

delete for [unclear]

Memo on
Energy, Security
Meeting for Oregon
Want to follow up
on them - [unclear]
[unclear] note

THE PRESIDENT HAS SET
2 12 95

be

President will
follow up don
on his trip to
Wyoming. Please
let us know when
~~this~~ ~~this~~ what is done
NK

Mr. President

CC:
Debi Schiff
Jim Dorskind
Kitty
Higgins

copies to
Schiff
Dorskind
Kitty Higgins
Lindsey

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-12-95

August 29, 1995

Memorandum for The President

From: Kyle Simpson
Executive Assistant to the
Deputy Secretary of EnergySubject: Background for your Aug. 30 meeting with
natural gas and oil producersBackground

You will meet on Wednesday morning, August 30 with a group of 10 to 12 natural gas and oil producers. Most of them will be from the Rocky Mountain region. Three main problems confront domestic natural gas and oil producers today -- price, access to federal land for exploration and production, and consistency in environmental regulation. In addition, natural gas producers are frustrated by very low prices for their product despite continuing increases in demand. Since you became President, demand for natural gas has grown by 8%, 1.5 trillion cubic feet per year, yet wellhead prices have declined by 24%. The posted price for Rocky Mountain gas is about 90 cents today.

Discussion

The domestic natural gas and oil production industry has improved its efficiency dramatically in the last decade. Through better management practices and the employment of new technologies like three dimensional seismic mapping, cross well and down-whole seismic sensing, horizontal drilling and new water flood techniques, domestic producers have lowered their finding costs from nearly \$20 per barrel to around \$5 per barrel. Now they want government to follow suit and institute better management and coordination of its taxation, regulation and oversight of the industry.

While some producers continue to argue for large tax incentives or oil import fees to encourage or protect domestic production, many will acknowledge that there is very little that the federal government can or should do to effect the price of natural gas or oil in those ways. They will argue however, that the federal government should take steps to reduce or eliminate the costs imposed on the industry by what they perceive as unfair or unnecessary government actions and to take actions that would lower the cost of capital to the industry.

For instance, they perceive the Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) as unfair because of its adverse impact on capital intensive industries like natural gas and oil production which may not be able to fully depreciate capital expenditures. Forty four percent of domestic oil production comes from firms that are in AMT tax payer status.

Access to federal land and consistent application of requirements for access is important to the producers. The potential for discovering large new reserves of natural gas and oil in the U.S. continues to decline. Domestic producers are anxious to explore and develop federal land for its natural gas and oil potential. While much has been made recently over the issue of the Alaska North Slope Wildlife Refuge, the concerns of the producers you will meet with on Wednesday are more local. The Greater Green River Basin in Wyoming, Utah and Colorado is the most prolific onshore natural gas prospect in the U.S. today. Access to the land in the basin is complicated by inconsistent requirements of multiple federal and state agencies with jurisdiction in the region. Lack of coordination between federal agencies in environmental regulation is also a concern for producers in the Rocky Mountains and other parts of the country.

Specific Issues

Taxation and lowering the cost of production

- **Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT):** Industry groups are working for either reform of the AMT or outright repeal. Treasury Department has testified in opposition to the repeal of AMT. Repeal of AMT is contained in the House passed tax bill. It is not in the Senate bill that is presently being considered.
- **Geological and Geophysical Expenditures (G&G):** The tax code provides that G&G expenses for unsuccessful wells can be expensed in the year they were incurred, while these same expenses for successful wells must be capitalized over the life of the well. Expensing of G&G expenses for successful wells will provide an incentive for increased use of technology in the exploration and development of natural gas and oil resources. In July, the Treasury Department issued a statement declaring it was willing to work with Congress to develop a provision to allow expensing of G&G in the year incurred.
- **Petroleum Development Investment Management Corporation:** New financial mechanisms, such as hedging, exist that can lower the cost and increase the availability of capital to producers, and

thus increase investment, but market barriers and banking regulations restrict their use. This proposal would establish a federally chartered, privately owned corporation that would facilitate gas and oil price hedging, provide production rate sureties, and establish a secondary market for hedged, surety covered loans through standardization. These services will increase the amount of investment capital available to producers and lower its cost. Significantly, this proposal could help to maintain the nation's marginal well resource base in production. One-quarter of our domestically produced oil comes from low-producing, so-called "marginal" wells. Whenever oil prices fall these wells are in danger of being closed. Once closed, it is very expensive to reopen these wells. The National Petroleum Council in 1994 recommended that the federal government take steps to preserve these fields. The Department of Energy believes that the idea has merit and is studying this proposal.

Access to federal land and consistency in environmental regulation

- Leasing Federal Land in the Rocky Mountain Region: Producers in the Region have expressed great concern about the length of time required to obtain leases to explore for gas on federal land and the conditions that accompany the leases. The natural gas resource potential within the Greater Green River Basin is probably the most significant on shore natural gas resource potentially underlying primarily federal public lands. We hear criticism from industry that the Department of Interior has, de-facto, withdrawn public lands and are denying "access" to the domestic resource within the Basin and other areas due to potentially long approval processes for various permits and the bureaucratic application of special and seasonal stipulations on leases. The reality is there are a number of controversies with the Basin that if allowed to continue unaddressed, have the potential to create obstacles to development of the natural gas resource. It has been proposed that the Bureau of Land Management in the Department of Interior establish the Green River Basin Advisory Committee and take an active role in addressing the issue of "access" and create a venue for all interested parties to work together in managing the multiple resources within the Basin.
- Coordination of Environmental Regulations: Producers across the country are concerned about a lack of coordination between federal agencies when environmental regulations are developed. For instance, the Interstate Oil and Gas Compact Commission

recently expressed concern that the EPA is reopening the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) associated production waste issue. EPA recently sent documents on this issue to two states and not to all producing states. Neither did the EPA submit the documents to the Department of Energy or other interested agencies for review. Additional concerns have been expressed that the data utilized to is out-dated and could lead to a time consuming and unnecessary reconsideration of the RCRA exemption for associated wastes. The Administration has long held the position that the associated waste exemption need not be modified. This type of action on the part of individual agencies without consultation raises the specter of confusion within the Administration. DOE will work with EPA to resolve the matter.

Market Development

• Natural Gas Producer Marketing Cooperatives: Apache Corporation is leading an effort to gain support for the creation of natural gas producer marketing co-ops through proposed legislation to provide limited exemption from Federal antitrust statutes for these purposes. Essentially, Apache and other small producers seek the ability to join together to sell natural gas (their own gas and gas produced by others, up to 25 percent of the national market) with some degree of antitrust protection. The reasons cited by proponents are: (1) natural gas wellhead prices have decreased; and (2) small producers are at a disadvantage competing against natural gas marketers in highly competitive wholesale markets in which access to electronic information and marketing skills are paramount. Given the highly competitive nature of the natural gas wholesale markets it is doubtful that producer co-ops could significantly affect prices. Co-ops could allow members to seek more and larger markets due to their ability to aggregate reserves and guarantee larger gas deliveries. It is true that small producers are at a competitive disadvantage to larger producing companies, however, there is nothing preventing individual producers from joining with other producers to create marketing companies. Nonetheless, allowing the creation of marketing co-ops would give small producers another tool to compete in the marketplace. This situation is similar to the conditions that resulted in the formation of many of the other cooperatives currently in business across the nation. The Department of Energy is analyzing the proposal and will consult with the Department of Justice.

- Natural Gas Use as a Compliance Strategy for the Clean Air Act Amendment of 1990: Some states that have significant coal reserves have enacted laws that limit the ability of electric power generators to utilize natural gas combustion as a control technology to comply with the Clean Air Act. Successful legal challenges have stricken some of the laws. Some producers are arguing that the Clean Air Act should be amended to prevent such action by the states. Such a provision could expand market opportunities for natural gas but coal producing interests could be harmed. There are efforts in Congress to open the Clean Air Act. The Administration is opposed to opening the Act. Aside from legislative action, the producers have suggested that the federal government should initiate legal action to ensure the sovereignty of the federal statutes and promote greater utilization of natural gas. While the Administration is very supportive of greater utilization of domestically produced natural gas, it would be difficult to argue that clean combustion of domestically produced coal would run counter to the objectives of the Administration. Further analysis of this situation is required.

MEMORANDUM

TO: President

FROM: Mike Sullivan

RE: Meeting with Ranchers

From a simple suggestion to meet with a few ranchers some substantial concerns and no little paranoid have been raised. Nevertheless this represents one of the key issues in the West and it is my view that while there may not be a lot of upside it says something when you are willing to sit down with ranchers and listen.

It is my view that's what the meeting is - a listening session. No commitments - no concessions but an opportunity one on one to hear the concerns of the core cultural group in a State you have enjoyed for two weeks.

If the participants are candid (and I have never known ranchers not to be) they will have much to say. Most of it is old news: Babbitt; regulations; over-reaching government; insensitive administration. I would hope we can direct the discussion toward a productive "what can we do from here?" A major problem I see currently between the regs which these guys don't like (and two are plaintiffs in a suit to overthrow them) and the Senate trying to legislate against the Secretary is that the public land users are left with a very unstable base (which affects their ability to finance and their ability to operate) and end up in many ways being the victims of their own rhetoric. But the fear and their concern are real. The extremes and the politicians enjoy the fight and those most directly involved are the ones who pay.

The regs at this stage probably need to be allowed to work though there may be specifics that could still be adjusted. We need to have a new kind of dialogue.

The participants:

Truman Julian - A Wyoming sheep rancher - southwest Wyoming. National Chairman of the Public Lands Council. Hard core but moderate at heart - supports Senate legislation but wants the issue resolved. Tired of testifying in Washington, D.C.

Stan Flitner - President Wyoming Stockgrowers. Cattle rancher with Forest Service permits (and I assume BLM). Not a flame-thrower but with definite opinions.

Pat O'Toole - Savory, Wyoming - Democrat - former State Legislator. Very articulate and very passionate. Believes issue needs resolution and that field people are very concerned.

Bob Budd - Former Executive Director Wyoming Stockgrowers. Now runs a ranch for Nature Conservancy - Progressive, articulate and a fine young man.

Sue Hunt - Governor Ed Herschler's daughter. Now runs family ranch (cattle). Has public lands. A good Democrat but I believe a bit cynical at this stage.

SULLIVAN'S
RANCHERS
MEETING

08/29/95

MEMO

10:30 A.M.
8/30/95

TO: Bruce Lindsey
FROM: Mike Gaudin 
RE: Clinton meeting with grazers

Bruce: a couple of points BC needs to understand about this situation to avoid getting backed into a corner by these guys tomorrow.

1. After two long years, we're within sight of finally putting the issue behind us.

The grazing lobbyists are panicked because the hunters, recreational users, conservationists and the press and general public in the Western states is outraged by their attempt to take over public lands through the Domenici bill.

2. The grazing regs are in effect now and soon everyone will see that nobody's going to get hurt.

What the grazing lobbyists need now is to keep that from happening. They need a delay, either by stalling the regs, a moratorium or getting a new round of hearings. In the meantime, Domenici will try to water down parts of his bill to reduce the opposition while keeping grazers in control.

3. The grazers the President talks to may seem to be, and may be, hard-working cowboys, but most are not.

Most "ranchers," like big farmers back in Arkansas, are wealthy absentee landlords.

4. Our grazing regs came out of a public process. The Dominici bill came out of a back room and was written by lobbyists.

We held more than 100 meetings in all Western states and the public turned in more than 38,000 comments.

5. Governor Romer and Secretary Babbitt have put themselves on the line for this grazing reform.

A delay or change of course now will burn them, leave them dangling and only suit the purposes of the lobbyists.

6. A delay or change of course now will be played by the press as another waffle.

OPTIONAL FORM 29 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL		# of pages
To	B. Lindsey	3
From	Mike Gaudin	
Dept./Agency		
Phone #		8/29/95
Fax #	307-734-3943	

HEALTHY RANGELANDS

TALKING POINTS

PURPOSES OF GRAZING REGULATION

- * Protect the health of the public's land
- * Balance the multiple uses of the public's land
- * Protect the long-term viability of the ranching industry and rural communities
- * Bring all stakeholders into decision-making
- * Make local decisions closer to home

FOUR FUNDAMENTALS OF RANGELAND HEALTH

Grazing Reform establishes four fundamental standards to serve as a basis for wise decision-making:

- * Watersheds are healthy
- * Natural processes are maintained
- * Water quality is protected
- * Habitat of endangered species is protected or restored

RESOURCE ADVISORY COUNCILS

The first step in Grazing Reform will be the appointment of regional Resource Advisory Councils -- local people who will set standards and guidelines for the best way to protect rangeland health in their area.

- * Get decision-making out of Washington to the local level
- * Eliminate "one-size-fits-all" management
- * Council membership will only be available to local people

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN GRAZING REFORM

- * Regulations were developed through an extensive outreach effort involving more than 100 hearings throughout the West.
- * Nearly 20,000 letters registering 38,000 comments were considered.

GRAZING FEES

- * There is no fee increase in the regulations. Congress should consider grazing fees when it considers other subsidy programs.

EDITORIAL CRITICISM OF (DOMENICI'S) LIVESTOCK GRAZING ACT

DALLAS MORNING NEWS (Aug. 14, 1995) – "Congress should defeat and President Clinton should veto, if necessary, the livestock grazing bills now being considered by Congress...They would block Mr. Clinton's efforts to improve the way America manages its public lands. They would grant ranchers virtual control over public lands...The Clinton Administration has taken a more sensible approach...Subsidized grazing on public lands undercuts Texas ranchers, who do virtually all their grazing on private lands. It's a wonder then that Texas Sen. Phil Gramm co-sponsors the Senate bill and that House Majority Leader Dick Armey of Texas opposes the Clinton reforms. Why are they working against Texas interests?"

BILLINGS (MONTANA) GAZETTE (July 25, 1995) – PUBLIC LANDS IN PERIL – Domenici bill to manage nation's public lands betrays the American public.

THE (PORTLAND) OREGONIAN (July 26, 1995) – (DOMENICI'S) GRAZING ACT UNDERMINES CITIZEN VOICE...The Livestock Grazing Act...quietly adjusted behind closed doors by Senate staffers and the livestock industry – would reduce the voice Americans now enjoy in the management of public land to less than a hoarse whisper." (Cecil D. Andrus, former governor of Idaho)

SACRAMENTO BEE (July 26, 1995) – "Far more troubling is the (Domenici) act's disregard for the environmental health of territory that belongs to the nation...While campers and fishermen get their permits revoked—or are fined—for breaking rules on federal land, the new grazing legislation would give ranchers virtual carte blanche to violate what standards do exist."

RENO GAZETTE (July 25, 1995) – (DOMENICI) GRAZING REFORM RIDES ROUGH OVER PUBLIC...Livestock Grazing Act favors ranchers...

ARIZONA REPUBLIC (July 17, 1995) – "The (Domenici) Livestock Grazing Act looks like the answer to a rancher's prayer – and a Freddy Krueger nightmare for those who back multiple use of public land.

ARIZONA REPUBLIC (August 18, 1995) – WHY WON'T OUR CONGRESS RIDE HERD ON THESE COWBOY SOCIALISTS?

LAS VEGAS SUN (July 15, 1995) – BAD (DOMENICI) BILL THREATENS PUBLIC LAND USE (Mike O'Callaghan, former governor of Nevada)

WALL STREET JOURNAL (July 12, 1995) – GRAZING AT THE PUBLIC TROUGH...In every sense, the (Domenici) Livestock Grazing Act is bad legislation." (Karl Hess, Jr., senior fellow in environmental studies, Cato Institute and member of the Gallatin Institute, Bozeman, Mont.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: *[Signature]*

DTG: *281746L*

MESSAGE NO.: *157* CLASSIFICATION: *CONFIDENTIAL* TOTAL: *2*
(PAGES INCLUDING COVER)
FROM: *Harold Ickes* *6-2459* *1546L/wi*
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: *General OBSERVATIONS*

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBE
<i>Jackson Hole</i>	<i>Bruce Lindsey</i>		

REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: *KRM* Date: *7/3/19*
2019-0774-S

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AG

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS: Problem with this group is trying to keep it to 1 person talking at a time...all but one are extremely vocal critics of Administration and rangeland reform...all are extremely knowledgeable and will come with their own agendas **BUT THEY WILL COME WELL ORGANIZED!!**...primary gripe will be "War On The West".

Truman Jullian	Big sheep operator out of Kemmerer...one of the biggest sheep operators around...his operation extends into about 4 counties...recognized Statewide as a spokesman for the livestock industry...very knowledgeable individual...knows what he's talking about.
Pat O'toole	Sheep and cattle operator out of Savory, operation extends into Colorado...lobbied at D.C. level for sheep industry...very vocal individual...very much an advocate of grazing on gov't land.
Bob Budd	Used to be Director of Wyoming Cattleman's Association...long family history of ranching in Wyoming.
Glen Taylor	MONEY...Rancher out of Jackson.
Stan Flitner	Pretty level headed guy...the worker of the two brothers...livestock producer and farmer, not much (if any) of a sheep operation anymore.
Dave Flitner	Former President of Wyoming Farm Bureau...very vocal critic of Federal Gov't...extremely conservative...politician type...married into MONEY.
Cotton Bousman	13 - 14 year old critic of Fed. Gov't grazing policies...Frequent writer of letters to Sec. Rabbit regarding rangeland reform...asked Pres. Clinton at town meeting in Montana if his family would be able to continue ranching under Administration's rangeland policies.
Joe Bousman	Cattle rancher out of Boulder...conservative and outspoken on rangeland reform.
Sue Hunt	Not much known...Isn't really vocal statewide.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/15/95

Cher (Sovich)

East Coast Bank Corporation

1400 Ocean Shore Blvd. • Ormond Beach, Florida 32176-3618 • (904) 441-1200

Reply to: P. O. Box 1075, Dade City, FL 33526-1075

September 13, 1995

Hjalma E. Johnson
Chairman of the Board

Howard A. Mayo, Jr.
Vice Chairman

Leonard H. Johnson
President and
Chief Executive Officer

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

Dear Mr. President:

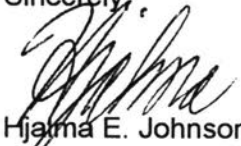
It was a great honor and privilege to visit and talk with you in the White House Diplomatic Reception Room this morning. As I mentioned to you, Bart Lindsey and I have been friends for a number of years and I have gotten to know you very well through him. I appreciate the leadership you are bringing to our nation and the free world.

As I mentioned to you, I will look forward to being with you at the Florida Presidential Gala in Miami on Tuesday, September 19 and at the Colorado Presidential Gala in Denver on Wednesday, September 20.

Lieutenant Governor Buddy MacKay gave me ample chances to get on the train in '92. He kept trying and, with help from Bart Lindsey and Bob Herrnreich, I am not going to miss the '96 Clinton-Gore buses, trains or planes. I am delighted and honored to become active in your reelection campaign.

Again, it was a great pleasure and honor to visit with you. Continued good health and success to you. Please give my best regards to the First Lady and Chelsea.

Sincerely,


Hjalma E. Johnson

HEJ/jt
cc: Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay
Robin Herrnreich
Bart Lindsey

Nesale Elkon

DRAFT

APAN *May 1 day?*
May 1 day?
ia Marine

xxx The President departs the White House via Marine
One en route Andrews Air Force Base

xxx The President departs Andrews Air Force Base en
route Kansai International Airport, Osaka, Japan
[flight time: 13 hours 55 minutes]
[time change: +14 hours]

NOTE: Refueling may be needed. If so - flight time to Elmendorf AFB is 7 hours 10 minutes plus two hours on the ground refueling. Andrews to Elmendorf is 7:10. Elmendorf to Osaka International is 7:45.

xxx The President arrives Kansai International
 Airport, Osaka, Japan

xxx The President departs Kansai International Airport
 en route the Royal Hotel

xxx The President arrives the Royal Hotel

XXX DOWN TIME

Options: off the record dinner
visit Kyoto
do a bilateral meeting

RON ROYAL HOTEL
OSAKA, JAPAN

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1995

xxx The President departs the Royal Hotel en route tbd

9:00 am - briefing + **BILATERAL MEETING WITH BRUNEI**
10:15 am site tbd

10:30 am - briefing + **BILATERAL MEETING WITH THAILAND**
11:45 am site tbd

12:00 pm - LUNCH
12:45 pm

12:45 pm - briefing + **BILATERAL MEETING WITH AUSTRALIA**
2:00 pm site tbd

2:15 pm - briefing + **BILATERAL MEETING WITH KOREA**
3:45 pm site tbd

4:00 pm - DOWN TIME
6:45 pm

Options: Kyoto
 site seeing in Osaka

xxx The President departs the Royal Hotel en route xxx

xxx The President arrives xxx

7:00 pm **APEC DINNER**
8:30 pm site tbd

8:35 pm - **BRIEF LEADERS MEETING**
9:00 pm site tbd

xxx The President departs xxx en route the Royal Hotel

xxx The President arrives the Royal Hotel

RON

ROYAL HOTEL
OSAKA, JAPAN

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1995

8:30 am The President departs the Royal Hotel en route the
 the Osaka Geihinkan
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

8:40 am The President arrives the Osaka Geihinkan

8:45 am - BRIEFING
9:30 am

9:30 am - APEC MORNING SESSION
12:00 pm Osaka Geihinkan

12:00 pm - APEC LEADERS LUNCH
1:00 pm site tbd

1:30 pm - APEC AFTERNOON SESSION
4:00 pm Osaka Geihinkan

4:05 pm - BRIEFING
4:30 pm

4:30 pm - PRESS CONFERENCE
5:15 pm

xxx The President departs the Osaka Geihinkan en route
 Kansai International Airport

xxx The President arrives Kansai International Airport

xxx DOWN TIME

xxx The President departs Osaka International Airport
 en route Tokyo Haneda International Airport,
 Tokyo, Japan
 [flight time: 1 hour 10 minutes]
 [time change: none]

xxx The President arrives Tokyo Haneda International
 Airport , Tokyo, Japan

xxx The President departs Tokyo Haneda International
 Airport en route Akasaka Palace

xxx The President arrives Akasaka Palace

xxx DOWN TIME

RON AKASAKA PALACE
 Tokyo, Japan

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1995

xxx The President and the First Lady greet the Emperor
 and the Empress at Akasaka Palace

9:30 am - **WELCOMING CEREMONY**
9:50 am Front Courtyard
 Akasaka Palace

9:50 am The President and the First Lady depart Akasaka
 Palace en route the Imperial Palace accompanied by
 the Emperor and the Empress
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

9:55 am The President and the First Lady arrive at the
 Imperial Palace

10:00 am - **STATE CALL**
10:30 am Imperial Palace

10:35 am The President and the First Lady depart the
Imperial Palace en route xxx

xxx DOWN TIME

Options: major address
 meet & greet with embassy staff

7:20 pm The President and the First Lady depart
Akasaka Palace en route the Imperial Palace
[drive time: 5 minutes]

7:25 pm The President and the First Lady arrive at the
Imperial Palace

7:30 pm - STATE DINNER
10:30 pm Imperial Palace

Note: There are 150 people in attendance.

xxx The President and the First Lady depart the
Imperial Palace en route Akasaka Palace
[drive time: 5 minutes]

xxx The President and the First Lady arrive Akasaka
Palace

RON Akasaka Palace
Tokyo, Japan

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1995

8:00 am The President departs Akasaka Palace en route the
Hotel Okura
[drive time: 10 minutes]

8:10 am The President arrives Hotel Okura

8:15 am - US CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN JAPAN EVENT (drop by)
9:00 am Hotel Okura

9:00 am The President departs Hotel Okura en route Akasaka Palace

9:10 am The President arrives Akasaka Palace

9:15 am - BRIEFING
10:00 am

10:00 am BILATERAL MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER
11:00 am Akasaka Palace

11:15 am - BRIEFING
12:00 pm

12:00 pm - JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER
12:40 pm Akasaka Palace

12:45 pm The President departs Akasaka Palace en route the Prime Minister's Residence
[drive time: 10 minutes]

12:55 pm The President arrives the Prime Minister's Residence

1:00 pm - LUNCH WITH THE PRIME MINISTER & GUESTS
2:30 pm Prime Minister's Residence

2:35 pm The President departs the Prime Minister's Residence en route Akasaka Palace
[drive time: 10 minutes]

2:45 pm The President arrives Akasaka Palace

xxx FAREWELL CALL (20 minutes)
Akasaka Palace

xxx The President departs Akasaka Palace en route
Yokosuka, Japan
[helo time: 20 minutes]

xxx The President arrives Yokosuka, Japan

xxx MILITARY EVENT
USS Independence

xxx The President departs Yokosuka, Japan en route
Tokyo Haneda International Airport

xxx The President arrives Tokyo Haneda International
Airport

xxx The President departs Tokyo Haneda International
Airport en route Andrews Air Force Base
[flight time: 12 hours 10 minutes]
[time change: -14 hours]

xxx The President arrives Andrews Air Force Base

xxx The President departs Andrews Air Force Base
via Marine One en route the White House

xxx The President arrives the White House

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/10/95

cc Bailey

Lucie Kapke

Draft #3

**PROPOSAL FOR TRAVEL
THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND
NOVEMBER 27, 1995 - DECEMBER 3, 1995**

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1995

10:00 pm Wheels up Andrews Air Force Base

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1995

9:00 am Wheels down London, England

10:00 am Down Time
11:30 am

12:00 pm* Lunch with the Queen

1:30 pm

* Time not firm may be later

2:00 pm
8:00 pm

Afternoon down

Options:

Tour outside London: Bath or Strafford upon Avon
People event in London

8:00 pm US hosted Dinner in London

RON London, England

Q: am I
going to ancestral
home? when? -
BC

Any ideas?

