note to her or can
we put one of these "with the
compliments of the POTUS" cards
on the article & just mail it
out. >

Canal -

8/25

From Donald Dunn -

Charlotte Schexnayder

Member of General Assembly
in Arkansas

Box C

Dumas, Arkansas

71639

ASW

USA TODAY • FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1995

WASHINGTON

Ex-world leaders to reunite at conference

Former president George Bush will be reunited with Mikhail Gorbachev, former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and former Canadian leader Brian Mulroney for a conference on the Cold War's legacy. Bush's Presidential Library Foundation is sponsoring an Oct. 6-9 forum in Colorado Springs. PBS news anchor Jim Lehrer will moderate discussions among the former leaders before a small audience. "Each served their respective nations with dignity and dedication, but they also served the cause of peace."



BUSH: Hosts Cold War conference

PENTAGON PROBE: Larry Hollingsworth, a veteran Defense Department criminal investigator, is under investigation for reported passport fraud, Pentagon officials said Thursday. Hollingsworth has been placed on administrative leave and his top secret security clearance has been withdrawn while the State Department's Diplomatic Security Service investigates, officials said. A special agent of the Diplomatic Security Service, Paul Pettit, said in a July 28 search warrant affidavit filed in Alexandria, Va., that there was probable cause to believe Hollingsworth applied for a passport using a false name — the name of an 8-year-old boy. No criminal charges have been filed against Hollingsworth.

KENNEDY PAPERS: A U.S. government board investigating the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy said Thursday it has recommended the release of 87 CIA documents regarding Lee Harvey Oswald's trip to Mexico shortly before the shooting. The five-member Assassination Records Review Board, which is responsible for determining which records to make public, said it had voted to release 18 documents in full and parts of 21 other documents. The board made its recommendation to President Clinton, who has 30 days to approve or veto the release. The Central Intelligence Agency objected to the release of some materials as too sensitive. "Under the law, our job is to balance the need to protect still sensitive government information vs. the public's right to know," said board chairman John Tunheim. The documents concern Oswald's Mexico trip, during which he contacted the Cuban and Soviet embassies.

HAITI ELECTIONS: Undersecretary of State Strobe Talbott, the State Department's second-ranked official, has gone to Haiti to try and break a boycott by some political parties of an election planned this year for a successor to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Talbott was to see Aristide and local representatives of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, State Department spokesman David Johnson said. "Those discussions are expected to concentrate on the conditions under which all political parties would agree to participate in a parliamentary electoral process and in the presidential elections to be held at the end of this year," Johnson said. He said differences among political parties have prevented scheduling of runoff elections after the vote in June for parliament and local offices.

ANTI-DRUG MONEY: The Justice Department Thursday announced grants of \$1.6 million to help 52 communities develop programs to deal with non-violent drug offenders but urged Congress to provide additional money.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Bomb blast in Paris injures 17 people

A bomb stuffed with nails and chunks of metal exploded in Paris Thursday in a trash can near the Arc de Triomphe, injuring 17 people. Officials said the blast resembled a subway bombing last month linked to Muslim extremists. Police detained two people in a gray Mercedes with Iranian diplomatic plates near the blast site, French media said. But the Iranian Embassy denied involvement and condemned the attack. The blast blew out windows in nearby buildings on Avenue Friedland, a block away from the Champs-Élysées. A Danish boutique was converted into a temporary hospital. "This is my sixth visit to Paris, but I won't come back again," said Jan Dewit, a rattled Dutch tourist.

ISRAELI ATROCITIES: In new claims about the mistreatment of Arab POWs in the 1967 Middle East War, an Israeli journalist said he saw Israeli troops execute five Egyptian prisoners, including one who was forced to dig his own grave. Gabi Brun's report shocked Israelis, who believed their soldiers held high moral values and set an example for conduct on the battlefield. The revelations, published by the daily Yediot Achronot, prompted calls by Egypt, Israel's principal foe in the war, for an investigation. "I watched as the man dug a hole for about 15 minutes. Afterwards, the policemen told him to throw the shovel away, and then one of them leveled an Uzi at him and shot two short bursts, each of three or four bullets," Brun wrote.



HUTCHINGS: American hostage

INDIA HOSTAGES: India reportedly has flown some of its top anti-terrorist commandos to Kashmir, indicating it may be preparing to rescue four Western hostages, including American Donald Hutchings, held by Al-Farhan separatists. The Black Cat commandos were trained by Israeli intelligence agents to fight terrorism. Al-Farhan has threatened to kill the hostages unless India frees 15 imprisoned rebels. India has refused to meet the demand, but officials said Thursday that 24 jailed Kashmiri separatists will be freed. A spokesman said the prisoners do not include the ones Al-Farhan named.