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1995

8:30 am Meeting with Major (2 hours)
10:30 am

11:30 am* Speech to Parliament (Both Houses)
12:30 pm
*Time not firm

1:00 pm Working Lunch with Business Leaders or others (TBD)
2:00 pm *Bosnia meeting ???*

2:15 pm Down/Tour London/ People Event (TBD)
5:30 pm

6:00 pm Meeting with Labour Leader Tony Blair at Ambassador's Residence
6:45 pm

7:00 pm Embassy Reception at Ambassador's Residence
7:45 pm

8:00 pm Dinner hosted by Major
10:00 pm

RON London, England

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1995

8:00 am Wheels up London, England

9:00 am Wheels down Belfast, Northern Ireland

9:45 am Speech in Belfast (Near the peace line)
10:45 am

11:00 am Tour Belfast/Peace Line
12:00 pm

12:30 pm Lunch with Belfast Residents (Real People)
1:30 pm

1:45 pm Meeting with Unionist Leaders
2:15 pm

2:30 pm Meeting with Nationalist Leaders
3:00 pm

3:00 pm Reception for Unionist and Nationalist (TBD)
4:00 pm

4:30 pm Helo to Derry

5:30 pm Arrive Derry

6:00 pm People Event (Dedicate Tip O'Neil Chair TBD)
7:00 pm

7:30 pm Dinner hosted by Mayor of Derry with Derry residents and business
9:00 pm leaders

9:30 pm Helo Belfast

10:30 pm Wheels up Belfast

11:15 pm Wheels down Dublin

11:30 pm Arrival event (TBD)

RON Dublin, Ireland

**** Option of RONing in Belfast that evening and going to family home next day.**

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1995

**** Morning left open for possibility of going to family home.**

12:00 pm Meeting with Prime Minister Brunton
1:00 pm

1:15 pm Meeting with President Mary Robinson
2:00 pm

2:15 pm Meetings with political leaders and opposition
3:00 pm

3:30 pm Rally Downtown Dublin or Trinity College
4:30 pm

4:45 pm Tour of Campus and Round Table with Students (TBD)

5:30 pm Down/Tour/OTR Downtown Dublin Pub

8:00 pm State Dinner Dublin Castle

RON Dublin, Ireland

**** Possible wheels up for the West following dinner**

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1995

8:00 am Wheels up Dublin

8:45 am Wheels dn Shannon Airport

9:15 am Depart via Motorcade en route golf course tbd
** OTR Stops along the way TBD

10:45 am Golf

3:00 pm Depart Golf Location via motorcade en route hotel TBD
** OTR Stops along the way TBD

4:30 pm Arrive hotel Down Time
Options: TBD

8:00 pm US Hosted Dinner (TBD)
Dromoland Castle

RON Castle in Ireland

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1995

9:00 am Mass (Limerick)

10:30 pm Depart Mass en route airport

12:00 pm Wheels up Ireland

2:10 pm Wheels down Andrews Air Force Base

President Clinton, who credits non-traditional outlets like talk radio, MTV and the Internet computer network with helping him reach the White House, is particularly concerned that media concentration could distort the nation's political discourse and raise entertainment and communications prices for all Americans.

Since 1983, the ownership of broadcast stations, cable outlets, newspapers and other mass media has become concentrated in the hands of fewer than two dozen companies compared to more than 50 a decade ago, according to author and media expert Ben H. Bagdikian.

Not only are there fewer media owners, Bagdikian said, but "the magnitude of the mergers and the players in the mergers have changed... as even bigger players like the telephone companies become involved."

Securities Bill Drafted by Neophyte Congressional Aide (New York) By Scot J. Paltrow= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

NEW YORK What went wrong with the securities deregulation bill submitted by Rep. Jack Fields, R-Texas, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance?

For starters, Congressional staffers said Fields' preparation of the bill was unorthodox and marked by unusual secrecy. Especially on bills that propose to overhaul major sections of federal law, Congressional drafters typically consult the agencies involved, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission, and other outside experts, to avoid mistakes and unforeseen consequences.

Although the subcommittee early on had solicited suggestions from Wall Street firms and other groups, and had alerted the SEC that a reform bill was being considered, the Republican staff consulted no one during the actual drafting. Fields confirms this but declines to offer an explanation, instead insisting that the SEC and others had adequate chance to give input.

The key drafter was someone who had had only limited experience with securities laws, people close to the subcommittee say. The bill was drafted almost exclusively by David L. Cavicke.

Cavicke, 34, joined the House Commerce Committee which includes Fields' subcommittee at the end of May as Blumenthal's successor as finance counsel. Cavicke's experience with securities law had been limited to three years as an associate with New York law firm Milbank Tweed Hadley & McCoy, during which he worked for the firm's banking department and spent much time on pro bono work unrelated to securities, lawyers at the firm confirmed.

Wall Street executives are scratching their heads about where several major provisions in the bill came from. But Congressional sources say the mystery can be explained by Cavicke's pet peeves.

There is, for example, an especially contested provision that would repeal the Williams Act, which protects corporations from surprise takeovers through secret raids on their stock. Marc E. Lackritz, president of the Securities Industry Association, the Wall Street trade organization which has lobbied hard to slash some regulations, said, "I've not found anybody yet that's supportive of repealing the Williams Act."

Similarly, the bill calls for abolishing the seemingly obscure Trust Indenture Act of 1939. Although few investors have heard of it, the act for 45 years has provided the backbone for confidence in the corporate bond market, protecting investors' interests if a company defaults. Wilbur L. Ross Jr., senior managing director of investment bank Rothschild Inc., said he knew of no one on Wall Street who favored abolishing the act.

People close to the Republican staff of the subcommittee said Cavicke put these provisions in, based on personal unpleasant experience while toiling as a young associate at Milbank Tweed. Cavicke sometimes worked late into the night complying with what he considered unnecessary, technical requirements of the Williams and Trust acts.

Cavicke declined to answer any questions about his role in drafting the bill. "As a matter of policy, we (Congressional staffers) don't comment on the record," he said.

Bill Aimed at Wooing Wall Street Creates Backlash (New York) By Scot J. Paltrow= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

NEW YORK Just more than a month ago, a former top aide to Rep. Jack Fields, R-Texas, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance, placed a confidential call to business executives, to explain the ins and outs of a bill that proposes the most drastic changes to the nation's securities laws since the Great Depression.

"A bill this controversial is unlikely to be passed" during the current Congress, assured Stephen A. Blumenthal, who until May was finance counsel to Field's subcommittee and had helped in the early planning of the so-called Fields Bill.

He asserted that the bill wasn't seriously meant to pass but was a gesture aimed at ingratiating House Republicans to Wall Street. Blumenthal said on the tape that the bill was House Republicans' way of saying: "Here, Wall Street, look what we want to do for you."

A bootleg tape of Blumenthal's candid remarks in a conference call to clients of his new employer, a consulting firm called the Washington Research Group, however, quickly became a hot property in Washington, especially among the bill's opponents. The recording also has emerged as perhaps the most embarrassing in a string of mishaps surrounding Field's efforts to woo Wall Street by attacking securities regulation.

Introduced by Fields and co-sponsored by seven Republicans on the subcommittee, the bill's stated purpose was to ease capital formation in America by getting Big Government off the backs of brokerage firms and investment banks.

But many provisions of the bill took Wall Street by surprise. Unexpectedly, Fields is being rebuffed en masse by the very executives he sought to please. Although Wall Street ardently desires specific reforms of securities regulation, the executives have expressed concern that the bill is so broad and radical that it might undermine confidence in U.S. securities markets. They also fear that a backlash against it may derail the drive for more limited reforms.

"We have a system that's the envy of the world," largely because the U.S. regulatory system has inspired global confidence in American markets, said Theodore Levine, general counsel of PaineWebber Inc, the nation's fourth largest brokerage firm.

Levine, once a senior lawyer in the Securities and Exchange Commission's enforcement division, said he was expressing a personal opinion and not necessarily that of PaineWebber.

But, echoing a sentiment expressed by other Wall Street executives, he said the bill "is really fixing something that isn't broken."

The reaction has been so strong that Fields is backpedaling. In an interview, he confirmed that "we've heard some very negative comments" from Wall Street executives, although he maintains there is wide support for reforming the major securities laws passed in the 1930s. But he said he may back down on major provisions in the bill.

(Begin optional trim)

"I am not locked in that we have to do any or all of the things" in the bill, he said. "It is important for you and everyone else to understand that we are not going to compromise market security."

Fields contended that he never meant it to pass in its original form, stating that it was simply intended "to get the debate going." He added: "After the Democrats being in power for 40 years, I have a responsibility to put everything on the table."

Under Speaker Newt Gingrich, House Republicans have won

a reputation for tight organization and being able to ram through legislation. But the drama surrounding the Fields Bill shows their efforts to rewrite the nation's securities laws are not yet as well polished.

(End optional trim)

The bill includes a provision banning state governments from regulating investment advisers, giving all responsibility instead to the federal government. In their haste to draft the bill, Fields and his staff failed to notice that Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, had already proposed doing just the opposite, giving all responsibility to the states. Gramm's support as chairman of the Senate subcommittee on securities would be crucial to ultimate passage of the Fields bill. Staff members said Fields is now ready to endorse Gramm's stand.

Washington lobbyists and Wall Street executives said Fields probably could have avoided some of these pitfalls if preparation of the bill had been more open. But some aides to subcommittee members said Fields was so insistent on secrecy in drafting the bill that the operation took on the feeling of planning for a commando raid.

Democratic staff members of the subcommittee said they weren't given any preview of the bill, and said they believed they were deliberately misled that it wasn't going to be introduced until this fall. The SEC and state securities regulators were given no warning that the bill was about to be filed.

Although Fields denies there was any secrecy, Congressional sources contend that Fields was anxious to orchestrate the filing to make sure he got credit for a major securities reform bill.

No sooner was the bill introduced, however, than the effort suffered a major blow from someone else who had been inside the Fields camp: Blumenthal. In the taped conference call he suggested that the bill was meant to ingratiate House Republicans with Wall Street.

"It's a way of them showing Wall Street that there's a difference between Republican and Democratic control of the House of Representatives," Blumenthal said. Some critics, including state securities regulators, contend that means the bill was intended primarily as a Republican fund-raising tool.

(Optional add end)

Fields confirmed that he was angry about the conference call. "He spoke as a private citizen" Fields said. "In my view his analysis is absolutely wrong." Fields acknowledged that the leak of the conference call may have hurt the bill's prospects.

Blumenthal declined to be interviewed but faxed a copy of a letter in which stated that "it is our position that Congressman Jack Fields is engaged in an historic undertaking of enormous benefit to the country." He also sent a note to the Los Angeles Times asking that it not quote from the tape because he said it is copyrighted.

Meanwhile, a proposal in the bill to eliminate most state securities laws has evoked a storm of protest from state securities regulators and investors groups. State regulators have been in the vanguard of cracking down on major frauds involving small investors, taking the initial lead, for example, in prosecuting penny stock violations and the massive Prudential Securities limited partnership fraud. The North American Securities Administrators Association, the national organization of state regulators, has said it views the bill as an attempt to eliminate state oversight of Wall Street firms.

The reaction has left some Wall Street executives fearing an unintended consequence of the bill that state regulators, anxious to prove their worth, may step up or more publicly advertise actions taken against Wall Street firms.

Fields denies that the bill was intended to gut state securities regulation, and signaled he is ready to water down the provision. "We'll sit down with the states and try to work through a compromise," he said.

Quake Hits Mexico, Causing Panic in Capital (Mexico City) By Mark Fineman= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

MEXICO CITY A powerful earthquake killed at least four people, injured dozens and damaged hundreds of homes in southern Mexico Thursday after it hit 190 miles southeast of the Mexican capital where it caused panic but little damage nearly 10 years to the day after a massive quake ravaged the city.

Officials in the three towns closest to the epicenter in the mountainous state of Guerrero reported extensive damage to the region's homes, most of them one-story adobe structures. In the town of Ometepe, which lies closest to the epicenter, an official said one man was killed when he was crushed under a wall of his home.

Officials declined give a death toll, but independent sources confirmed a report from the government-owned news agency Notimex that four people in Guerrero died in the quake.

NATO Halts Air Strikes; Serbs Agree to Withdraw Weapons (Sarajevo) By Tracy Wilkinson and Tyler Marshall= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina NATO halted its aerial bombardment of Bosnian Serb positions Thursday after the rebel separatists agreed to begin lifting the 41-month siege of Sarajevo.

The Bosnian Serbs said they were willing to withdraw some of their heavy guns from around the devastated capital in exchange for an end to NATO air strikes and a requirement that Bosnian government forces register their heavy weapons with the United Nations.

Air strikes will be suspended for three days and will resume if the Serbs fail to withdraw their weapons from a 12-mile exclusion zone around Sarajevo, the United Nations said in a statement Thursday night. During the hiatus, humanitarian aid convoys will be allowed to travel to Sarajevo on two roads through Serb territory that have been closed, and it is expected that Sarajevo airport will be reopened without restrictions, the United Nations said.

As described, the agreement falls short of the unconditional removal of Serb weapons that NATO had, until now, insisted upon. But if it works, it would reduce the threat to Sarajevo and break an impasse that grew as NATO repeatedly demanded removal of the weapons and Bosnian Serb

army commander Gen. Ratko Mladic steadfastly refused. The impasse jeopardized larger efforts to resolve Europe's deadliest conflict since World War II.

With the air campaign launched 16 days ago, NATO embarked on the largest military operation in its history to dislodge the Serbian weaponry that has menaced Sarajevo for nearly three and a half years.

In Washington, President Clinton expressed optimism that a Balkans peace is finally within sight. "There's been some reason to hope for progress in the last several hours," Clinton told reporters at the White House. "We are working on the details of an agreement."

But others cautioned that the Serbs have reneged on agreements in the past. Three days into the aerial campaign, NATO suspended the bombing to give Mladic time to comply with alliance demands. Facing an ultimatum, the Serbs moved weapons around to give the appearance of a withdrawal, but it turned out to be a ruse, U.N. officials say. Bombing resumed.

The new agreement first emerged in an 11-hour meeting in Belgrade on Wednesday between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, shepherd of a U.S. diplomatic initiative aimed at ending the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia.

Milosevic told Holbrooke that the Bosnian Serbs were finally prepared to comply with NATO demands. Then, with dramatic flair, Milosevic backed up the offer by abruptly ushering Mladic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic into the meeting with Holbrooke.

ORIGINAL Package
sent to Dr. Tyson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

09/15/95

Dr. Tyson,

After you have reviewed the
attached material from the
President, please pass it
on to Gene to see.

Gene should send all to
Records Management after
he has reviewed.

Thank you.

Staff Secretary's Office

(sew)

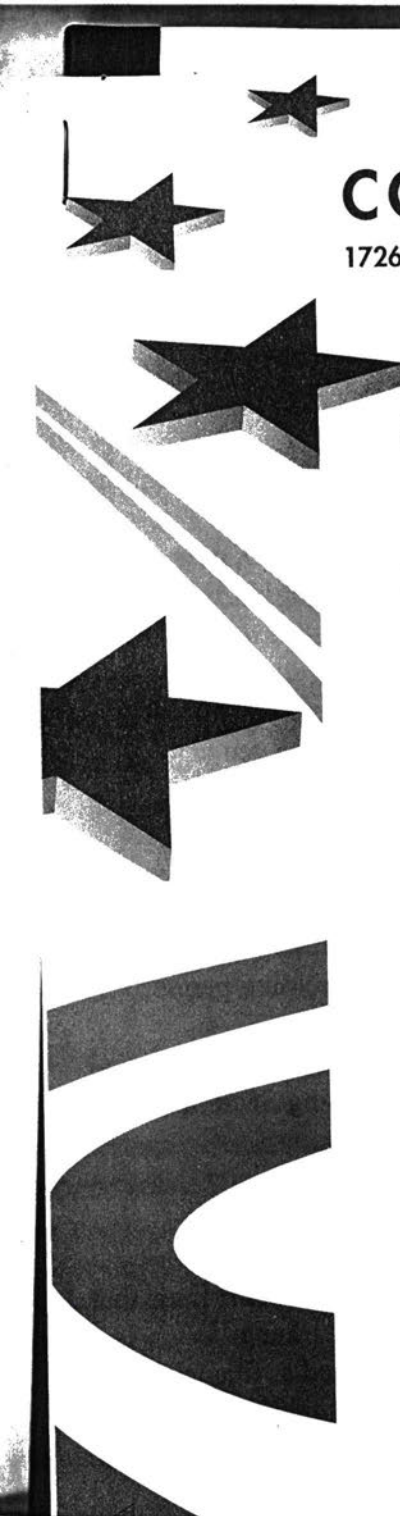
To Launch/Con
win

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/15/95

Be

SECURING
OUR PROSPERITY
The Critical Need for Saving





COMPETITIVENESS POLICY COUNCIL

1726 M STREET NW • SUITE 300 • WASHINGTON, DC 20036 • TEL: (202) 632-1307 • FAX: (202) 632-1350

PRESS SUMMARY

LIFTING ALL BOATS: INCREASING THE PAYOFF FROM PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Misallocation of private capital, partly as a result of outmoded federal policies, has contributed to the twenty-year stagnation in US living standards, according to Lifting All Boats: Increasing the Payoff from Private Investment in the American Economy, a report by the Competitiveness Policy Council's Capital Allocation Subcouncil.

"Although our financial markets are highly efficient, there are significant distortions in the allocation of capital within the private sector. These distortions reflect the failure of federal rules to adapt to the major changes in economic and financial market activity during recent decades," said the Subcouncil's Co-chairmen Professor Michael Porter of the Harvard Business School and Robert E. Denham, Chairman of Salomon Inc.

The thirty-member bipartisan Subcouncil, with representatives of business, the financial community, government, labor and academia, concludes that anachronistic rules suppress the overall level of business investment, and investment in long-term and intangible business assets, such as R&D and work force training, in particular. By restricting the amount of capital available per worker and the pace of innovation in the economy, such federal policies skew the allocation of capital in a way that undermines growth in worker productivity. Such growth is the key to sustainable increases in wages and living standards.

The Subcouncil points to several examples of perverse incentives in the US economy which encourage a misallocation of capital. For example:

ier
of

COMPETITIVENESS POLICY COUNCIL

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NEWS RELEASE

September 14, 1995

Contact: Howard Rosen (202) 632-1307

AMERICA'S COMPETITIVENESS PROBLEMS HAVE NOT BEEN SOLVED

PRESS CONFERENCE: 10:30 AM, Room SC-5 US Capitol

EMBARGO: September 14, 1995, 10:30 am, E.S.T.

Washington, September 14 -- The US economy is currently replete with contrasts, according to a report issued today by the Competitiveness Policy Council:

- There is modest economic growth yet incomes for most Americans remain stagnant.
- More Americans are employed yet they are working longer hours and for less pay.
- Productivity growth has improved since 1990 yet it has not translated into higher compensation for workers.
- Improvements in product quality and delivery, lower wages, corporate restructuring, the depreciation of the dollar and government support have helped American goods and services gain a greater share of world markets yet the trade deficit is reaching historic highs.
- The federal budget deficit has narrowed since 1992 yet net national saving continues to fall.
- Private investment is growing yet the stock of existing plant and equipment is flat.

Since its establishment by Congress in 1991 the Competitiveness Policy Council has

Competitiveness Policy Council
1726 M Street, NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 632-1307

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute
201 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Suite C-8
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-5007

alistas

Jim

(Donskood)

Pull copy of
Schlesinger thank you
letters from this summer.

Is this letter redundant?

Phr 1

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 15, 1995

ACTION

95 SEP 15 P5:34

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 
SUBJECT: Response to Schlesinger Letter on Cuba

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Arthur Schlesinger.

Background

Arthur Schlesinger wrote to thank you for the luncheon you hosted. He also urges you to normalize relations with Cuba, drawing a parallel with your decision to restore relations with Vietnam.

RECOMMENDATION

That you respond with the letter attached at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Arthur Schlesinger
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Arthur:

Many thanks for your kind letter. I found our luncheon extremely stimulating and hope we will have occasion to get together again in the near future. Also, you should know that I plan on seeing Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali next month in New York at the United Nations.

Your letter raises the question of our policy toward Cuba. While I fully agree that we must help the Cuban people move toward a democratic society, I do not believe that immediate normalization with the regime is appropriate. Cuba has shown extreme reluctance to engage in economic or political reform; its only steps have come in response to significant deterioration of the economy. The U.S. embargo is an instrument we can use to pressure the regime to change, both by denying it the resources it desperately needs to prolong misguided, repressive policies and by making clear that we will respond to meaningful political and economic reform with calibrated steps.

But that is only one facet of our policy toward Cuba. Also central are our efforts to empower the Cuban people in their struggle for democratic reform and human rights. I believe we must assist opposition leaders, free-thinking intellectuals, churches and human rights groups as they try to push back the boundaries of state control. By reaching out to the Cuban people with expanded, private humanitarian assistance and an increased flow of information, we can promote a peaceful, democratic transition.

As usual, I appreciate your thoughtful comments on this and other issues.

Sincerely,

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Box 540
33 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

5552

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/14/95

FAX COVER SHEET

PLEASE STAFF

TO: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

FAX NO: 202 456 6703

NO OF SHEETS (including cover sheet) three

DATE: 12 July 1995

FROM: ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR

4 East 62nd Street, New York, NY 10021

Fax: 212.688.8399

Telephone: 212.980.4013

MESSAGE

C → Dick Clarke
→ See POTUS
Comment at bottom
of page. Please
advise if we
should invite BBo to
him dinner this month.

Peter Berg

Tony

See p. 2 -

Should we invite Boutros?

Korea dinner?

Be

Tony

See p. 2 -

Should we ^{invite} ~~invite~~ Boutros?

~~Korea~~ Korea dinner?

C → See Dick
off
opp. Ambar

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

12 July 1995

Dear Mr President:

I want to thank you for your kindness in having the gang of five in for luncheon last week. We all greatly enjoyed the occasion, and I hope it was not a waste of time for you.

We were much encouraged by your thoughts on the veto question. While I recognize that using the veto is tricky in face of a Congress controlled by the opposition, the veto remains a potent means to define a President's position and his character and is an effective way of dramatizing issues.

All of us support the decision to restore relations with Vietnam. I would hope that this might ease the way toward the restoration of relations with Cuba. After all, nearly 50,000 Americans were killed in Vietnam (and another 35,000 in Korea, where we also seem to be moving toward normalization), while no Americans have been killed in battle in Cuba since the Spanish-American War (and then by Spaniards, not by Cubans). I am sure that the safest way to dispose of Castro is to drown his revolution in a flood of American tourists, American investors and American consumer goods.

Even Cuban Americans are now divided on the question of rapprochement, and the Mas Canosa crowd isn't going to vote Democratic in any case. For a generation, the China Lobby paralyzed US policy toward Red China; but, when Nixon broke the spell, most Americans applauded and the China Lobby collapsed. I believe that normalization

cc: Doyle
1/2 Rosco
2. Pres.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

would be equally popular in the Cuban case.

On another subject: I understand that an invitation to Boutros Boutros Ghali and his wife to attend a White House dinner would be much appreciated.

Thank you again for a most encouraging session. Our hearts are with you in the rugged fights that lie ahead.

Ever faithfully yours,



The President of the United States

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

① CC: Schriber
② L. Bailey
③ Gus Wingfield
④ Ron Conrad
⑤ Ann
⑥ B.

OK
PM

Trey Schriber
for Reply

September 13, 1995

The Honorable Gus Wingfield
Auditor of the State of Arkansas
Room 230
State Capitol Building
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Gus:

Thanks for your letter of September 8 and for sharing with me Larrie Bailey's letter to you. I appreciate what you told me about your recent attendance at the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers, and Treasurers Convention. It's good to know of your confidence. We continue to work very hard, and I think the months ahead hold great promise.

Thanks for your support, your encouragement, and your friendship.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

GUS WINGFIELD
AUDITOR



AUDITOR OF STATE

Trey
230 STATE CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

September 8, 1995

Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Clinton,

I thought you would enjoy reading the enclosed letter from one of your loyal democratic elected officials, Larrie Bailey, State Treasurer of the State of West Virginia.

At the National Association of State Auditors, Comptrollers and Treasurers (NASACT) Convention recently held in Iowa I asked the Republican speaker, who is the political editor of the local newspaper, if I could make a prediction about the outcome of the '96 election. I said my prediction was not based on the fact that I am from Arkansas, it was not based on the fact that I am a Democrat, it was not based on the fact that I served 10 years in the Arkansas Legislature when now President Clinton was Governor of Arkansas, but my prediction was that you will be reelected in '96.

After my prediction, the other democratic officials from across the country quickly gathered around and we all agreed you are doing a excellent job and with a little cooperation from the Senate and House, great things will continue to happen to this country.

You have our support. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gus".
Gus Wingfield



STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA
OFFICE OF THE STATE TREASURER
CHARLESTON 25305

LARRIE BAILEY
STATE TREASURER

SAM COLE
/ ASSISTANT STATE TREASURER

1-800-4CASH WV
304-343-4000
FAX 346-6602

August 31, 1995

Gus Wingfield
Auditor of State
230 State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

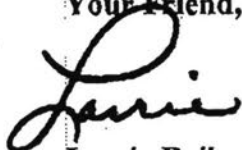
Dear Gus:

One of the highlights of my trip to the NASACT Convention in Iowa was the chance to meet a loyal Democrat who supports our President as I do.

Hope you had a good time in St. Louis. Sorry my Deputy was unable to attend.

My best to Mrs. Wingfield, and to my friend Jimmie Lou.

Your Friend,


Larrie Bailey
State Treasurer

LB:jp

FAX

GUS WINGFIELD

AUDITOR OF STATE

Date: 9-8-95

Number of pages including cover sheet: 3

To:

PRES. CLINTON

Phone:

Fax phone: 1-202-456-6703

CC:

From:

GUS WINGFIELD

Phone:

501-682-6030

Fax phone:

501-682-2521

REMARKS:

☐ Urgent

☐ Per your request

☐ Reply ASAP

☐ Please comment

Info.

we
12/18/04

sup
Prayer
Heads
Prayer
Judy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1995

Dr. Os Guinness
The Trinity Forum
Suite B
5210 Lyngate Court
Burke, Virginia 22015-1631

Dear Os:

Thanks for your most recent letter and for your continuing words of encouragement. I'm glad that you enjoyed the copies of my recent speeches and grateful for your thoughtful suggestions. As usual, you made some very good points.

I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

102 125938
SP

THE TRINITY FORUM

August 7, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter and the copies of your other recent major speeches. It was a privilege to be at both Georgetown University and James Madison High School and especially to hear you articulate your positions on religious liberty. It was quite simply the fullest and best presidential speech on religious liberty in the past generation—though cynics might say the competition is thin!

It has been particularly heartening to watch the speeches being slowly recognized as a statesmanlike definition rather than a mere political exercise. The passenger next to me on a flight to San Francisco last Saturday put another positive angle: "Finally, someone is standing up to the bullies."

May I offer some suggestions as the White House staff considers ways to follow-up on these speeches?

First, ensure that from here onward all your major speeches have a common component—articulating American first principles on the topic at hand, heeding the framers' vision of the subject and setting out your own position in light of contemporary challenges (and all this as a matter of genuine reflection rather than rhetorical quotations).

Second, have op-ed pieces in your name drafted beforehand on major defining addresses, such as affirmative action and religious liberty, so that these hit the press at the same time as news reports of the speeches.

Third, create a list of 50–100 opinion leaders to whom the full texts of major speeches go with a personal letter from you, setting out why you raise this important topic and inviting their thoughtful response. These conversation partners should be recognized American leaders and opinion makers from diverse spheres of life. An underlying goal of this exercise should be to restore the role of intellectuals from being adversaries of American culture to being pioneers and custodians as they were once.

Fourth, plan to give a second speech on religious liberty that takes the argument to a higher level yet. If I had one reservation about the speech at James Madison High School, it was that it failed to capitalize on the excellent foundational thinking you had laid. In four or five areas it could have "gone for the gold." If this were of interest, I could specify what I mean. But I would recommend that you make such a "Son of James Madison" speech before a strongly

religious audience—such as a Jewish or evangelical group. You could then repeat a little of your first speech as the basis and go on to the summit and achieve far more.

* [Fifth, select one of the best “common ground” projects and take part in one of their most newsworthy events. For example, the “Three R’s Project” in California education (run by Charles Haynes) stressing a framework of rights, responsibilities, and respect as a way of rebuilding common ground in the midst of exploding California diversity.

[Sixth, create a televised bipartisan White House event with a signed or spoken public declaration on American unity. You could invite a select group of national leaders together with the signers of earlier “common ground” projects, such as the Williamsburg Charter on Finding Common Ground. You could then say in effect: We are about to commence a keenly contested election with what will sometimes appear as diametrically opposed personalities and policies, but before we do so we affirm that what *unites* us as American is deeper than what *divides* us as politicians and therefore *how* we debate is as important as *what* we debate. I believe such an event would have a deep resonance with Americans weary of the endless culture-warring.

I appreciate that as the election draws nearer the opportunities for statecraft decrease and the perils of politicization mount. But I believe that approaches such as those outlined here will only prove to be in yours and the nation’s best interests in the long run.

This comes with warmest regards as ever,
Sincerely,

Os

Dr. Os Guinness
Senior Fellow

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/15/95

95 SEP 14 P 6 : 34

September 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Rahm Emanuel

SUBJECT: Welfare Reform -- Senate Update

The Senate has approved several significant changes in the past 24 hours. While the bill is still far from perfect and we will have to fight in conference to hold onto the progress we have made, these bipartisan efforts go a long way toward addressing the key elements of welfare reform you have spelled out over the past year.

Without declaring victory, we should applaud the Senate for the changes they have made, and for reaching across party lines to come our way. At the same time, we should publicly enlist the nation's governors and other local officials in a bipartisan effort to hold onto this progress and seek further improvements to ensure that state and local taxpayers don't get left holding the bag. The NGA reached a bipartisan agreement yesterday on a formal position calling for many of the changes we sought and have now won in the Senate bill: more money for child care, a contingency grant fund, performance bonuses, and no punitive mandates. We will need the governors' help in holding onto those victories in conference.

Here is a brief summary of the Senate changes. We have asked HHS to produce a detailed side-by-side of the House and Senate bills once the Senate completes action.

1. Maintenance of Effort: Dole agreed to adopt a Chafee amendment requiring states to maintain 80% of their FY94 effort, and to fight for it in conference. The definition of effort is reasonably tight -- it no longer includes the loophole that states could count their Medicaid spending toward the maintenance of effort requirement. In conference, the House will try to lower the percentage and weaken the definition, but a conference report would have trouble passing the Senate without something real.

2. Child Care: HHS estimated that states will need \$11 billion in child care over 5 years to meet the work requirements; CBO's estimate was only \$8.8 billion. The Senate agreed to \$8 billion in a capped state entitlement dedicated to child care (with a 100% maintenance-of-effort requirement for child care). The Senate bill also guarantees that mothers can't be required to work unless child care is available. Before these changes, CBO said that 35 to 40 states would fail to meet the work requirements. That assessment should improve now that there's more child care money to go around. The shortfall won't hit until the year 2000, when the work requirement rises to 50%.

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3. **Performance Bonus:** The Senate unanimously accepted the Lieberman-Roth job placement performance bonus, which provides \$2 billion over 5 years to reward states for placing welfare recipients in private sector jobs. This was our idea, and a central part of the Daschle bill. You have spoken out about rewarding states for putting people to work, not cutting them off. The House has no comparable provision, but America Works, the leading welfare-to-work placement company, is close to Gingrich and will lobby conservatives.

4. **Contingency Fund:** The Senate agreed to set up a contingency grant fund of \$1 billion, in addition to a \$1.7 billion loan fund. To qualify, states must meet a 100% maintenance of FY94 effort requirement, and must match the grant money at the Medicaid rate. The House contingency fund is a loan, not a grant.

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5. **No Punitive Mandates:** The most contentious issues in conference, along with maintenance of effort, will be the family cap and teen cutoff. The Senate voted 66-34 to strike Dole's mandatory family cap -- it's now a state option, as in our bill -- and 76-24 to defeat Faircloth's amendment to require states to cut off young unwed mothers. (The Senate bill requires teen mothers to live at home and stay in school instead.) Senate conferees will argue that no bill with the family cap and teen cutoff can pass the Senate; House conservatives may insist on a face-saving compromise, such as requiring that assistance for additional children and unwed teen mothers be provided in vouchers rather than cash.

Both the House and Senate bill include an illegitimacy bonus fund to reward states for reducing out-of-wedlock births. The provision is not well-drafted, but it doesn't mandate any particular state behavior (right-to-life groups and the Catholic Church have withdrawn their objections) and it does create a hefty pool of money to reward states whose illegitimacy rates happen to go down.

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6. **Job Training:** The Senate agreed to drop the Kassebaum training bill from the welfare reform package, and take it up separately in October. That will give Breaux and Kennedy leverage to seek changes on skill grants and other provisions of the Kassebaum bill.

7. **Child Support Enforcement:** The tough child support enforcement provisions from our bill have now been passed in the House and Senate.

8. **Food Stamp Block Grant:** The Senate bill still includes a state option to block grant food stamps, but the Senate defeated 66-34 an Ashcroft amendment to block grant food stamps. The House bill has deep cuts in food stamps, but does not block grant the program.

9. **Personal Responsibility Contract:** Our bill last year required welfare recipients to sign a contract spelling out the responsibilities they must fulfill in return for assistance. The Senate accepted a Harkin amendment to incorporate this concept into the Dole bill.

The Senate also added a Democratic amendment allowing states to exempt 20% of recipients who hit the 5-year time limit. Two other important differences between the House and Senate: The House bill block grants child welfare and the school lunch program; the Senate bill does not.

	STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY	DASCHLE- BREAUX- MIKULSKI BILL	DOLE BILL	FINAL SENATE BILL
Maintenance of Effort	YES	YES	NO	YES
Increased Child Care Funding	YES	YES	NO	(YES)
Economic Contingency Grant Fund	YES	YES	NO	(YES)
Performance Bonus to Reward Work	YES	YES	NO	YES
Personal Responsibility Contract for Recipients	YES	YES	NO	YES
Mandatory Family Cap	NO	NO	YES	NO
Mandatory Teen Cut-off	NO	NO	NO	NO
Mandatory Food Stamp Block Grant	NO	NO	NO	NO
Reduced Funding for Work Force Development	NO	NO	YES	(NO)
Child Support Enforcement	YES	YES	YES	YES

September 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Rahm Emanuel

SUBJECT: Welfare Reform -- Senate Update

The Senate has approved several significant changes in the past 24 hours. While the bill is still far from perfect and we will have to fight in conference to hold onto the progress we have made, these bipartisan efforts go a long way toward addressing the key elements of welfare reform you have spelled out over the past year.

Without declaring victory, we should applaud the Senate for the changes they have made, and for reaching across party lines to come our way. At the same time, we should publicly enlist the nation's governors and other local officials in a bipartisan effort to hold onto this progress and seek further improvements to ensure that state and local taxpayers don't get left holding the bag. The NGA reached a bipartisan agreement yesterday on a formal position calling for many of the changes we sought and have now won in the Senate bill: more money for child care, a contingency grant fund, performance bonuses, and no punitive mandates. We will need the governors' help in holding onto those victories in conference.

Here is a brief summary of the Senate changes. We have asked HHS to produce a detailed side-by-side of the House and Senate bills once the Senate completes action.

1. Maintenance of Effort: Dole agreed to adopt a Chafee amendment requiring states to maintain 80% of their FY94 effort, and to fight for it in conference. The definition of effort is reasonably tight -- it no longer includes the loophole that states could count their Medicaid spending toward the maintenance of effort requirement. In conference, the House will try to lower the percentage and weaken the definition, but a conference report would have trouble passing the Senate without something real.

2. Child Care: HHS estimated that states will need \$11 billion in child care over 5 years to meet the work requirements; CBO's estimate was only \$8.8 billion. The Senate agreed to \$8 billion in a capped state entitlement dedicated to child care. The Senate bill also guarantees that mothers can't be required to work unless child care is available. Before these changes, CBO said that 35 to 40 states would fail to meet the work requirements. That assessment should improve now that there's more child care money to go around. The shortfall won't hit until the year 2000, when the work requirement rises to 50%.

3. Performance Bonus: The Senate unanimously accepted the Lieberman-Roth job placement performance bonus, which provides \$2 billion over 5 years to reward states for placing welfare recipients in private sector jobs. This was our idea, and a central part of the Daschle bill. You have spoken out about rewarding states for putting people to work, not cutting them off. The House has no comparable provision, but America Works, the leading welfare-to-work placement company, is close to Gingrich and will lobby conservatives.

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The Preliminary Impact of the Senate Republican Welfare Proposal on Children

The Work Opportunity Act of 1995 (S. 1120)



The Impact on Poverty and Income Distribution

On Child Poverty:

- S. 1120 will push 1.1 million more children into poverty, an increase of almost 11 percent in the number of children living below the poverty line.
- The child poverty rate will rise from 14.5 percent to 16.1 percent. (See methodology for a description of the poverty measure used.)

On Poverty in Families:

- An additional 1.9 million persons in families with children will fall below the poverty line.
- The poverty gap for families with children will increase \$4.1 billion, or 25 percent. As a result, a total of \$4.1 billion in additional income will be required to bring these families up to the poverty threshold.

On Income Distribution:

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The poorest families will face the largest program cuts under S. 1120. In families with children, those in the lowest income quintile will lose an average of almost \$800 of their annual income, or 6 percent.

- Eleven percent of families with children in the lowest income quintile will face significant losses in annual income of 15 percent or more. For families in the lowest quintile, who have an average income of \$13,400, this represents a loss of more than \$2,000 in annual income.
- The severity of the impact of S. 1120 on poor families exacerbates the deteriorating economic situation for these families who have lost a greater share of their income in the past 15 years than families with higher income. Income for families with children in the lowest income quintile has declined by 20.7 percent over the period 1979 - 1990, compared to 24 percent growth for families in the highest income quintile.

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Methodology

These preliminary results are based on the TRIM2 microsimulation model, using data from the March 1994 Current Population Survey. Overall, these estimates tend to be a conservative measure of the impact of S. 1120 on poverty and income distribution. The analysis assumes that states will continue to operate the program like the current AFDC program (i.e., they will service all families eligible for assistance); that states will maintain their 1994 spending levels; and that recipients are not cut off from benefits prior to the five year limit. Additionally, the results are conservative because not all provisions are included and because the data do not identify all persons who would potentially be affected by the program cuts. The model also assumes dynamic change in the labor supply response for those affected by the time limit provision, based on the best academic estimates of labor supply response.

The results compare the impact of the Senate Republican welfare reform proposal with current law. The computer simulations include the impact of the fully implemented provisions in S. 1120, as amended, on AFDC, SSI, and the Food Stamp Program in 1996 dollars and population. S. 1120 will decrease spending on AFDC-related programs by \$8.8 billion, in 1996 dollars. Spending on children formerly eligible for SSI will decline by \$1.5 billion. The Food Stamp Program will be reduced by \$1.5 billion.

The poverty analysis is displayed in 1993 dollars. The definition of poverty in this analysis utilizes a measure of income that includes cash income plus the value of food stamps, school lunches, housing programs, and the EITC, less federal taxes. This income is then compared to the Census Bureau's poverty thresholds, adjusted for family size. For example, a family of three today (1995) is living in poverty with income below \$12,183; a family of four with income below \$15,610.

The following are the specific provisions of S. 1120 that were modeled (these provisions may not reflect the final version of the Senate welfare reform bill):

AFDC:

- Reduce AFDC spending as a result of the block grant
- Limit receipt of AFDC benefits to five years with a 15 percent hardship exemption
- Deny benefits to immigrants
- Eliminate \$50 child support disregard

SSI:

- Deny benefits to immigrants
- Deny benefits to some children formerly eligible because of changes in the definition of disabilities

Food Stamps:

- Reduce the standard deduction
- Reduce benefits to eligible households from 103 percent of the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan to 100 percent
- Include energy assistance as income in determining a household's eligibility and benefits
- Eliminate indexing for one- and two-person households
- Lower age cutoff for disregard of students' earned income from 21 to 19 years
- Require single, childless adults to work

Table 1
THE IMPACT OF THE SENATE WELFARE REFORM PROPOSAL
ON CHILD POVERTY

Simulates effects of full implementation in 1993 dollars

	Current Law	Senate Proposal	Change from Current Law
Children Under 18			
Number of people in poverty (in millions)	10.1	11.2	1.1
Poverty rate (in percent)	14.5%	16.1%	1.6%
Families with Children			
Number of people in poverty (in millions)	17.1	19.0	1.9
Poverty rate (in percent)	11.8%	13.2%	1.5%
Poverty gap (in billions)	\$16.3	\$20.4	\$4.1
All Persons			
Number of people in poverty (in millions)	28.2	30.5	2.3
Poverty rate (in percent)	10.9%	11.7%	0.8%
Poverty gap (in billions)	\$46.9	\$52.0	\$5.1

Notes: Senate Republican welfare reform proposal simulations include the impact of S. 1120, as amended, on AFDC, SSI, and Food Stamps. Model incorporates a labor supply and state response.

This definition of poverty utilizes a measure of income that includes cash income, plus the value of food stamps, school lunches, housing programs, and the EITC, less federal taxes to compare to the poverty thresholds.

Source: TRIM2 model, based on data from the March 1994 Current Population Survey.