ALSO . . . U.S. relief worker Fred Cuny was executed in Chechnya, says his brother Chris Cuny, but the State Department disputes the information. "We are not in a position to either prove or disprove the family's information," spokesman David Johnson said. Chris Cuny said extensive searches revealed no substantial sign that Cuny or the three Russians with him were alive. "Sadly, all evidence and confirmable reports now point to the group's demise," he said. . . . Cuba's Fidel Castro, 69, showed up for the newly formed Association of Caribbean States' first summit aimed at creating one of the world's largest free-trade blocs. . . . Bermuda Premier John Swan kept a political promise and resigned after residents of the British colony overwhelmingly rejected independence from Britain. Swan, premier for more than 13 years, supported the independence referendum, which lost by a 16,869-5,714 vote. . . . Canada has given in to a European Union request not to display a Spanish fishing net that was at the heart of a bitter trans-Atlantic dispute. "We are now achieving conservation through long-term cooperation rather than confrontation," said Canada's fisheries minister, Brian Tobin.

C. Schmitz
A. St. Aubert

our
Chrom

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USA TODAY • FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1996

WASHINGTON

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AP
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PENTAGON PROBE: Larry

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AP
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Charlotte Schexnayder
C. Schexnayder
AST anten
through Craig Smith

8-24-91

Called Craig Smith's
office to get address
(Craig on vacation for
2 weeks) —

Carl.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-23-95

REVISED NOTES

Mr. President:

GOLF

Make sure
I sign the
minutes & send
to ~~the~~ them

Nancy Hennreich
Betty Currie
Rebecca Cameron
Photo Office

The following are arranged to meet at Teton Pines Club golf course at 9:30 am tomorrow morning for a 10:00 am tee time with you--

✓ Hank Phibbs
✓ Leslie Petersen

Recommended by Jurate Kazickas and Roger Altman, seconded by Sullivan. Peterson is a former candidate for Congress; Phibbs is an attorney and chairs Jackson Hole Alliance for Responsible Planning (environmentalist).

— Mike Sellett

Publisher of Jackson Hole Daily. Recommended by Mike Sullivan, Wolfensohn, and Charlotte Schexnayder through Craig Smith.

Note: Sellett was told only nine holes--you can invite him to play more if you would like. 62497

John Hanes, the pro at Teton Pines will accompany your party. He is not expecting to play, but if you wish to invite him to play, you may.

Remember that the President of Teton Pines, Clarke Nelson was invited per Jim Wolfenshohn but Clarke is out of town.

Jurate will speak with you tonight and might accompany you some tomorrow.

The main question for tomorrow is whether you want to attempt to add or exchange any people for the back nine:

Other recommendations from your list

The list which appears in your book (with handicaps) was discussed with Wolfensohn and then his recommendations were discussed with Sullivan. Sellett emerged as the universal favorite, so you should feel good about playing with him.

There is a general divergence between the three sources of recommendations. Wolfensohn's names are more often national/international vs. Wyoming, and they are less likely to be Democrats. Altman's list was prepared by Peterson and seems to be aimed more towards "interesting" people-not politics.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8-29-55

TO: Bob Nash

FROM: Staff Secretary

Bob - This is in your
ba. (ivick. Sounds like
there are some understandably
upset people who may need
some stroking, though we
obviously can't issue commissions
if they were never appointed.



National Commission for Employment Policy
1441 L Street, N.W., Suite 9000
Washington, D.C. 20005-3512

95 AUG 24 11:34

Tel: (202) 724-1545
Fax: (202) 724-0019
Internet: ncepmail@ncep.gov

Anthony P. Carnevale, Chair

August 21, 1995

Mr. Tod Stern
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Stern:

It has come to my attention, rather belatedly, that four individuals whom the President had announced his intention to appoint to the National Commission for Employment Policy (NCEP) last November (1994) have, in fact, never been appointed.

The National Commission for Employment Policy (NCEP) is a small, 15-member advisory commission whose role is to advise both the President and the Congress on employment-related issues. Members serve as volunteers, without compensation except for per-diem expenses on meeting days and reimbursement for travel-related expenses. The four Commission nominees who never received their Commissions are: David H. Swinton of South Carolina, President of Benedict College; Adele Smith Simmons of Illinois, President of the MacArthur Foundation; Bobby Charles Simpson of Arkansas, Director of the Arkansas Division of Rehabilitative Services; and Chang Lin Tien of California, Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley.