September 14, 1995

DRAFT: NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

Table 2
THE IMPACT OF THE SENATE WELFARE REFORM PROPOSAL
ON FAMILY INCOME
by Income Quintiles and Family Type
Simulates effects of full implementation in 1996 dollars

	Total Reduction in Income (in billions)	Average Income Under Current Law	Average Income Reduction Per Family	Percent Change	Percent of Families Losing 15% or More of Their Income
Families with Children					
Lowest	-6.0	13,441	-798	-5.9	10.9
Second	-3.2	21,698	-422	-1.9	4.2
Third	-1.1	32,016	-150	-0.5	0.9
Fourth	-0.4	45,868	-50	-0.1	0.0
Highest	-0.4	79,154	-52	-0.1	0.0
Total	-11.2	38,735	-292	-0.8	3.2

Notes: The comparison shown is between the Senate Republican Leadership welfare reform proposal and current law. The simulations include the impact of the provisions in S. 1120, as amended, on AFDC, SSI, and Food Stamps. Model incorporates a labor supply and state response.

The definition of quintile in this analysis uses adjusted family income and sorts an equal number of persons into each quintile. Adjusted family income is derived by dividing family income by the poverty level for the appropriate family size.

Source: TRIM2 Model, based on data from the March 1994 Current Population Survey.



THE CHAIRMAN

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/14/95

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September 12, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ *JES*

Attached is a report that the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) and the U.S. Department of Labor will release in Los Angeles, California on Thursday, September 14, 1995 as part of the Administration's "Back-to-School Week" efforts.

The report details the overwhelming evidence regarding the benefits of education to America's workers and to the economy. The report also points to evidence on the importance of making education affordable and accessible.

Attachment

*To Don Baer
Ann Lewis
Fgt-*

**EDUCATING AMERICA:
AN INVESTMENT FOR OUR FUTURE**

**A Report by the
Council of Economic Advisers and the
U.S. Department of Labor**

September, 1995

EDUCATING AMERICA: AN INVESTMENT FOR OUR FUTURE

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

* The educational level -- that is, the number of years of completed formal education -- of the U.S. workforce has risen, both over the long-term and over the past twenty years. Test scores have been increasing in the United States, especially for minorities. At the same time, U.S. students compare unfavorably to those in many other nations on tests of math and science achievement.

* More educated workers earn more, and the gap between earnings of high school and college graduates has more than doubled over the past 15 years. In 1994, the median full-time worker with at least a bachelor's degree earned 74 percent more per week than the median full-time worker with only a high school degree; this figure was only 36 percent in 1979.

* Since education raises the earnings and productivity of workers, it contributes to overall economic growth. Evidence from cross-country comparisons generally supports the conclusion that education contributes to growth.

* The weight of evidence indicates that Head Start and other compensatory preschool education programs improve subsequent school achievement. Evidence is not yet available to provide a full evaluation of "school to work" programs, but the initial evidence is favorable.

* Education and training pay off for workers who have already entered the labor market. Worker training is generally an essential ingredient of high-performance workplaces.

* Programs that make education cheaper or more available appear to increase the amount of educational attainment.

EDUCATING AMERICA: AN INVESTMENT FOR OUR FUTURE

Investments in education yield greater dividends today than ever before. The following is a survey of the overwhelming evidence regarding the benefits of education to American workers and to our nation's economy, and the importance of assuring affordable access to higher education.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE U.S. WORKFORCE HAS RISEN IN RECENT YEARS.

American workers now have more years of formal education than ever before. Recent years have seen the continuation of three heartening trends.

First, more students are finishing high school. In 1973, 14.1 percent of 16- to 24-year-olds were high-school dropouts; by 1993, the rate had fallen to 11.0 percent. Part of this improvement is due to increases in the graduation rates of African American students, whose dropout rates have fallen much more sharply than have dropout rates for white students. [See Chart A]

Second, more high-school graduates are attending college. Since 1980, the percentage of high-school graduates who enrolled in college following graduation has increased from 30.5 percent to 41.6 percent. [See Chart B] As new workers have replaced older, less educated workers, the share of the labor force with a college degree has also increased, from 16 percent in 1973 to 29 percent in 1993. [See Chart C]

Third, total graduate-school enrollment has grown almost as rapidly as undergraduate enrollment, in percentage terms, over the past two decades; growth in graduate enrollment for full-time students has been much faster than in undergraduate enrollment.

The result of these three trends has been a more educated labor force: average years of education per worker climbed from 11.8 in 1973 to 13.0 in 1990.¹ [See Chart D]

Test scores have also risen, although they remain unimpressive by international standards. Over the past decade, test scores in mathematics, science, and verbal skills have generally risen for children of almost all ages and racial and ethnic groups. These test-score gains have been largest among African American students. Despite the gains, there remains room for further improvement: U.S. students continue to trail students from most other industrialized nations on international achievement tests in math and science. [See Chart E and F]

¹ U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1994*; and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor Composition and U.S. Productivity Growth, 1948-90*, December 1993.

II. FORMAL EDUCATION CREATES SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC BENEFITS, BOTH FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND FOR SOCIETY.

More educated workers earn more, and the gap has doubled over the past 15 years. In 1994, for example, the median full-time worker with at least a bachelor's degree earned 74 percent more per week than the median full-time worker with only a high school degree; this gap was only 36 percent in 1979. The rewards to education and training are one of the most well-established findings in economics.² Positive returns to education and the recent increase in returns have been documented for a wide range of foreign nations, as well as for the United States.³ [See Chart G]

Establishments with higher levels of education have higher productivity.⁴ A nationally-representative survey found that an establishment whose workforce has an average education 10 percent (that is, slightly more than one year of schooling) above that of similar establishments has productivity about 8.6 percent above similar establishments.

Labor demand in high-skill occupations is increasing. Taken together, the two trends noted above -- the greater numbers of college graduates, and the increasing earnings gap between college and high-school graduates -- suggest that demand for higher-skilled workers must have increased in recent decades. And indeed, occupational evidence supports this view. From 1984 to 1994, whereas employment growth in occupations whose workers have low levels of education averaged only 7 percent, employment growth in high-skill occupations averaged an impressive 32 percent. The increases in employment in high-skill occupations presumably would have been even larger if there had not been an increase in the wages of skilled workers relative to unskilled. [See Chart H]

There is some debate about the cause of the correlation between education and earnings. One problem is that people with high ability are disproportionately likely to receive above-average education, but would also have been disproportionately likely to receive high wages even if they had not received so much education. In addition, education can pay off for an individual because education is a credential that signals high ability, even if little is learned at school.

² Willis, Robert, "Wage Determinants: A Survey And Reinterpretation of Human Capital Earnings Functions," in Orley Ashenfelter and Richard Layard, eds., *Handbook of Labor Economics*, Volume I, Elsevier Publishers, 1986.

³ Psacharopoulos, George, "Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications," *Journal of Human Resources*, Volume 20, Fall, 1985; and Freeman, Richard B., and Lawrence Katz, "Rising Wage Inequality: The United States vs. Other Countries," in Freeman, Richard B., ed., *Working Under Different Rules* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation), 1994.

⁴ Lynch, Lisa, "The Other Shoe: Characteristics of Human Capital Investments and their Pay-offs to Employers," working paper, National Center on the Educational Quality of the Workforce, University of Pennsylvania, 1995.

Nevertheless, much of the evidence indicates that the economic rewards to education accrue because schooling actually makes students more productive as employees, and not primarily because schooling screens out low-ability students.

One recent study showed that a year of college education increases earnings by 5 percent to 10 percent, even controlling for family backgrounds or test scores in high school. This result holds not only for four-year institutions, but also for community colleges.⁵

Another study examined identical twins, who obviously share similar family characteristics and identical genes, and found that each year of additional schooling raises later earnings of the more-educated twin by about 13 percent.⁶

A third study found that each additional year of schooling due to compulsory-schooling laws raises earnings by 8 percent (although statistical problems limit the precision of this estimate).⁷

III. EDUCATION CONTRIBUTES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH.

New evidence emphasizes that education is an important determinant of the speed at which the economy as a whole grows. A large body of literature has shown that countries with the highest initial levels of education in 1960 or 1965 typically grew the fastest in subsequent decades.⁸ One recent study, in trying to pinpoint just how education makes its contribution, has shown that countries with better-educated labor forces are better able to take advantage of technologies developed in other countries;⁹ this factor is likely to have contributed to the growth successes of Japan and the East Asian newly industrialized countries. Sketchier evidence suggests that even within countries, states and regions with

⁵ Kane, Thomas J. and Cecilia Rouse, "Labor Market Returns to Two and Four-Year College: Is A Credit a Credit and Do Degrees Matter?", *American Economic Review*, Vol. 85, No. 3, pp. 600-14 (1995).

⁶ Ashenfelter, Orley, and Alan B. Krueger, "Estimates of the Economic Returns to Schooling From a New Sample of Twins," *American Economic Review*, December 1994. Other studies of twins have found smaller, but still positive, effects.

⁷ Angrist, Joshua and Alan Krueger, "Does Compulsory School Attendance Affect Schooling and Earnings?," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 61, No. 4, November 1991.

⁸ See, for example, Barro, Robert J., "Economic Growth in a Cross Section of Countries," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Volume 106, May 1991; and Mankiw, N. Gregory, David Romer, and David Weil, "A Contribution to the Empirics of Economic Growth," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Volume 107, May 1992.

⁹ Benhabib, Jess, and Mark M. Spiegel, "The Role of Human Capital in Economic Development: Evidence from Aggregate Cross-Country Data," *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Vol. 34, 1994.

better-educated labor forces grow more rapidly.¹⁰ A well-educated workforce can also raise the productivity of R&D (for example, because new innovations are implemented more quickly), encouraging the technological improvements that are the crucial ingredient in long-term growth.

The cross-country evidence for an education growth effect can best be thought of as augmenting the other evidence on the returns to education. The central difficulty with these cross-country analyses is that countries that "got education right" also got many other things right. That is, countries with high levels of education tended to be those with high investment rates, low inflation rates, a strong export orientation, and stable political systems—all of which are believed to contribute to growth. As a result, disentangling these factors to determine which of them has contributed most is no easy matter. Still, most growth economists believe that in combination with other factors, education plays an important role.

Educational improvements have contributed significantly to postwar economic growth in the United States. If we accept the proposition that more educated workers are paid more because their education makes them more productive, then we can estimate education's growth effects directly by measuring increases in the educational attainment of the workforce. Using this method, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that between 1963 and 1992, improvements in education added 0.3 percentage points per year to the growth rate of GDP—meaning that education accounted for about 20 percent of per-capita income growth over that period. This estimate depends crucially on the assumption that the earnings effects of education equal its effects on the economy's productivity. To the extent that returns to education are associated with credential screening and signalling, then 0.3 percentage points is an overestimate; but if education has positive spillovers, then the actual contribution of education may be even greater. Training and on-the-job learning also contribute to economic growth, although we have no estimates of the magnitude of these effects.

Educational improvements for lower-skilled workers can help ensure that they benefit fully from economic growth. Factors that contribute to growth, such as technological advancement and increased trade, sometimes benefit higher-skilled workers disproportionately. The computer advances of recent years, for example, have probably contributed to economic growth while simultaneously shifting labor demand toward the high-skilled workers who can best use the new technologies. To keep lower-skilled workers from being left behind by growth, it may therefore be necessary to increase their levels of education and training.

¹⁰ Holtz-Eakin, Douglas, "Solow and the States: Capital Accumulation, Productivity, and Economic Growth," *National Tax Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 4, 1993.

IV. LEARNING THROUGHOUT THE LIFE CYCLE HAS HIGH PAYOFFS.

Head Start and other compensatory pre-school programs have substantial economic payoffs. Pre-school programs, such as Head Start, can give a persistent boost to academic achievement. Compared with other students with similar characteristics, graduates of Head Start-style programs are less likely to be held back in school, less likely to be classified as special-education students, and more likely to graduate from high school. As a result, the program appears to yield net benefits not only for participants but also for the taxpayer.¹¹ Critics of Head Start-style programs have noted that although the programs substantially increase the IQ test scores of participant children relative to non-participants, this test-score advantage disappears by the end of grade school. But studies that have looked beyond this narrow measure of intelligence show that despite the erosion of IQ test-score effects, these programs do raise future academic achievement.

School-to-work programs can improve student outcomes. Recently, substantial governmental efforts have been devoted to strengthening the link between high schools, community colleges, and the workplace. Although these efforts are in many cases too recent to have produced results that can be evaluated rigorously, preliminary results are encouraging. For example, California's Partnership Academies, which combine high-school education with career-focused training and work experience, have apparently been quite successful in reducing dropout rates among program participants.¹² More definite results are available for established programs targeted at high-school dropouts, such as the highly successful Center for Employment Training in San Jose.

Education and training for experienced workers have economic benefits as well. One recent study concluded that each year of education provided through a Pennsylvania program for older displaced workers increased earnings by some 7 percent.¹³ And a recent study of the Job Training Partnership Act, a Federal program providing training for economically disadvantaged clients, found that participation increased the earnings of adult

¹¹ Barnett, W. Steven, "Benefits of Compensatory Preschool Education," *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 27, No. 2, Spring 1992.

¹² Hayward, Becky, and G. Tallmadge, *Evaluation of Dropout Prevention and Reentry Projects in Vocational Education*, draft final report, Research Triangle Institute, November 1993; and Stern, David, et al., "Benefits and Costs of Dropout Prevention in a Program Combining Academic and Vocational Education: Third-Year Results from Replications of the California Peninsula Academies," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1989.

¹³ Jacobson, Louis, Robert LaLonde, and Daniel G. Sullivan, "The Returns to Classroom Training for Dislocated Workers," unpublished manuscript, September 1994.

males by 10 percent and the earnings of adult female participants by 15 percent. These earnings gains were one and a half times greater than the costs invested to produce them.¹⁴ [See Chart I]

Firm-provided vocational training has positive economic impacts for participants and employers. For workers, a year of either on-the-job or formal training raises wages by about as much as a year of college education.¹⁵ There is also evidence that firm-provided training leads to productivity gains. A survey of small manufacturing firms in Michigan that received training grants from the state government found that the additional training provided by manufacturing firms significantly raised productivity.¹⁶ Another study of formal training programs in manufacturing firms found that firms that introduced training programs in 1983 had productivity growth that was 19 percent faster, on average, than at other firms.¹⁷

Some evidence suggests that training is most effective when combined with other innovative workplace practices. In practice, companies that train their workers well tend also to have adopted other innovative practices—for example, pay systems that reward productivity, as well as management structures that give frontline employees the ability to suggest and implement improvements in the product and workplace.¹⁸ Several studies suggest that taken together, these policies are particularly effective.

Evidence of the effectiveness of these human-resource practices comes from a variety of industries. In manufacturing, a multiyear study of steel finishing lines showed that plants using highly innovative human-resource management systems (i.e., that had incentive-based pay and employee involvement as well as training) had the highest productivity: these plants were in operation 98 percent of scheduled time, compared with only 88 percent of the time at companies with traditional work practices.¹⁹ Another study concluded that high-involvement steel minimills not only excel in quality and productivity but also enjoy lower employee

¹⁴ Bloom, Howard S., et al., *The National JTPA Study: Overview of Impacts, Benefits, and Costs of Title II-A*, Abt Associates, February 1994.

¹⁵ Lynch, Lisa, "Private Sector Training and the Earnings of Young Workers," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 82, No. 1., 1992.

¹⁶ Holzer, Harry et al., "Are Training Subsidies for Firms Effective? The Michigan Experience," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, November 1993.

¹⁷ Bartel, Anne, "Productivity Gains from the Implementation of Employee Training Programs," *Industrial Relations*, forthcoming.

¹⁸ U.S. Department of Labor, *High Performance Work Practices and Firm Performance*, 1993; and Levine, David I., *Reinventing the Workplace: How Business and Employees Can Both Win* (Brookings, 1993).

¹⁹ Ichniowski, Casey, Kathryn Shaw, and Giovanna Prennushi, "The Effects of Human Resource Management Practices on Productivity," unpublished manuscript, March 1994.

turnover.²⁰ Moreover, these results are not unique to the steel industry. A comparison of productivity in several industries in the U.S., Germany and Japan found that adopting best-practice production processes generally required extensive worker training.²¹ A worldwide study of the automobile industry found that a coordinated change to an involvement-oriented human resource system can simultaneously improve product quality and productivity.²² Studies of the electrical components industry and of companies with flexible manufacturing systems have found similar results.²³

Although most of the detailed studies are in manufacturing, these policies also appear to yield benefits in service industries. One study of 850 publicly held service companies discovered that these work practices correlated with a significant reduction in employee turnover and with 16 percent higher sales per employee (controlling for capital per worker and research and development spending), higher annual cash flow, and increased market value of the company.²⁴

V. FAMILY INCOME AND TUITION COSTS AFFECT EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES.

Borrowing constraints mean that college costs may have a particularly large effect on educational attainment. If capital markets functioned perfectly, any student for whom the expected returns to education were greater than the interest rate would be able to borrow enough to cover tuition and living costs. Thus low- and high-income students with similar abilities would be expected to enroll in college at similar rates. But in practice, future earnings are far less effective as collateral than are physical assets such as houses. As a result, before federal guarantees, students could not generally borrow enough to cover the costs of education. Thus college costs matter more than they should: even when costs are low enough to make education a good investment for a low-income student, they may be too high for him or her to stay in school. A variety of evidence suggests that by easing the borrowing constraint, government can substantially increase educational enrollments.

²⁰ Arthur, Jeffrey B., "Effects of Human Resource Systems on Manufacturing Performance and Turnover," *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1994.

²¹ Baily, Martin Neil, and Hans Gersbach, "Efficiency in Manufacturing and the Need for Global Competition," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity: Microeconomics*, forthcoming.

²² MacDuffie, John Paul, "Human Resource Bundles and Manufacturing Performance," University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School of Management, June 1993.

²³ Cutcher-Gershenfeld, Joel, "The Impact on Economic Performance of a Transformation in Workplace Relations," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 44, January 1991; and Jaikumar, Ramchandran, "Postindustrial Manufacturing," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 64, November-December 1986.

²⁴ Huselid, Mark A., "The Impact of Human Resource Management Practices on Turnover, Productivity, and Corporate Financial Performance," *Academy of Management Journal*, forthcoming.

Lower college tuition leads substantially more students to enroll in college. The net cost of college education appears to have a substantial impact on the likelihood of college enrollment for low-income students. For example, one recent study has found that students from states with low public-university tuition levels are more likely to attend post-secondary education than students from other states, even after controlling for a wide variety of other factors that could cause this difference.²⁵ The effect is stronger for low-income students than for high-income students, consistent with the hypothesis that borrowing constraints do indeed constrain educational attainment.

Government aid can also play an important role in driving down the cost of college, and thus inducing more students from low-income families to attend. For a variety of reasons, students from low-income families may be particularly averse to taking on the high level of indebtedness associated with borrowing for college. Consistent with this, there is a substantial amount of evidence that for low-income students, the availability of grant aid strongly increases the likelihood of participation in further education.²⁶

The low levels of educational attainment of low-income students (caused both by borrowing constraints and by other risk factors) are costly in terms of lost future productivity. For poor children, rates of school completion and advancement to post-secondary education are much lower than for other children. For example, children who experience poverty between the ages of 6 and 15 years are two to three times more likely to drop out of high school than are students who never experience poverty. A recent study commissioned by the Children's Defense Fund, which added up the costs of low educational achievement for the 14.6 million poor children in 1992, estimated that each year that these children spend in poverty costs the economy somewhere between \$36 billion and \$177 billion in reduced future productivity and employment. (Again, these estimates assume that the productivity benefits of a year of education are as large for poor students as they are for the average student.)

²⁵ Kane, Thomas, "College Entry By Blacks Since 1970: The Role of College Costs, Family Background, and Returns to Education," *Journal of Political Economy*, October 1994. See also Manski, Charles, and David Wise, *College Choice in America*, Harvard University Press, 1983.

²⁶ McPherson, Michael, and Morton Shapiro, *Keeping College Affordable: Government and Educational Opportunity*, Brookings Institution, 1991, p. 214; Hauptman, Arthur M., and Maureen McLaughlin, "Is the Goal of Access to Post-Secondary Education Being Met?," Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1988; Jensen, Eric L., "Financial Aid and Educational Outcomes: A Review," *College and University*, Spring 1983; Leslie, Larry, and Paul Brinkman, *The Economic Value of Higher Education*, McMillan, 1988; Manski and Wise, *op. cit.*

VI. CONCLUSION

A quality education is a key determinant of an individual's future economic well-being and is a critical ingredient for this nation's future economic health and strength. The evidence on this score is overwhelming.

- * The economic returns to education for America's working men and women have risen dramatically. In 1979, the median full-time worker with at least a bachelor's degree earned 36 percent more per week than a worker with only a high school degree. By 1994, that difference had grown to 74 percent.
- * Since education raises the earnings and productivity of workers, it contributes to overall economic growth.
- * The evidence shows that compensatory preschool education programs such as Head Start improve subsequent school achievement. The evidence is not yet available to provide a full evaluation of "school to work" programs, but the initial evidence is favorable.
- * Education and training pay off for workers who have already entered the labor market. Worker training is generally an essential ingredient in the adoption of high performance workplaces.
- * Programs that make education cheaper or more available appear to increase the amount of education.

In the words of Benjamin Franklin: "An investment in knowledge pays the best interest."

Given the strong evidence pointing to the positive impact that education has on the lives of American workers and our economy, our nation must renew its commitment to these investments. Abandoning our commitment to education -- especially at a time when the future standard of living for American workers and the strength of the American economy depends on an educated workforce -- is shortsighted and could have long-term damaging consequences to this nation's economic health and strength.

CHART A
High-school dropout rates for persons aged 16 to 24 years

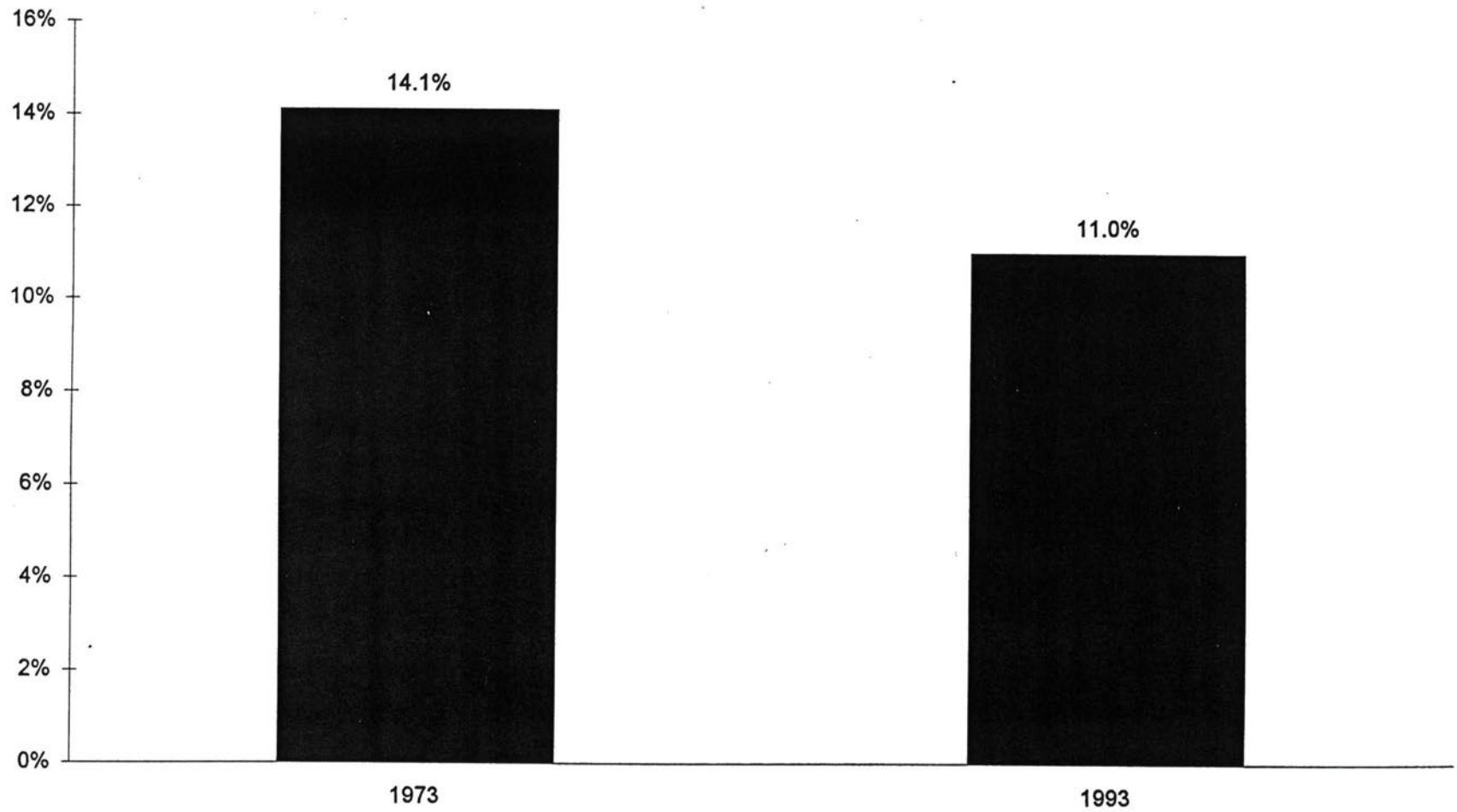


CHART B
College enrollment of 18- to 24-year-old high-school graduates

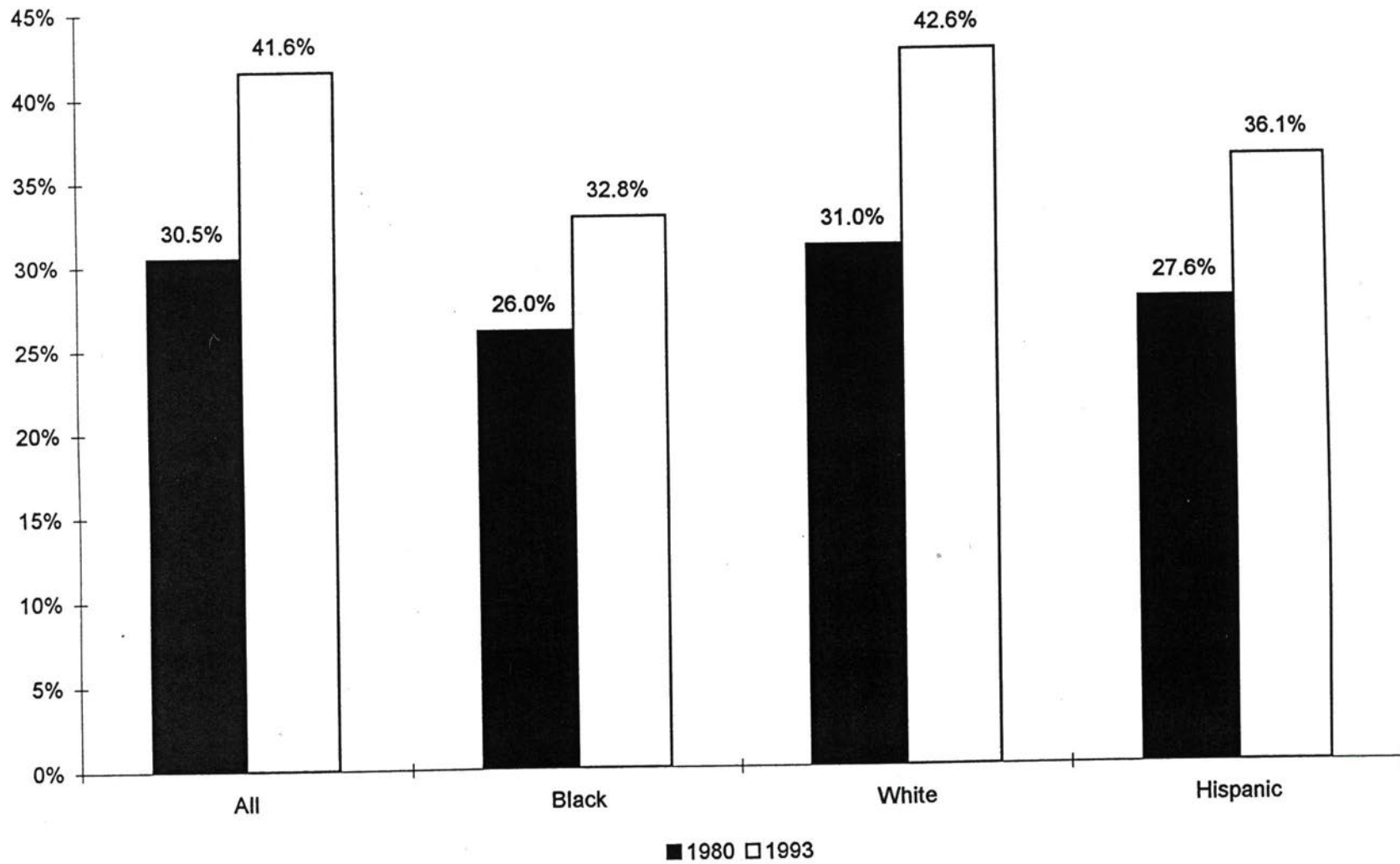


CHART C
Fraction of labor force with a college degree

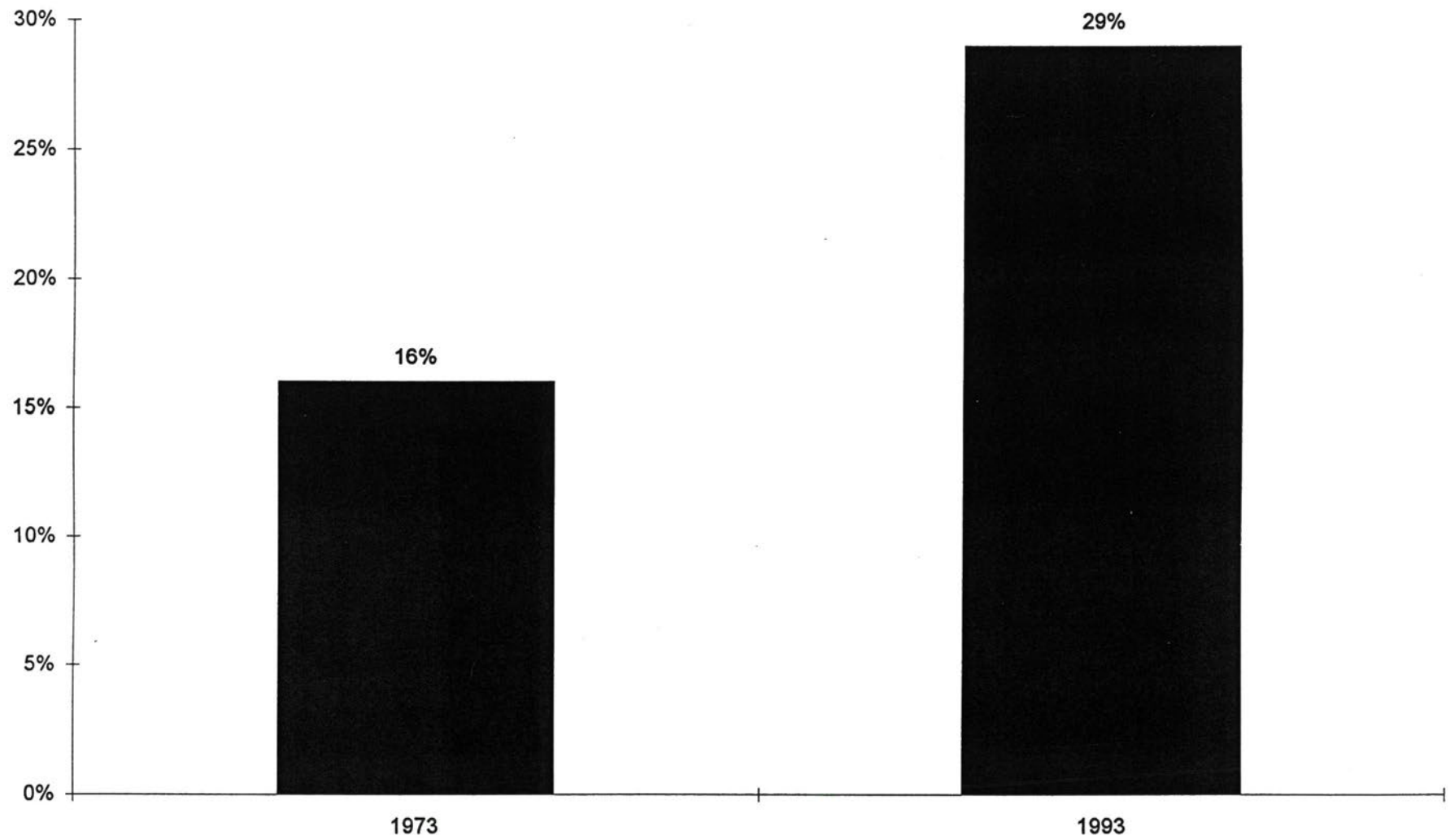


CHART D
Average years of education per worker

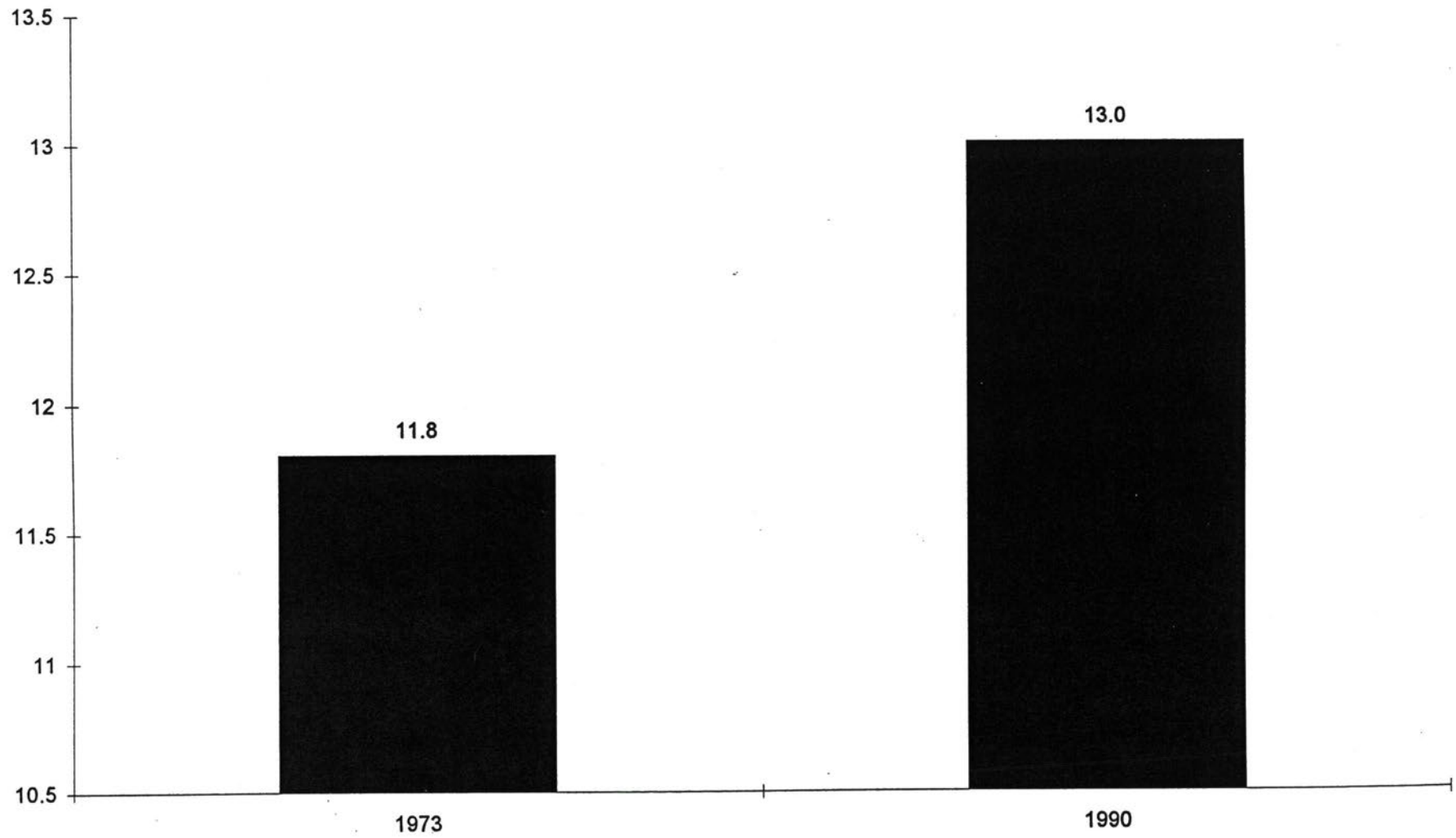


CHART E
NAEP Mathematics Scores of 17-year olds
1978, 1982, 1986, 1990, and 1992

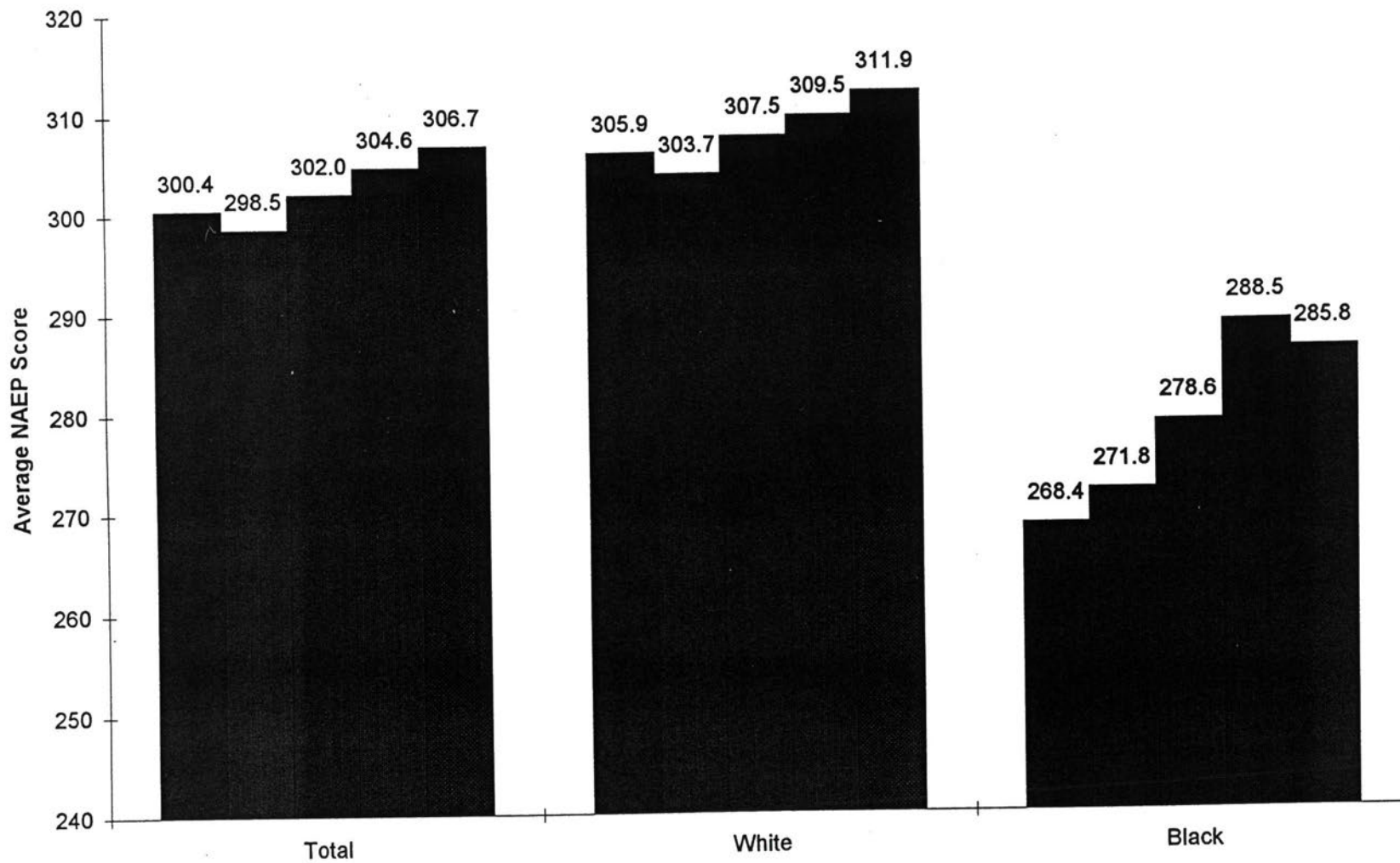
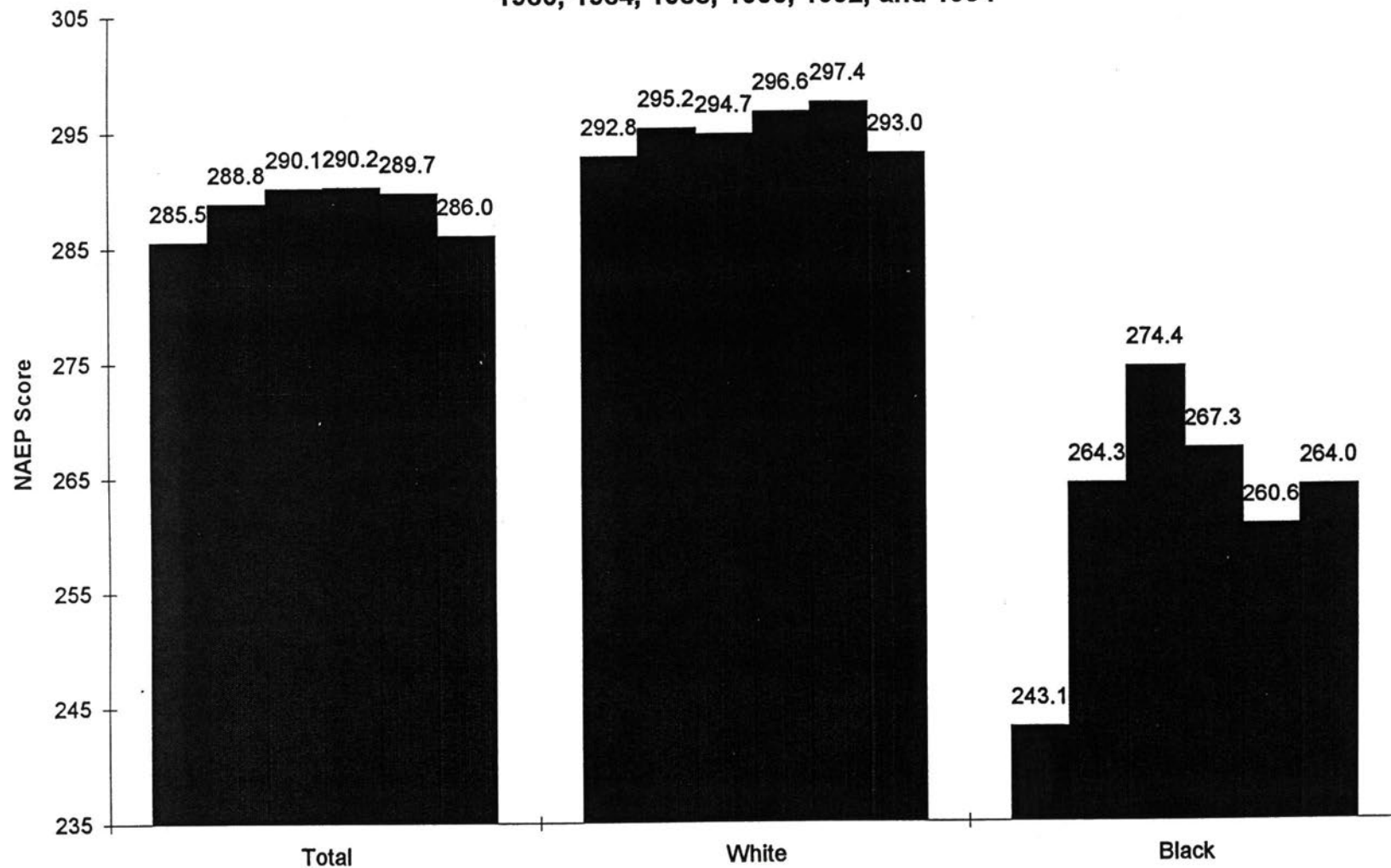


CHART F
NAEP Reading Scores of 17-year olds*
1980, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994



*Data for 1994 are for twelfth-graders, nearly equivalent to 17-year-olds.