11/16/94
A press release announcing the President's intention to appoint these four was sent from the White House to newswire services on November 14, 1994 (see attached). Frankly, in every other instance in which this announcement was made, a Commission issued by the State Department was soon forthcoming. This has been routine practice since NCEP came into existence in 1974. Therefore, it never occurred to me or to members of my staff that there was any question about their status or that they should not therefore be accorded all the privileges of appointed members. Indeed, so confident were we that they were in fact to become members, since no Senate confirmation is required of NCEP nominations, that we immediately added their names to our letterhead and included them in all subsequent Commission mailings.

Nevertheless, several weeks ago, Dr. Janet Johnston, my staff director, realized that these four Commissions had never been received from the State Department. This, I might acknowledge, was an error on our own part, since clearly we had not followed through when they failed to appear in a reasonable amount of time after the November announcement. Since our liaison to the White House Personnel Office has left the staff, Dr. Johnston inquired directly of Ms. Julie Anderson about the status of these Commissions. You can imagine her surprise when she was told that Mr. Richard Socarides, White House Liaison for the Labor Department, had "put a hold" on their issuance earlier this year (5/18 and 6/18) and that there was no plan at this point to issue any of them. In response to my director's inquiries, Ms. Anderson repeated several times that "these [Commissions] are not souvenirs."

To a point, I understand that reasoning. As you are no doubt aware, the Commission was included in the 1995 Rescissions Bill, signed into law by the President on July 27, and will, therefore, be closing down by the end of September. Issuing the Commissions now may not appear to make sense. On the other hand, I am unable to understand why from November 1994 until July 1995, a period of nine months, no action was taken to issue these four distinguished individuals their Commissions. It appears (although there is apparently some disagreement on this matter) that Mr. Socarides had, on his own authority, without consulting me or anyone else at NCEP, effectively nullified their status as Commissioners. My director was told that Mr. Socarides took this action because he was under the impression that our budget could be rescinded at any time. In the end that was the case, although the likelihood of that situation occurring was far from clear over most of the nine months in question and was not at all clear in November, when the official White House announcement was made about the nominations.

I would remind you also that these four prominent supporters of the President had gone through a very lengthy and detailed vetting process and had been sent a copy of the announcement from the White House Press Office making their nominations public. I know that they, like all of us on the Commission, considered it an honor and a privilege to serve. I find it extremely embarrassing at this point to have to tell each of these individuals -- all volunteers -- that their Commissions were summarily withdrawn because someone in the Labor Department thought our budget was in jeopardy. I believe also that the President might find it equally embarrassing and not at all what he had intended, when he nominated them in the first place.

While I agree that Commissions do not constitute "souvenirs," it strikes me that it would not be utterly impossible to have the State Department issue the certificates in question, and, if legally possible, even to back date them to the time they would have been issued if this unfortunate misunderstanding had not occurred. I would like to hear from someone in the White House about this matter, since we have very little time remaining in the life of the Commission. Dr. Johnston was told by Ms. Anderson almost two weeks ago that she would hear back from the Personnel Office about our concerns, although to date no response has been forthcoming.

I realize that this is a difficult situation, given the timing of our discovery. Nevertheless, if you feel that this problem cannot be rectified, I know of no other course of action but to explain to the four individuals that, despite the announcement from the White House about the President's intention to appoint them, their Commissions were withdrawn without our knowledge and their willingness to serve unfortunately cannot be recognized.

If you have questions or would like to have someone on your staff call me directly, I can be reached at the Committee for Economic Development, 202 - 296-5860. Janet Johnston can be reached at the Commission offices, 202-724-1545, ext. 12. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,

Anthony P. Carnevale 

Anthony P. Carnevale
Chair

Attachment

U.S. NEWSWIRE

November 15, 1994

SECTION: NATIONAL DESK

HEADLINE: President Names Four Members to the National Commission for Employment Policy

CONTACT: White House Press Office, 202-456-2100

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Nov. 14

President Clinton has announced his intention to appoint David H. Swinton, Adele Simmons, Bobby Charles Simpson and Chang-Lin Tien to the National Commission for Employment Policy.

David H. Swinton of South Carolina is the President of Benedict College, a small, predominantly African-American college in Columbia, South Carolina. Previously, he was the Dean of the School of Business and Professor of Economics at Jackson State University in Mississippi. He has also served on the Labor Subcommittee of the Southern Governors Association. Mr. Swinton earned a B.A. in economics from New York University, and both an M.A. and a Ph.D. in economics from Harvard.

Adele Simmons of Illinois is President of the MacArthur Foundation. Prior to joining the Foundation, she was President of Hampshire College. Ms. Simmons has also held teaching and academic posts at Princeton University, Tufts College, and Jackson College.