CHART G
Mean annual earnings for male full-time year-round workers,
Aged 25 to 34 in 1979 and 1993

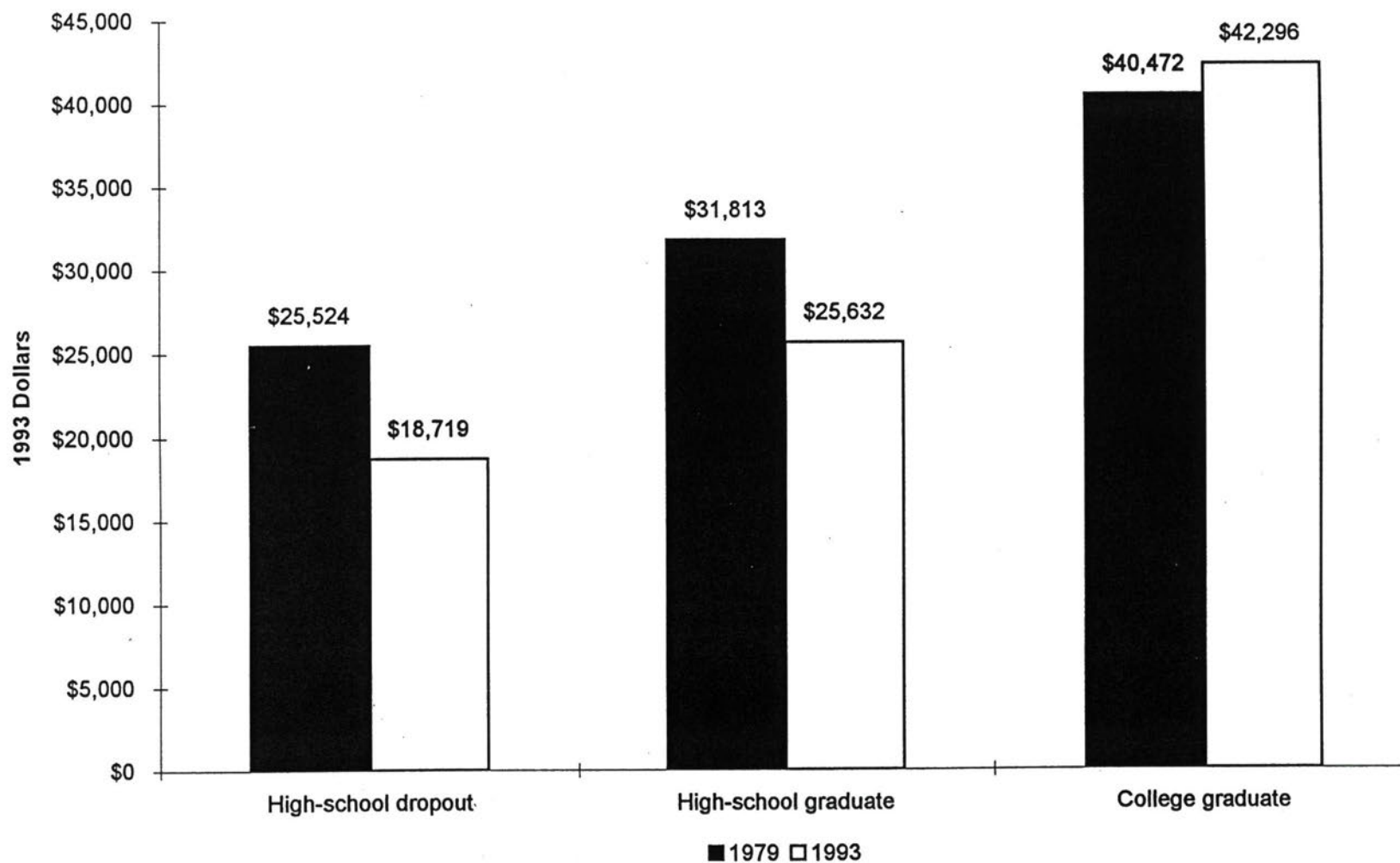
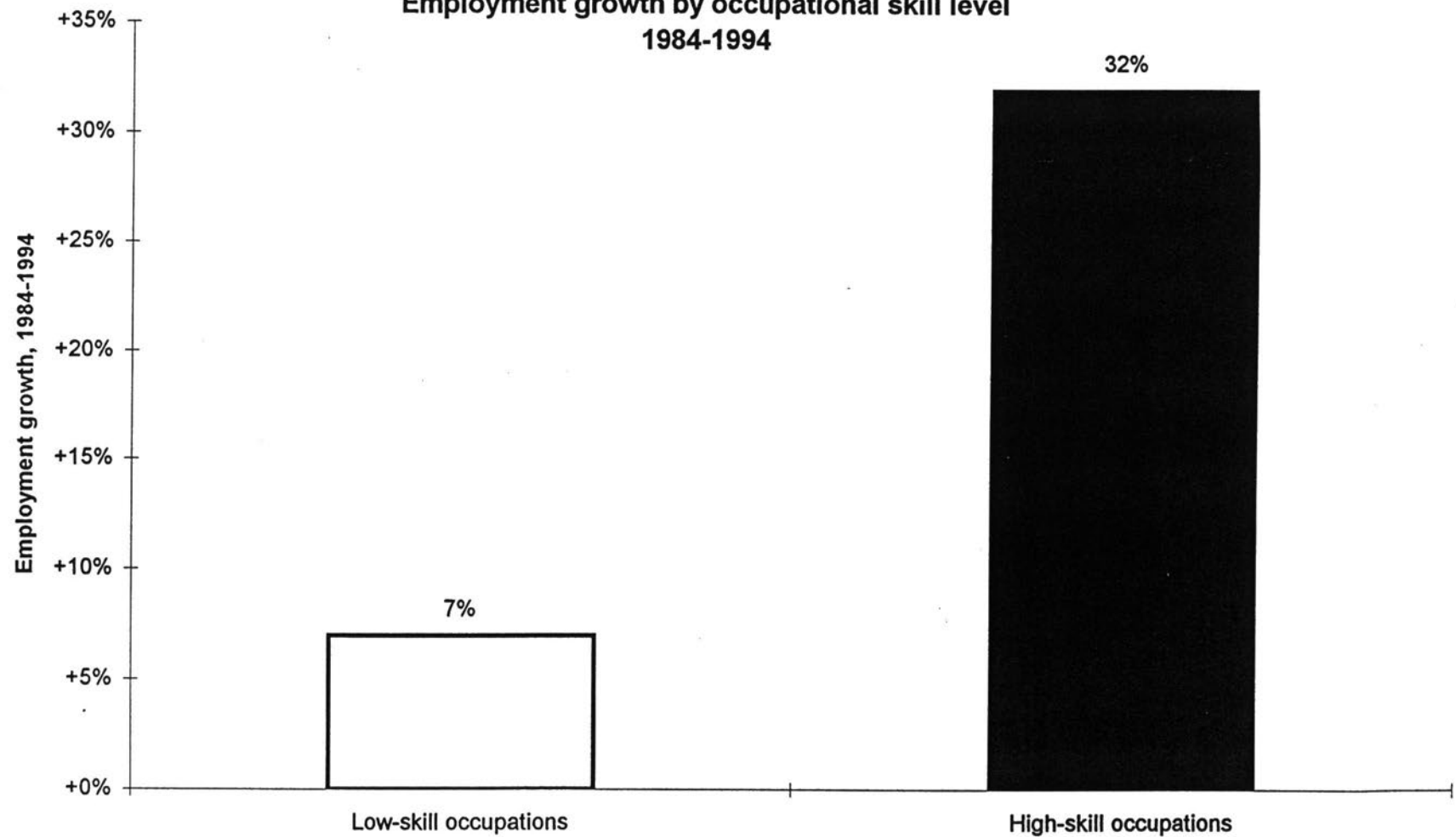


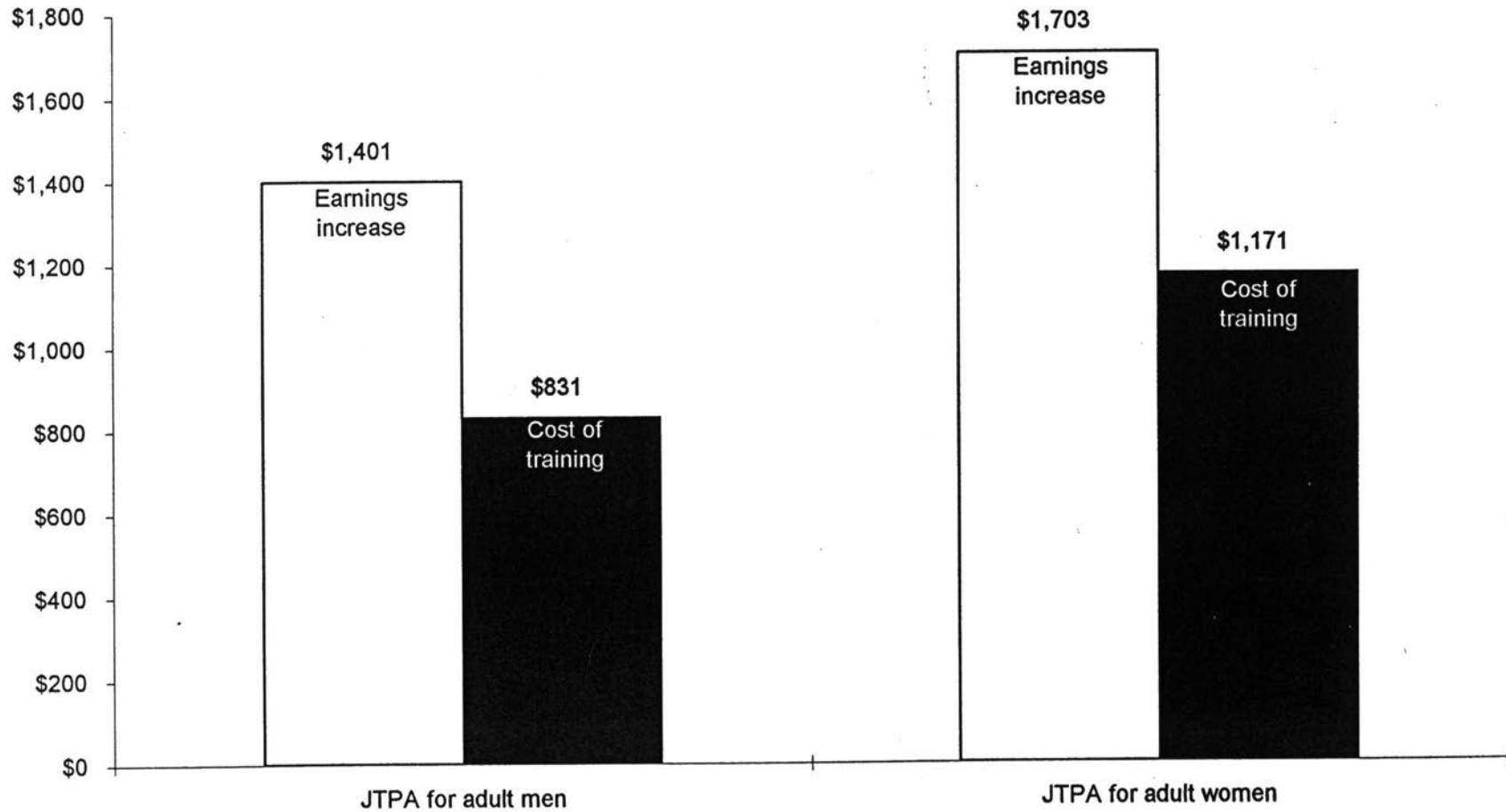
CHART H

Employment growth by occupational skill level 1984-1994



NOTE: High-skill occupations are defined as those in the top third of all employment by average educational attainment. Low-skill occupations are defined as those in the bottom third of all employment by average educational attainment.

CHART I
Increases in earnings outweigh costs of JTPA training



NOTE: Earnings increase represents total additional earnings due to training over 30 months following training.



LAW OFFICES OF
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W. Smith-George

JONATHAN A. SMITH-GEORGE, ESQ.

Jim P.

NATIONSBANK BUILDING
12350 JEFFERSON AVENUE, SUITE 360
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA 23602
(804) 249-1881 TELEPHONE (804) 249-3242 TELEFACSIMILE

*Need to sign
a petition to
"Niedas" - send
to their guy - BC*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-14-95

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

✓
Jim Dorskind
Betty Currie
Photo Office
Rebecca Cameron



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Wendell F. Brooks, Jr.

Real Estate & Business Consultant/Analyst
Realtor C.P.M. C.R.E.

*Give me money at his
Club - need money
autog. medium — Be-~~Be~~*
1597 Kalaniuka Circle • Honolulu, HI 96821 • Phone/Fax (808) 377-8510

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Jim Dorskind
Betty Currie
Photo Office
Rebecca Cameron

So healthy
to ~~down~~ ~~down~~
all
on

By

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1995

cc Billy W

Susan R. Estrich
Robert Kingsley Professor
of Law and Political Science
The Law Center
University of Southern California
University Park
Los Angeles, California 90089

Dear Susan:

Thanks for your letter of September 7 and for letting Hillary and me know about Carol Channing's upcoming show in Washington and the party Lynda Robb is hosting in her honor. I'm not sure what the schedule here will hold, but I've shared your letter with Billy Webster, my scheduler, to make him aware of the show and the party on October 2.

Thanks, too, for following up on my visit there and for sharing your perspective on the political situation in California. I appreciate, as always, your insight.

Please give Marty Hillary's and my best. We look forward to seeing you both soon.

Sincerely, *Billy*
I was amazed at the courage
because I feel we had to clean up
the affirmative action, stop illegal
immigration and border legal immigration
quoting but not to divide the country and
after all these aren't the root cause of economic insecurity.

Duffy
Ce Biley

THE LAW CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES 90089-0071

SUSAN R. ESTRICH
ROBERT KINGSLEY PROFESSOR OF LAW
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

(213) 740-7578
FAX (213) 740-5502

September 7, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

Carol Channing, who is godmother to both my children, is doing "Hello Dolly" in Washington September 12-October 8. Lynda Robb is giving a party in her honor on October 2. She would be absolutely thrilled if you and Hillary and Chelsea could ever find the time to see the show, drop by, etc. She is one of the most wonderful women I know; at 70-something, she does eight shows a week, hasn't missed a performance in a year on the road, and is on her way back to Broadway after Washington. Since she started out singing about Little Rock, she feels special affection for you; and since I know how to send mail that actually gets to you (thank you, Betty), I promised to write. We love her and her husband Charles very much.

The Los Angeles Times continues to turn almost everything into a story on affirmative action and immigration. Your Labor Day visit played on the front page as an attack on the Republicans for their stands on these issues (could that have really been the lead?), right next to Bob Dole's call for an end to bilingual education (you know things are tough when Bob Dole beats Pete Wilson to one of these issues). Of course you're right about the economic scapegoating, but I'm not sure it matters: for many people, these issues are as much about the frayed social contract as they are the economy. How do we live together, particularly in the most diverse state in the country, if we don't have a common set of rules by which everyone is judged, and if we don't trust each other to apply those rules fairly? Racism is still real -- Mark Fuhrmann proves that; but O.J. Simpson himself is increasingly being viewed in the white community as a symbol of using racism as an excuse, in his case to get away with murder. Blacks rightly complain that it is racist to assume that a black jury can't judge O.J. Simpson fairly, and then turn around and argue that set asides should be continued because whites can't be trusted to judge blacks fairly. I happen to think being an American does have something to do with learning and speaking English in school, rewarding excellence regardless of skin color, and obeying the rule of law; it also has to do with tolerance, decency and compassion. But there isn't much of that on the other side; I got booed at the Reagan library last month for actually suggesting that we should treat the Presidency with respect. I don't think Americans like meanness.

Saw Roger at a BBC taping. He looked great. Marty sends his best.

Love,
Susan

Education
to Italy

On
m

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1995

The Honorable Richard S. Arnold
Chief Judge
United States Court of Appeals
for the Eighth Circuit
United States Courthouse
600 West Capitol Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Richard:

Thanks for your letter of August 29 and for reporting on your trip to Tanzania. It's good to have your insight on the situation there, and I think you're right that Ambassador Anderson is representing our nation very well. I'm pleased you had such a fine trip.

Please give Kay my best. See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

*Barry is great —
and the folks
of your golf on the
equator.*

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

EIGHTH CIRCUIT

CHAMBERS OF

RICHARD S. ARNOLD

CHIEF JUDGE

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE

600 WEST CAPITOL AVENUE, ROOM 208

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

August 29, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

This is our report from Tanzania. You should be proud of the job that Brady and Betty Anderson are doing. They spent a couple of days with our group (organized by Gus Walton of Poe Travel for the Friends of the Little Rock Zoo). As you know, Brady is fluent in Swahili. He and Betty are representing the United States and you with great distinction.

One night the Minister of Housing and Lands, Edward Lowassa, had dinner with Brady, Betty, Kay, and me (among others), even though Minister Lowassa had an upset stomach. He had been visiting constituents all day and had had, of course, to eat everything put in front of him. He and Brady evidently got on very well together and shared several items of information.

An election is scheduled for October 29. Mr. Lowassa is a member of the ruling party, called CCM. He had been a potential nominee for President but had been turned down by the party elders. Maybe later. After dinner, workers from the kitchen and elsewhere in the hotel came out and serenaded us, by name, including the Minister, Brady, and Betty.

This country is not rich, but it is stable and hospitable. It is worth the attention of our country, and your sending Brady here is an excellent way of demonstrating your interest and esteem. Kay and I are proud of him and Betty both. It would be great if you and Hillary could visit Africa, perhaps including Tanzania.

Respectfully yours,

Richard

Richard S. Arnold

RSA/bf

P.S. I played golf at the Mt. Kenya Safari Club near Nanyuki, Kenya. It's right on the Equator.

R.

Celia L. L. L.
Don Baer
Ann L. L.
D. L. L.
68

OK -
Jim

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1995

The Honorable John Kenneth Galbraith
207 Littauer Center
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Ken:

Thanks so much for your wonderful letter of August 25 and for the fascinating history lesson.

I am hopeful and confident that the "specifics" you outlined will be understood by the American people. I have always had great trust in the electorate to make the right decision when given the truth and not misled by false choices, and I think history bears that out.

It's always a pleasure to hear from you. I value your counsel and hope you'll write more than once a year!

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I do read and
profit from your
letters and welcome
them all,

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

August 25, 1995

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

Personal

Dear Mr. President:

I would have written you before now about our thoroughly pleasant and informative lunch, but I was thinking of a matter that was not, I think, adequately expressed that day. And it could have a cheering effect on you and those associated with your large task.

It is that the difficult days of your presidency, and particularly as regards the present Congress, are, I think, now past. The issue is between broad and easy generalization and hard circumstance. The Republicans won last autumn on the general and highly attractive doctrine that government is the enemy of comfortable existence and, in particular, is at unnecessary cost. And this is reflected in taxes. That was the wonderful mood in Congress of early this year. Now, and in the future, come the hard facts. There is very little that the government now does that is without essential purpose and articulate constituency. The specifics are very different and much more realistic than the general doctrine. And it is the specifics that are beginning to rule and are very much on your side.

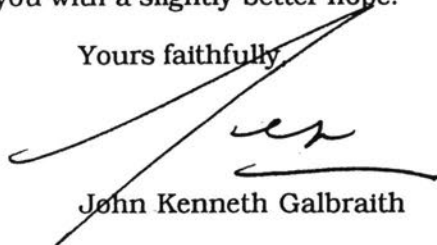
The above relates to another problem which I did mention and venture to emphasize. What is called the liberalism of these past decades, going back to the Great Depression, was really not the original invention of liberals. They (I should say we) took credit for a wonderful innovating effort, but in all matters, without exception, we were merely accommodating to present circumstance. A farming community does not need social security or unemployment compensation. Its old are cared for by the young and, in past times, died early and inexpensively. And in agriculture there is no unemployment. Medical care was of relatively small consequence when medical knowledge was limited and the doctor had little to sell. It became an issue only when the vast improvement in medical knowledge made the difference between illness and health and, frequently, life and death. Then the less advantaged could not be consigned to suffering, illness and death because they could not pay for informed medical care. The poor, a point that need hardly be made to someone from Arkansas, were not an issue as long as they were unseen in the hollows and hills of the Southern Appalachians, deep in the Ozarks, and more especially on the farms and plantations of the Old South. It was only when they came to the cities and were visible that welfare became a problem. We liberals fooled the conservatives into

JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

believing that what we did was our design and initiative. In fact, it was an accommodation to circumstance. It is much easier to be in conflict with liberal ideology than with harsh circumstance. This last is what the Republicans, going from the general to the particular, now face.

All of this, I think, is encouraging and I am more than happy to convey, somewhat exceptionally, what is good news. My friend and sometime neighbor, William Buckley, wrote a letter every two or three weeks to Ronald Reagan. I don't think they were read. I will confine myself to one a year to you with a slightly better hope.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'J.K.G.', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the left and a smaller flourish to the right.

John Kenneth Galbraith

JKG/bap

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/14/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 SEP 8 P3:25

August 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE FIRST LADY

CC: LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
MAGGIE WILLIAMS
JACK QUINN
DOUG SOSNIK

FROM: Harold Ickes (HB)

SUBJECT: The White House agenda for women

Attached is a draft for a brochure, which has been prepared under the direction of Betsy Myers, focussing on the Administration's programs and accomplishments that have particular impact regarding women.

Betsy and I would appreciate any comments that you may have.

~~TO Ann~~
TO Ann Lewis
As reviewed, discuss
with Frances
Goodman
to Ann
Jed

The White House Agenda for Women



**"It's time not only to make women full partners in government,
but to make government work for women."**

-President William Jefferson Clinton

■
Empowering Women Around the World

■
Empowering Women Around the World

■
Building Strong Families

■
Expanding Opportunities

■
Taking Care of Our Future

■
Increased Participation in Government

■
Providing Greater Economic Opportunities

■
Increasing Safety and Security

■
Improving Women's Health

■
Your Hotline to the White House

The White House Agenda for Women



"It's time not only to make women full partners in government,
but to make government work for women."

-President William Jefferson Clinton

■
Empowering Women Around the World



The Clinton Administration has acted in the global arena to improve the lives of women.

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erment of
Throughout
rd

The United States' delegation to the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo forged a partnership with more than 150 nations around a platform of action that promotes gender equality, reproductive health, and universally recognized human rights that apply to reproduction and recognizes the importance of addressing the threat posed to women's health by unsafe abortions.

- The Administration is planning a joint U.S./Canadian summit on women's health through the Department of Health and Human Services.
- The Administration has a leadership role at the table of the World Health Organization's Global Commission of Women's Health.

■
Empowering Women Around the World



The President believes in helping families in times of need and encouraging values that make families strong.

Supporting Families

President Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, allowing workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave to care for an infant, spouse, or ailing loved one without losing their jobs. Now American workers are no longer forced to choose between their jobs and their families.

Improving Child Support Collections

Some families – usually headed by women – are plunged into economic crisis and poverty when the absent parent fails to pay child support. The President is working to get single parents and their children the support they need. On February 27, 1995, the President signed an executive order to make the federal government a model employer in the area of child support enforcement. And, the President's child support plan, introduced as part of last year's welfare reform legislation, would double federal child support collections by the year 2000.

Fighting Teen Pregnancies

To confront this national epidemic, the President has called for a National Campaign Against Teen Pregnancy, asking leaders in all areas of national life to join in promoting individual responsibility and economic opportunity for America's young people. And, the President's welfare reform plan, introduced last year, provided funding for community-based initiatives to end teen pregnancy, as well as a National Clearinghouse to provide communities with information on successful strategies.

Strengthening At-Risk Families

The President's Family Preservation and Support Act is a billion dollar program that provides an array of supportive services to children and families, designed to help strengthen them and prevent child abuse and neglect.

Increasing Parental Involvement

The National Family Involvement Partnership for Learning encourages efforts to help families take a more active role in their children's learning through the development of family, school, and community partnerships. More than 140 national organizations have pledged their support for the education program including parents, employers, and religious organizations. For further information on getting involved, call 1-800-USA LEARN.

■
Building Strong Families



The President has demonstrated his support to the nation's children through a variety of programs.

Child Care Bureau

- President Clinton established the Child Care Bureau to enhance the quality, affordability, and supply of child care for all families by administering Federal child care programs to States, Territories and Tribes.
- The Child Care Bureau administers approximately \$2 billion of Federal funds to assist low-income families in accessing quality child care for children while parents work or participate in education or training.
- The National Child Care Information Center (NCCIC) distributes the Child Care Bulletin and provides general information at 1-800-616-2242.

Preventing Childhood Disease

President Clinton sponsored and signed the comprehensive Childhood Immunization Initiative, ensuring that children, regardless of family income, will be vaccinated against disease. The Initiative is creating partnerships among the federal government and state and local governments, health care professionals, and voluntary organizations to work towards the goal of vaccinating at least 90 percent of all two-year olds with the full series of required vaccines by the year 2000.

Providing Healthy Meals

With the Department of Agriculture, the President has worked towards better nutrition for all children, pregnant women and their infants.

- President Clinton has increased funding for the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) in each of his budgets. In 1995, approximately seven million women and children would benefit from this program.
- The School Meals Initiative will improve the health and education of children through better nutrition. The Clinton Administration's proposals created landmark legislation last year to substantially update school meal nutrition standards for the first time since the program's inception 50 years ago. That mandate will ensure that meals currently served at schools are consistent with dietary guidelines for Americans and current scientific nutritional recommendations.

Helping Preschoolers Achieve

Based on the recommendations of a bipartisan committee, the President and Health and Human Services Secretary Shalala implemented quality improvements in Head Start that moved this popular program for disadvantaged preschoolers into the 21st century. The Administration also initiated the creation of a new program to serve disadvantaged infants and toddlers.

■
Taking Care of Our Future



Appointing Women to Important Administration Positions

President Clinton pledged to appoint an Administration that "looked like America." He has also opened more opportunities for women to serve in government.

- 42 percent of President Clinton's appointees were women – by far the highest percentage of any Administration in history.
- The President appointed women to Cabinet-level posts never before occupied by women, including Attorney General Janet Reno, former Council of Economic Advisors Chair (now Assistant to the President for Economic Policy) Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner, Office of Management Budget Director Alice Rivlin, Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary, Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright and Secretary of the Air Force Sheila Widnall.
- In addition, the President appointed women to other positions traditionally held by men. Supreme Court Justice, Director of the Office of National AIDS Policy, Deputy Director of Public Liaison, Managing Director of National Community Service, Deputy Secretary of the Department of Education, and Executive Director of the U.S. World Bank.
- Female scientists holding top-level government research and science policy positions include the Chief Scientist at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and at the Department of Commerce, Deputy Director at the National Science Foundation, Deputy Director at the National Institute of Health, Director of the Office of Energy Research at the Department of Energy, and Director for Defense Research and Engineering at the Department of Defense.
- The President nominated 45 women out of a total of 194 nominees to the federal bench. 59% of all of the President's judicial nominees are women and minorities.
- Because of President Clinton's appointments, as of July 1, 1994, one of every four active federal judges was a woman or a minority.
- The proportion of the Clinton Administration's judicial nominees who received the American Bar Association's highest rating exceeded that of the past three administrations.
- The President established the White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach.
For the first time in 14 years, President Clinton established a special outreach office for women appointing Betsy Myers as the Director and Deputy Assistant to the President. This new office serves as the public liaison between the public women's needs and the President and his Administration. For more information call (202)456-7300 or fax (202)456-7311.

Increasing Access to the Ballot Box

President Clinton signed the National Voter Registration Act, enfranchising women who are on welfare, homebound, or simply unable to build in extra time between work and family by allowing them to register to vote through the mail, at motor vehicle registries and at other government offices.

Women in the Military

The Clinton administration has opened nearly 260,000 new positions for women who wish to serve in the military. In addition, the President has appointed the first woman company commander, the first female service academy graduate, the first woman skipper, and the first female fighter pilot. Furthermore, President Clinton nominated the Secretary of the Air Force, Sheila Widnall, two years ago, to become the first woman to head one of the service branches.



The Clinton Administration believes that the economic well-being of their families is the central concern to American women. President Clinton has made the economic growth of the country his top priority.

Shrinking the Deficit

The Clinton Administration implemented the largest deficit reduction package in history. The 1994 \$505 billion plan reflects cuts in government and spending, while also providing tax relief for low-income families.

Middle Class Bill of Rights

The Clinton Administration believes that middle class families need help the most. The Middle Class Bill of Rights would give these families tax breaks and other financial help for education, children, health care and buying that first home.

Empowering Women Entrepreneurs

Women business owners are starting businesses at twice the rate of their male counterparts. The Clinton Administration has been a friend to these entrepreneurial women. The Small Business Administration has established a women's mentoring program and made more business loans to women. And, the Clinton Administration's Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise is working with women business leaders to create a public/private partnership that will foster the growth and development of women-owned businesses.

- Created Small Business Administration's Women's Demonstration Program and established training and counseling centers for women across the country.
- Increased loans to women through Small Business Administration loan programs and now 24% of total loans go to women.
- Created the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise.
- Signed the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act which expands women business owner's opportunities to do business with the federal government by creating a new 5% goal.

Listening to Working Women's Concerns

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor surveyed over a quarter of million working women to learn more about their experiences in the work place. At the President's direction, the Department of Labor and the Women's Bureau are working to address the concerns raised by the survey participants: better pay and benefits, help balancing work and family, and getting the recognition in the work place that they deserve.

To receive a Working Women Count report, call 1-800-827-5335 or (202)219-6652.

Making Work Pay

The President's economic plan is helping women in low-wage jobs provide for their families and stay off welfare through the Increased Earned Income Tax Credit.

Breaking Glass Ceiling Barriers

A fact-finding report from the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission shows that women bring needed perspectives and experiences to the highest levels of corporate America. While women are still under-represented in executive suites, the report explodes many myths that are used to keep women from achieving their full employment potential. The recent report found that women in the nation's largest companies hold less than five percent of senior management posts. The number is lower for African-Americans, Hispanic and Asians, who hold less than one percent each of those positions. In contrast, 45.7 percent of the work place are women. To receive a copy of the report, please contact the Government Printing Office at (202)512-0132 and for further information on the Glass Ceiling Report call (202)219-7342.



In a typical year, 4.5 million American women ages 12 years and older are raped, robbed or assaulted or are the victim of a threatened or attempted violent crime. Almost three-quarters of these attacks are committed by someone the victim knows. Under President Clinton's leadership, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 and the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act will make American women safer.

Fighting Violence Against Women

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), passed as part of the President's Crime Bill, takes a comprehensive approach to combating domestic violence and other violence against women.

- The Violence Against Women Act will improve the responses of police, prosecutors and judges to these crimes, enhance lighting at bus stops and other dark public places, force sex offenders to pay restitution to their victims and triple funding for battered women's shelters. And, under the Act, the authority of a "stay away" order obtained against an abuser will no longer stop at the state line. It authorizes both a toll-free hot line and clearing house establishment to provide women, other victims of violence, and health care professionals with immediate access to information and confidential help.
- On March 21, 1995, the President announced the appointment of Bonnie Campbell as Director of a special Violence Against Women Office at the Department of Justice. The President also announced \$26 million in STOP Grants to states to bolster their law enforcement, prosecution and victims services to better address violence against women. Every state has now been awarded \$426,364 under this formula grant program.
- On April 7, 1995, Attorney General Janet Reno signed federal guidelines that should lead to laws in all 50 states requiring sexual offenders and child molesters to register with authorities. This will help state law enforcement agencies communicate with each other regarding sex offenders who cross state lines.
- The Violence Against Women Act punishes domestic abusers who cross state lines. The first conviction under this provision took place on May 23, 1995, in West Virginia.

Resources: For information on resources, programs, and grants, contact the National Resource Center on Domestic Violence at 1-800-537-2238. The National Victims Resource Center has over 130,000 documents in their database from courts, police and victims. For more information, call 1-800-627-6872.

Combating Gun Violence

The President's "Crime Bill" banned military-style assault weapons. And, the Brady Law is working to keep handguns out of the reach of those who would use them criminally, including men under restraining orders for stalking, harassment or other forms of domestic threats or intimidation.

Encouraging Women to Speak Out

The Violence Against Women Act extends "rape shield" protection to all criminal and civil cases involving alleged sexual misconduct, thereby barring embarrassing and irrelevant inquiries into a victim's sexual history. And, the Crime Bill allows victims of federal sex crimes to speak at the sentencing of their assailants.

Community Oriented Policing

The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) at the Department of Justice, as part of its effort to put an additional 100,000 police officers on American's streets in community policing, is fully committed to developing grant opportunities to assist communities to combat domestic violence. Funding will be available during the current fiscal year through the COPS Innovative Community Policing Grants Program.

Extending Civil Rights Protection

In the Violence Against Women Act, the civil rights remedy was designed to complement existing federal civil rights laws which do not protect women from gender-motivated violent crimes, e.g. rape and domestic violence, and allow women the right to sue their attackers for damages.



The Clinton Administration has made an unprecedented commitment to improving the health of American women and ending inequities in medical research, treatment, and public health professional education.

Protecting the Reproductive Health of American Women

President Clinton repealed the "Gag Rule" that restricted abortion counseling at federally funded family planning clinics, revoked the Import ban on RU-486, reversed the ban on abortion services at military hospitals, repealed the Mexico City policy that banned funding to international organizations that promote comprehensive family planning, and signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. The Administration implemented a change to the Hyde Amendment obligating states to pay for abortions for poor women whose pregnancies result from rape or incest.

Fighting Breast Cancer

Breast cancer is a growing threat to American women – the lifetime risk of developing breast cancer has risen from 1 in 20 to 1 in 8 in just thirty years. The President has made the fight against breast cancer a national priority.

- The President has dramatically increased funding for breast cancer research from \$90 million in 1990 to \$600 million in 1995.
- Right now, early detection through mammography is the best weapon we have against breast cancer. To make sure that mammograms are reliable, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has put in place quality standards for mammography facilities. And, the First Lady has joined with the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) to increase the rate of mammography use among older women.
- To make more accurate screening and diagnostic methods available to women, the Public Health Service Office on Women's Health and the National Cancer Institute (NCI) have initiated an exploration into applying imaging technology used by the defense, space, and computer graphics industries to improve the early detection of breast cancer.
- The President established the National Action Plan of Breast Cancer, in conjunction with the Department of HHS, a major public-private partnership to remove breast cancer as a threat to American women.

Promoting Fairness in Medical Research

- In the past, clinical researchers studying killer diseases like heart disease and cancer concentrated mainly on men. This Administration is ending this inequity – to help America's women lead healthier lives and be treated more effectively when they do get sick.
- The largest disease prevention study ever conducted – the Women's Health Initiative: an NIH study of diseases affecting older women – is now underway.
- Research on key women's health issues, such as ovarian cancer, osteoporosis, contraception, and infertility, has been increased at the NIH.
- And, the President is making sure that women will no longer be left out of other important medical research. He signed legislation requiring that women and minorities be included in all clinical research supported by the NIH.

The Administration is implementing a program to detect and treat STD's that lead to female infertility (chlamydia and gonorrhea) by providing screening programs.

Women's Veterans Care

- A series of Veterans Administration health-care initiatives for women veterans was implemented, including establishing four comprehensive health centers and four stress-disorder treatment teams, as well as hiring counselors in 69 locations to treat the aftereffects of sexual harassment and assault. For general information contact 1-800-827-1000.
- The Veterans Administration has also established a new Women Veterans Program Office and appointed Joan Furey as Director. Through outreach, the VA office will improve medical benefits and services by the contributions of women veterans.

Taking a Comprehensive Approach

Other Administration women's health initiatives include: investigating how to prevent unnecessary hysterectomies; developing a culturally sensitive medical school curriculum about women's health; creating the Health Women 2000 initiative, a health education series to provide women with the tools they need to lead longer and healthier lives.

- The President has established the first Department-level position - Deputy Assistant Secretary for Women's Health, Dr. Susan Blumenthal - dedicated solely to improving women's health.

"Improving Women's Health" continued...

Enhancing Lives of Women and Children with HIV/AIDS

AIDS is increasing at a faster rate among women than men, with 38% of women contracting the virus through heterosexual contact in 1994. In this year alone, 14,000 women were diagnosed with AIDS - that's one-quarter of AIDS cases among women reported since 1981. It is now the fourth leading cause of death among U.S. women age 25 to 44.

Increased Funding

Under President Clinton, AIDS funding has increased by 40%, including a 108% increase for the Ryan White Care Act Program, which covers a large number of women and children.

- The President created a Presidential Advisory Council that makes recommendations in the areas of research, prevention, and care. And, an Interdepartmental Task Force on HIV/ AIDS chaired by National AIDS Policy Director Patricia Fleming, created the National AIDS Policy Council to advise him on policy issues. The National AIDS Hot Line is 1-800-432-AIDS.

Strengthening Research and Simplified Drug Development

The Administration is combating AIDS in women by increasing the number of women participating in AIDS research along with supporting research into women-controlled barrier methods that will help women protect themselves from being infected. He created the National Committee of AIDS Drugs Policy to identify and eliminate all barriers for a speedy process approval of AIDS drugs.

Counseling for All Pregnant Women and Voluntary Testing Work

President Clinton is dedicated to providing HIV counseling and testing for all pregnant women. He has expeditiously approved changes of AZT treatment to include HIV-infected pregnant women, thereby dramatically reducing the rate of HIV transmission from mother to infant. For more information on 0-76 Clinical Trial or any other HIV/AIDS Clinical trial, call the AIDS Clinical Trial Information Service (ACTIS) at 1-800-TRIALS.

Aggressive Prevention Programs

Along with the enforcement of the American's with Disabilities Act that prohibits discrimination against people with HIV/AIDS, the President has also issued a directive requiring every federal employee to receive comprehensive work place education on HIV/AIDS. To date, more than three-fourths of the federal work force has participated in such programs.

- In the last two years, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Housing Opportunities for People with AIDS (HOPWA) program has provided \$300 million to communities with a high incidence of HIV infection to provide housing assistance to people living with HIV/AIDS.

The White House Agenda for Women was prepared by the White House Office for Women's Initiatives and Outreach. The Office is located in the White House complex at 708 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C. 20500.

To reach the Office by phone, please call (202)456-7300. The fax machine can be accessed at (202)456-7311.

SPONSORSHIP INFORMATION HERE



Please let us know how the White House Women's Office can help you by answering the following questions.

It's addressed to the Women's Office. All you need to do is attach a stamp and mail it.

- Did you find this information useful? ☐ YES ☐ NO
- Would you like to receive more information on a regular basis through a newsletter? ☐ YES ☐ NO

- Is there specific information you would like to receive? ☐ YES ☐ NO

PLEASE LIST:

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

- Let us know how to reach you.

NAME:

ADDRESS:

PHONE:

FAX (if available):

Your Hotline to the White House

Back side

PLACE
FIRST-CLASS
STAMP HERE

■
*The White House Office
for Women's Initiatives and Outreach*

708 Jackson Place
Washington, D.C. 20500

Invite to Ark party?

THE WHI
WASHI

Send her soon card
and the Truman
article

09/14/95

Nancy H:

I am giving you a copy of
this -- see note 'invite
to Ark. Party?'

Should someone get it too
or someone else instead of
you???

sharon

September 14, 1995

Euna Sitton
McDonnell Douglas
HC 80, Box 808
LaCrosse Road
Melbourne, Arkansas 72556

Dear Euna:

Thanks for your letter of August 29. It was
good to hear from you and to know that you're
recovering well from your recent surgery. I
know you'll be up to full speed soon.

Thanks, too, for your kind words about our work
here. We've made great progress on a number of
important fronts, and I know we'll be able to
do even more in the months ahead. Hillary and
I really appreciate your continued support of
our efforts.

As you requested, I have signed and am
enclosing a photograph for you. I hope to see
you soon.

Sincerely,

Bin

5
5.
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS

8-29-95

Dear Bill:

Haven't written in a while because I have had reconstructive surgery on my knee. Tough Surgery! Tough Recovery!

I have thought of you often lately, because I know the campaign is heating up already. I just can't imagine what stress you must be under. Just remember that there are people who believe in you. People who have believed in you for a long time!

I deal with a lot of Californians every day so I have been letting them know what a wonderful, caring person you are. I believe I have changed quite a few people into Clinton supporters.

Tell your family hello! If you have an extra picture I need a new one. Someone helped themselves to my other one. Be sure and write something on it. My friends are always impressed. HA!

Love
Luna

24-88-8

Dear Mr. Clinton

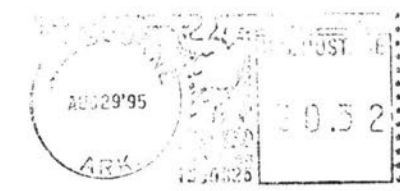
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Euna Litten
McDONNELL DOUGLAS
HC 80, Box 808
LACROSSE RD.
Melbourne, Ar. 72556



President Bill Clinton
1120 Vermont Ave, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20270



1:11

...

THE WHITE HO
WASHINGTON



*Rec'd
clerk on
our file*

September 13, 1995

cc B Nash

John R. Kidd
10901 Carmel Avenue, N.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87122

Dear John:

Thanks for your letter and for sharing with me your interest in serving our nation as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Acquisition. I appreciate your sending your resume, and I've shared it with Bob Nash, Director of Presidential Personnel, for his consideration.

Thanks, too, for your kind and encouraging words about our work here. It's good to know of your continued support.

Sincerely,

Bob Clinton

10901 Carmel Ave NE
Albuquerque, NM 87122
505-842-7821

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Wash DC 20500

Mr. President,

I am writing this letter out of great concern for the health of our U.S. Air Force acquisition process and it's potential for costly, publicly unfavorable development programs. I believe this potential is very real and is centered at the top of the process, namely, the Assistant Secretary of the AF for Acquisition.

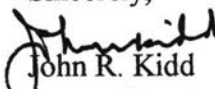
This position has remained unfilled since the untimely death of Mr. Clark Fiester. The responsibilities are being temporarily assumed by Ms. Darlene Druyun, the Principal Deputy and a career civil servant. Although she is trying valiantly and has extensive procurement experience in the AF procurement process, she has never managed an actual acquisition development/production program and has publicly stated she does not want the actual position. Without the leadership of an experienced program manager who is dedicated to the ideals of the administration, I fear our vital defense programs will not receive the type of scrutiny necessary to provide the highest value for our crucial taxpayer dollar.

Besides the programmatic aspects of the position, the incumbent must also provide vital leadership in the AF acquisition chain of command. Much as you were steeled in the fires of leadership through your years as Governor, the Assistant Secretary for Acquisition should have made the sacrifices of tough program leadership to assume the helm of the total AF acquisition system.

I believe I provide just such leadership experience and I would welcome the opportunity to serve. I have provided my detailed resume to your staff. In a nutshell, it shows over 29 years experience in DOD programs ranging from test engineer to commander of a 600 person basic research laboratory and four years as a System Program Director for the Defense Support Program (DSP) Surveillance Satellite.

Mr. President, I have supported your career all the way from our boyhood days in Hot Springs and your first term as Governor to your victory as President. I believe in what you represent and what you are trying to accomplish for our country. I would very much like to help you succeed.

Sincerely,


John R. Kidd
Colonel (Ret), USAF

JOHN R. KIDD

10901 Carmel Ave NE Albuquerque, NM 87122 505 - 842 - 7821

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS

Over 29 years experience in DOD scientific, test and system acquisition programs

- Vice President, Space Applications & Test, Science Applications International Corp (Present)
- System Program Director, USAF Defense Support Program (DSP) Satellite (1989 - 1993)
- Commander, Air Force Geophysics Laboratory (1987 - 1989)
- Director, Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) AF technology programs (1983 - 1987)
- USAF Inspector, System Acquisition Management (1981 - 1983)
- Program Manager, Radars and Air-to-Ground Missiles (1973 - 1981)
- Staff Officer, Headquarters, Air Force Systems Command (1970 - 1973)
- Test Engineer, Conventional Munitions (1966 - 1970)

MAJOR DOD WEAPON SYSTEM PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

- Directed satellite program worth over 10 billion dollars
- Managed work of over 5000 AF and contractor personnel
- Launched first tactical missile warning satellite to support ground commander in combat - the DSP - to Patriot Battery in Desert Storm
- Mission Director on only NASA Shuttle flight to launch DSP satellite
- Delivered first ever Laser Crosslink for satellite-to-satellite communication
- Developed AGM-65B Maverick missile used against Iraqi tanks in Desert Storm
- Developed threat radars used to train pilots against Soviet surface-to-air missiles

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MANAGEMENT

- Directed Air Force basic research laboratory - 600 people, \$100 million per year
- Conducted over 400 research projects from gravity studies to space charging
- Led the nation in SDI research on sensor focal planes and satellite cooling

DOD, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERFACES

- Led Tri-Service effort to use strategic satellite data for tactical missile warning
- Awarded the first SDI contract ; managed 35 SDI efforts worth over \$400 million
- Worked with NASA on both small experiments and large satellite launches
- Regularly visited and briefed Australian and Canadian government officials
- Led space experiment with Italy and sounding rocket launches with Brazil

10901 Carmel Ave NE
Albuquerque, NM 87122
(W) 505-842-7821
(H) 505-822-9754

Trey Schroeder
White House East Wing
Wash DC 20500

Trey,

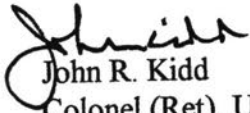
Enclosed you will find a letter to President Clinton and a copy of my resume. I appreciate any help you can give me in this effort to serve. Since I am not "well connected" in Washington, I don't think he would ever see this without your help.

Please let me know if I can provide anything else, or if, after reading the enclosed, you think you might not want to carry this any further. If so, I'll understand and still be grateful for your consideration.