Bobby Charles Simpson of Arkansas has served as the Director of the Arkansas Division of Rehabilitative Services since 1989. He served as the Executive Director of the Austin Resource Center for Independent Living in Austin, Texas. From 1978 to 1980, Mr. Simpson served as Director of the Texas Jaycee Campus of Victoria College of the Warm Springs Rehabilitation Hospital. In addition, he served as the Director of Psychology and Social Services Department of the Warm Springs Hospital. Mr. Simpson was also an Instructor at Victoria College in Gonzaga, Texas. From 1974 to 1975, he served as Interim Director of Rehabilitation for Goodwill Industries of Lubbock, Texas.

Chang-Lin Tien of California is Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, the first Asian-American to head a major research university in the United States. He served previously as the University's Vice Chancellor for Research, and chaired the Department of Mechanical Engineering and Thermal Systems.

The National Commission for Employment Policy was established in order to examine the development, coordination, and administration of employment and training programs, and to advise the President and the Congress on national employment and training issues.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 25, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE MCCURRY

THRU: TODD STERN 
FROM: JIM DORSKIND 
SUBJECT: LABOR DAY, 1995

Attached is the President's message for LABOR DAY, 1995,
which you may want to release to the media.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

LABOR DAY 1995

Each year at this time we pause to reflect on the value of labor and the accomplishments of the American worker. This country's success depends on the efforts of its citizens to open the door to a better future. Work is the engine that drives our economy forward, moves struggling families upward into the middle class, and creates opportunities for our children. We must continually strive to create more opportunity for work for those who are willing to take the responsibility to make better lives for themselves and their families. Our labors ensure that the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will benefit generations to come.

Let us give thanks to those who came before us and who strived to improve working conditions and create fair labor laws. They risked their livelihoods and often their very lives to ensure that children could go to school instead of to work in mines and factories, that laborers could work without risking injury, and that Americans who toiled throughout the week would be rewarded with a decent living and could spend more time raising their families. These reformers brought dignity to the workplace and integrity to our society.

Today, we recognize that management and labor face common challenges and a shared destiny in the global economy. We must continue our efforts to create further job growth and new opportunities, enabling more of our citizens to realize the American Dream. As we celebrate Labor Day, we can find strength and renewed inspiration in that Dream -- the idea that we can be good workers as well as good parents and that, through our individual efforts, we can build better lives for our children.

Best wishes to all for a memorable and meaningful holiday.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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Best wishes to all for a memorable and meaningful holiday.

Bill Clinton

Todd,
Here's another letter from
Hellen re Ben Esch.

Thanks

Steve Katz

C:

To

Vicki

Ross

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0101

August 11, 1995

STATE OFFICES:

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MONTGOMERY, AL 36104
(334) 265-9507
- ☐ 104 WEST 5TH STREET
P.O. BOX 228
TUSCUMBIA, AL 35674
(205) 381-7060

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing you again to reiterate my strong interest in the appointment of Benjamin L. Erdreich to fill the upcoming vacancy on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit.

In my July 12, 1995, letter to you I emphasized the importance of Ben Erdreich's broad legal experience and his adjudicatory skills as Chairman of the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB). As I also discussed, and as is well known, the case volume of the Federal Circuit is comprised by almost half with appeals from the MSPB.

As representatives of different constituencies of the Federal Circuit have traditionally vied to have their interests reflected on the court, the need for expertise in federal employment law has long been ignored. For example, the Federal Circuit also hears a significant number of cases related to intellectual property law, and at this date, at least four of the judges came to the court as experts in that area of law. These include Judges Rich, Lourie, Newman, and Nies. In addition, Judge Rader served in a senior staff position on the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Patents and Trademarks.

In congressional debate over the amendments to the Whistleblower Protection Act, the backgrounds of Federal Circuit judges has been noted as lacking in expertise in federal employment law despite the very large number of cases reviewed by the court on this subject.

During the 100th Congress, for example, it was stated in a House report that the 53% of the Federal Circuit's caseload derived from the MSPB. The report went on: "Despite the heavy MSPB caseload, Federal Circuit judges have a general inexperience with federal employee case law ... The three judges appointed since 1982 also have expertise in areas other than personnel law."

The President
August 11, 1995
Page 2

Unfortunately, despite the excellent qualifications of the members of the Federal Circuit, this weakness of the court has never been adequately addressed.

I urge you to add to your distinguished record of judicial selection by curing this problem with the appointment of Ben Erdreich to the Federal Circuit.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Howell', written in a cursive style.

Howell Heflin

HH/rcb

cc: Judge Abner Mikva