If the question ever arises as to why I would leave an extremely good job for a politically appointed job, especially so close to an election year, the answer is simple. I care about what the president is trying to do for this country and I sincerely want to help. I hope my willingness to "drop everything and come" displays my sincerity.

Thanks again and I look forward to meeting you in person some day soon.

Sincerely,



John R. Kidd
Colonel (Ret), USAF

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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ce A Stock
Hec

September 13, 1995

Ed Ellis
Green Bay Packaging Inc.
Post Office Box 711
Morrilton, Arkansas 72110

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter of August 22 and for sending the photograph from the Class of '65 reunion. I do recognize some of those faces!

Thanks, too, for asking about the Office of Science and Technology Policy. You can contact David Rejeski at 202/456-6084. His address is Room 437, Old Executive Office Building, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500.

I've shared your letter with the First Lady to let her know about Becky's effort to implement concepts of the HIPPY project. It's a fantastic program.

Finally, thanks for letting me know about your brass ensemble and your interest in playing in the White House during the holiday season. I've shared your letter with Ann Stock, Special Assistant to the President and Social Secretary for the First Lady.

I hope to hear from you again soon.

Sincerely,

Bin

Hope to
see you when
you're here!

Green Bay Packaging

Inc.

Ed Ellis

• MILL OPERATIONS GROUP
P. O. BOX 711, MORRILTON, ARKANSAS 72110
501-354-4521

August 22, 1995

President Bill Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bill:

Thanks for the letter. Enclosed is a picture from the Class of '65 Reunion. I thought you would recognize several of the members. The names on the back side are not quite in order, but close.

I still plan to come to Washington in November. Right now the trip is planned for November 29th - December 3rd. Becky will be there for an early childhood conference.

You can tell Hillary that Becky has gotten a grant from Southwestern Bell to implement home visits and encourage parent involvement in education. She wants to get a follow-on grant to implement concepts of the HIPPY program, hopefully next year.

I was reading a policy note about your Environmental Technology Initiative and it described an Office of Science and Technology Policy with David Rijeski as the spokesman. Please tell me how to contact him.

e-jerk 6084 437

I have a brass ensemble that would love to come and play for you during the Christmas Season. We work up a Camp Kirkland arrangement called Christmas Brass. The members are University of Central Arkansas students, and some staff. If this is interesting to you and Hillary, please let me know. The ensemble has seven members.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*See him
Eccles*
*Cc Joe Stiglitz
Hox*

September 13, 1995

Michael M. Conway
Suite 3700
Three First National Plaza
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Dear Mike:

Thanks for your wonderful and thoughtful letter of August 29. It was great to get such a fine report from the interior! I think we're on the right track, and I'm glad you agree.

Thanks, too, for the stories you shared about Jack Fuller and his son Tim, Joe Stiglitz, and Jim Lovell. I also appreciate what you told me about the recent murder next door to the home where you grew up. We're working hard on both ends of the problem, and I hope you'll feel free to let me know of any thoughts you may have.

It was great to hear from you, and Hillary and I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill

Michael M. Conway
Three First National Plaza #3700
Chicago, Illinois 60602
August 29, 1995

Hon. William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Bill,

This is a periodic report from the hinterlands. The news is good. The comparison between your responsible, reasoned and even-handed approach to social issues and the Republican's crusade to disadvantage the already disadvantaged is telling. As the Republican rhetoric translates into concrete proposals, people are beginning, albeit gradually, to realize that the cost exacted by Congress is simply too great. Pick your battles carefully, but battle fiercely for what is important.

This morning I had breakfast with your Boys' Nation compatriot, Rev. Fred Kammer, and Jack Fuller. Fred, whose housemate at Yale baptized our son, is a wonderful man with a heartfelt devotion to the poor. Only in talking with him did I appreciate how devastating the Republican cost-cutting will be in human terms. Jack is relishing his job as publisher. While 20 years ago I could have envisioned you as the President, I really couldn't have seen Jack as this captain of industry. He is relishing it, without breaking his regimen of writing his novels (or more recently non-fiction essays to be published by the U. of Chicago press) every morning before dawn.

However, the conversation gravitated to more important topics, e.g. Tim Fuller, Jack's son who is a high school freshman, starting at guard for the Loyola Academy Ramblers freshman football team last Saturday. Tim is, however, 220 lbs., so he is ready to play. Lou Holtz will soon be getting scouting reports. I'll keep you posted about his exploits so that you have common ground to talk with Jack.

I read the Barron's article about Joe Stiglitz with relish. Joe was an expert witness in a tax case I tried for Sears in the late 1980s. On direct examination, Joe impressed with his keen mind and true intellectual curiosity. But it was on cross-examination that he ~~showed~~ ^{showed}. The government counsel asked Joe how long he had thought about a particularly intricate concept (about retro-rated insurance premiums or some such technical morass) and Joe answered candidly, "only since yesterday", but after a suitable pause,

added, "But I am a quick study." Even the judge laughed.

Actually, I intended to write about another witness of mine whom you recently hosted -- Jim Lovell. Jim, after his astronaut years, was a business executive called as a witness in a mundane case about stock warrants. I couldn't resist, after eliciting the background about his education and work experience. asking him if he had ever been to the moon. Twice, he told the Court. That got the judge's attention.

Before this turns into a Readers Digest column, I wanted to tell you an anecdote which reflects why your programs combining strengthened law enforcement and assistance to those in need must be allowed to succeed. I visited my Mother and brother in St. Joseph, Mo., earlier this month. My mother moved from her apartment, where she lived for almost 40 years and where I lived all my life until I left for college, 12 or 13 years ago. I was startled at the news that in the apartment house next to our former home there had been a murder last month and the explanation was that, after all, it was a crack house. If this is the circumstance in St. Joe and other smaller cities around America and in neighborhoods which once supported struggling, but proud, families, then there is a great need now to help make things right. Please keep up your efforts.

I am looking forward to the Convention in Chicago next year. I certainly hope to be a delegate again and want to do all I can to help your re-election.

Mary, who started high school yesterday, was thrilled to meet you and Hillary. Thanks so much for that.

Our thoughts and prayers are with you and Hillary.

Your friend,

Mike

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc Tony Lake

September 14, 1995

Paul Root
Department of Education
Box 3789
Ouachita Baptist University
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71998

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of September 1 and for letting me know about Tom Greer and his interest in China and the possible meeting with the Chinese leadership. I've shared your letter with Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security, for his consideration.

Thanks, too, for what you said about our work here. I think we're on the right track, and I'm glad you agree. Hillary and I look forward to seeing you and Mary on the 29th.

Sincerely,

Bill

I don't yet know what
the size & make up of our
meeting will be or how many
people from China will be
be in the room - but we'll
coordinate. Bob is a fine man and
a good authority -



OUACHITA
BAPTIST UNIVERSITY

Reid Tney 9/12

September 1, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20000-2005

Dear Mr. President:

We have seen you on CSPAN several times recently and have been proud of you on each occasion. It appears to me you grow stronger as events unfold. We look forward to the campaign.

My specific reason for writing at this time involves Tom Greer. Tom heard in the news that you were going to meet the President of China. Tom has spent a great deal of time in the last ten years visiting and studying China.

In 1987, Tom, his wife, Angie, and son, Kent, spent the year at Zhengzhou University as students of Chinese culture and teachers of English.

During the academic year of 1987-88, Tom taught graduate classes in American Literature and/or Linguistics along with The American Novel and Women Writers in American Literature.

In 1989, he spent a month at Yale reading Chinese fiction and preparing a bibliography to enhance Ouachita's library. He attended a conference on Contemporary Chinese Literature at Harvard in 1990. He has been teaching Modern Chinese Literature at Ouachita and has returned as a student at Beijing University during the summers of 1994 and '95. Tom served as a host to a Chinese delegation in Arkansas recently. He prepared an exhibit of pictures taken in China by Chinese artists which became a touring exhibit in Arkansas.

Tom wrote the introduction to the Chinese translation of Kate Chopin's The Awakening. Possibly the most important thing he has done in reference to China was a series of lectures at Zhengzhou University on religion and American literature which has now been published as a curriculum guide for Chinese teachers in Henan Province.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

BOX 3789 ARKADELPHIA, ARKANSAS 71998-0001 PHONE 501-245-5149 FAX 501-245-5500

The conclusion to this is that Tom would like to be in the entourage as an Arkansan with a deep interest in China when you meet with the President of China. He does not expect a free ride at taxpayer's expense. He understands that making history always has a price.

I am hearing a fairly constant line of criticism of the Republicans now. What you did for people who were confused on religion and the public schools was amazing. On the first day of class last week, I handed my prospective teachers a copy of your speech and the court cases that documented your ideas. They were very pleased with your actions and glad to know the truth. Some superintendents will be displeased because you have reopened a dead issue for them but as they think through the issue they will appreciate you and parents will be applauding all the way. Preachers will have a harder time convincing their congregations that you are anti-religion.

I know that foreign policy issues are difficult but keep believing in yourself and making decisions you believe to be right. Fewer people will die that way.

We are proud of you, Hillary, and Chelsea. Keep doing what you are doing. It was good to see all of you enjoying vacation time at Yellowstone and the Tetons. Mary and I were there in May, 1988, just weeks before the fire.

Sincerely,

Paul Robt

*Today we received an invitation to a concert
on the Whitehouse lawn on September 29.
we will be there.*

See you then.

G.R.

let
to
Andrew Barnes- Thank you for including them in the Korean State Dinner. He inclosed an article he wrote for the social column from the St. Petersburg Times ... "Having dinner at the White House."

St. Petersburg Times

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/14/95 *hert*

Andrew Barnes
Editor, President, CIO

original letter to Dorskind 9/14/95
Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate the reply.

August 2, 1995

The President and Mrs. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

Thank you so much for including us in the dinner honoring President and Mrs. Kim. We really had a good time.

I did a piece on the event, which may amuse you. It amused me to find myself writing a social column. The reaction I have received since its publication has also been interesting. Readers, properly, felt this was a public event, and enjoyed having been brought in to it. I achieve no such applause for the serious work I do.

Thanks again for your gracious hospitality.

Sincerely,

cc: Melany
Wickens
should be in reply

Andrew Barnes

Enclosure

AB/lt

St. Petersburg Times

Florida's Best Newspaper

WEATHER: High, low 90s;
60% chance of rain. More, 8B

SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1995

25¢

TIMES ■ SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1995 3A

WASHINGTON

Having dinner at the White House

■ When your name turns up on the guest list — go.

WASHINGTON — White House invitations come on very stiff paper, but otherwise are not particularly ostentatious. The engraved script, under a golden eagle seal, reads: "The President and Mrs. Clinton request the pleasure of the company of" and then, handwritten in the same elegant script, were our names, "Mr. and Mrs. Barnes."

It was just there in the stack of mail on my desk after vacation. Why we were invited I can only surmise. Perhaps because the state dinner was to honor the president of Korea, and I recently headed an American committee at a meeting of journalists in Seoul? Perhaps because so few American newspapers endorsed Mr. Clinton for election in '92, as this one did, albeit grudgingly, and he needs Florida in '96?

Be that as it may, a second small card asked for a response at "our earliest convenience." The date conflicted with a long planned meeting in Tallahassee. We picked the White House. My wife, Molly, not normally one for formal social occasions, went right out and bought a lovely, long, yellow dress.

The dinner Thursday night was a part of important events, marking the bitter "police action" in Korea that cost more American lives than Vietnam; and then the growth of Korea as an economically powerful country, and now one that is increasingly open and democratic. Those serious thoughts are for another time. We were in-



TIMES EDITOR

ANDREW
BARNES

vited to a party.

Where to begin? There was so much to notice — for instance, the tableware really is gold. The Blue Room and the Red Room look just like the photos in books, only better, filled with people in elegant clothes.

It is only honest to acknowledge we were nervous. Our taxi couldn't find a way to get very close, with all the security that now surrounds the White House, so we walked a block to the gate, only to discover that many of the guests seemed to have come in limousines, whose drivers did know how to pull up to the East Entrance. Others must also have been a little nervous, for although we were 10 minutes early, we were not among the first to arrive.

We went down the long hallway used in daytime for public tours and were welcomed by military officers in dress uniforms. There was a metal detector, but once inside security was not evident. We were led upstairs, and then a young officer announced our names as we entered the State Dining Room where orange juice and wine were served. The crowd included many Koreans, of course, and the Americans were a mix of older government officials and business people and younger people. The younger people, particularly,

seemed to be of many races and circumstances. Many had traveled across the country to attend.

After mingling, entertained by an Army string orchestra in the corner, there were ruffles and flourishes from a small brass band in the Cross Hall and presently we were summoned to a receiving line with President and Mrs. Clinton, and President and Mrs. Kim. Television lights, cameras; handshakes, smiles, and on to the East Room for dinner. It was at that point I discovered I had been seated next to Mrs. Kim. On her other side at the round table for 10 was President Clinton. Mrs. Kim speaks no English.

Gracious speeches and toasts of eternal friendship by the presidents concluded, it became time to attempt conversation with Mrs. Kim, who was sitting serenely in a silk traditional dress. Behind her was her interpreter, seated, pad in hand. I spoke of my pleasure at visiting Seoul, how beautiful I had found the mountains visible from my hotel room. The translator spoke, and then Mrs. Kim's face lighted with pleasure. You would have thought I had just said something wonderfully witty. We then managed a few more minutes of pleasant conversation thorough the interpreter.

Mr. Clinton, who gave every appearance of enjoying himself, talked well about the history of the White House, and the difficulty of being so isolated by security. He said right through the time of Franklin Roosevelt the South Lawn was opened on Sundays for families to picnic. Abe Lincoln, in time of terrible war, would occasionally answer the front door himself.

We ate marinated shrimp, lamb, salad,

all extremely fancy in presentation.

Dessert was pistachio and nectarine Rose of Sharon with strawberry sauce. That's ice cream cake. White and red wine and champagne were served, all from California. I saw no one drinking much at all.

As we finished eating, stringplayers fanned among the tables and played American and Korean favorites, then we all reassembled in an air-conditioned tent in the Rose Garden where Liza Minnelli and Billy Stritch entertained. Although it was after 11, the president, at his wife's prodding, invited us all back upstairs for champagne and dancing. He and Hillary danced, and smiled and kissed. The scene was quite magical, with the Korean women in full gowns and the movie-set scene.

It sometimes seems everybody else at such an occasion must be a regular, familiar with all the ways of the powerful. It may not be so. As we finished salad and the plates were cleared, a new plate, with a dessert fork and spoon, a doily, and a glass bowl filled with clear liquid and a sprig of what appeared to be rose geranium, was placed in front of each of us.

I, taking my cue from the president, spread the silverware to either side of the plate, cleaned my fingertips in the liquid, dried them on my napkin, and then set the bowl and doily to the side. Molly observed several guests at a table near her politely drinking the liquid, and one gent trying in frustration to clear his plate so the dessert could be served, placing the doily in his lap, which may have been useful since his napkin was on the floor. Nobody, of course, acknowledged that anything was amiss.

9/14/95

Phil,

the P. requested response from Leon; I completed draft with OMB;
signed off on by Rivlin and Griffin. Please review when you have
the opportunity. Thanks much.



-C-115

95 SEP 14 P7:22

9/14

Marta -

OK with you?

Please let me know
in the morning.

Thanks, Phil

URGENT DRAFT

DRAFT

Dear Senator 1-:

Thank you for your letter expressing concerns about a government shutdown.

I fully share your views about the disruptive effects that a government shutdown would have on federal employees and their families. Though often maligned, these workers do the peoples' business every day and are in the forefront of our efforts to reinvent government. They should not be used as pawns as we try to work through the difficult budget decisions that lie before us. In addition, a shutdown would deprive Americans of many vital services that these workers provide, and likely cost the taxpayers money.

For these reasons and others, I strongly believe that a shutdown would be irresponsible, and that we should work hard to avoid one. I have urged Congress to complete action on all 13 appropriations bills by the October 1 start of fiscal 1996. If this cannot be done, I hope we can agree on a continuing resolution that does not contain controversial riders or prejudice the outcome of the debate.

You also stated that, in the event of a furlough, the government should guarantee full pay and benefits to all federal workers. Since 1984, Congress acted after each shutdown to pay back federal employees for lost wages and benefits during the brief furlough. I believe that was the correct and fair decision, and I hope that Congress would take the same action in a similar situation.

I look forward to working with you to avert an unnecessary shutdown.

Sincerely,

Signed off on by:
Griffin
Rivlin

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2003

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Barbara A Mikulski
U.S.S.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-12-95

[Handwritten signature]

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.12.95

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 12, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington DC

Dear Mr. President:

We want you to do all that you can to avoid a government shutdown.

A shutdown of the government, no matter how short, will disrupt the lives of thousands of federal employees and their families. Our federal employees should not be used as pawns in a game of high stakes political brinkmanship. We urge you in the strongest terms to support efforts to ensure that full pay and benefits are guaranteed to all federal workers and their families in the event of a government shutdown.

Over the past nine months, federal employees have had to withstand the likelihood of reduced retirement and health benefits as well as the downsizing of the federal workforce. This continued assault on federal workers and their families must stop.

The problem is especially serious for Maryland. Over 280,000 Marylanders work for the federal government. For many families, both spouses are federal employees. Any furlough would create tremendous hardship for these families through lost wages. This would have a devastating impact on Maryland's economy and the morale of the federal workforce which is already low.

To the workers who have devoted their lives to serving their country, we owe nothing less than the responsibility to live up to our promises. A promise made must be a promise kept.

- 2 -

We urge you to make our federal employees a top priority and ensure the protection of their earned pay and benefits. We must keep faith with our federal employees. The commitment to federal employees and their families must be honored.

Sincerely,



Barbara A. Mikulski
United States Senator



Paul S. Sarbanes
United States Senator

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 12, 1995 12 P7:45

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN

SUBJECT:

Reply to Members of Congress Hoyer, Smith,
Rohrabacher, Molinari, Wolf, Torricelli, Olver,
Moran and CardinPurpose

To respond to a letter from nine members of Congress who call for more robust U.S. engagement in Bosnia.

Background

The members of Congress urge NATO air activity in Bosnia, a lifting of the arms embargo and an end to negotiations with Belgrade. Your reply describes recent policy initiatives.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached reply.

Attachments

Tab A Response to Members of Congress
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Steny:

I would like to take the opportunity to respond to your joint appeal advocating U.S. military action to assist the Bosnian government.

A number of significant developments have occurred since you wrote. Some have been tragic -- the deaths in an accident of three enormously gifted U.S. negotiators, the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, and the vicious Bosnian Serb mortar attack on the open air market in Sarajevo. But the current situation on the ground also offers important opportunities for stability and achievement of a political settlement that were not present earlier this summer.

As you know, at the beginning of August, I sent my National Security Adviser, Anthony Lake, to Europe to launch a new diplomatic initiative. I acted out of conviction that developments on the ground have created real opportunities for us to break the diplomatic stalemate and avoid yet another round of bloodshed. The Europeans were strongly supportive of our initiative and leadership. Building on the results of the Lake mission, I then asked Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke to travel to the ex-Yugoslav states, where he had encouraging preliminary consultations.

Holbrooke has just returned from Europe following the successful Geneva meeting with the foreign ministers of Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. At the meeting, the three parties for the first time jointly endorsed a set of "Agreed Basic Principles" that will form the basis for a political settlement in Bosnia. These principles, which derive from the Contact Group plan, make clear that Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain a single state in its current borders and with continuing international recognition. The principles also commit the parties to seek an equitable territorial solution based on the 51-49 parameter of the Contact Group plan. While the two parts of Bosnia -- the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic -- will have the right to establish relationships with neighboring states, these must be consistent with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Geneva agreement represents an important milestone on the road to peace, although much work remains to be done to translate the basic principles into a final settlement and a mutually agreed constitutional framework. In the wake of renewed UN and NATO resolve to defend Bosnian safe areas, I hope the Bosnian Serbs, whose representatives formed part of the Serbian delegation in Geneva, will adhere to the newly-agreed principles and accept a settlement that can bring the conflict to an end.

In tandem with our progress toward a political settlement, the firmer approach to NATO air strikes adopted at the July London Conference may make it possible for UNPROFOR to carry out its mandate more effectively in Bosnia. While the limitations of the force are well known, it has nonetheless made an enormous contribution to the welfare of tens of thousands of Bosnians. We believe withdrawing it, which would be required if the arms embargo were lifted unilaterally, would cause a serious deterioration of the humanitarian situation. With diplomatic initiatives moving ahead, it is doubly important not to take steps that could encourage the sides to choose the military option. It is for all these reasons that I vetoed the Dole bill on August 11.

In your letter, you raised questions about the easing of sanctions on Serbia. Milosevic has greatly reduced Serbia's support to the Pale Serbs, and we have responded with suspension of certain limited sanctions. But we have made clear that any further suspension of sanctions will occur only if there is agreement on a political settlement in Bosnia.

I understand your frustration with the international community's past efforts. But I believe that in recent weeks we have embarked on a new course that enhances the prospects for peace and has strengthened the UN and NATO. I hope you will give this effort your full support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a stylized, cursive script.

The Honorable Steny H. Hoyer
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515-2005

5472

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

July 12, 1995

URGENT APPEAL

95 JUL 14 11:56

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We urgently appeal to you to take immediate action now to stop the militant Serb onslaught against the eastern enclaves of Bosnia and to destroy the Bosnian Serb's offensive capabilities.

The reported fall of Srebrenica yesterday proves the absolute failure of the international peacekeeping effort in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Those of us who continually call for decisive measures have been assured time and again that a more robust effort was in the making, the latest being a so-called Rapid Reaction Force. Time and again, the Serb militants have called our bluff.

We believe that we cannot continue on a path of inaction. We specifically call for the United States:

- ♦ to neutralize Bosnian Serb offensive capability throughout Bosnia, including the provision of critical and credible air support to achieve that end. Our NATO allies should be invited to join this effort. Given the plethora of UN mandates for action, no further authorization from that body should be seen as necessary.
- ♦ to lift immediately the arms embargo imposed on Bosnia-Herzegovina in contravention of its sovereign right to self defense, and then under existing presidential authority provide arms to the Bosnian forces. Not only is this the morally correct thing to do, but arming the Bosnians will stop any Serb militant forces not disrupted by strategic air strikes.
- ♦ to end all further Contact Group negotiations with Belgrade. Dealing with Slobodan Milosevic has led to an unwarranted easing of sanctions on Serbia. It has not improved the situation of the Bosnians or the prospects for peace.

We view international resolve coupled with direct military action as the only thing that can save Bosnia now. Unless action is taken not only Srebrenica and the eastern enclaves will be lost. Sarajevo remains threatened, and other parts of the country can be subjected to new attacks. We urge you, Mr. President, to take the needed action to bring the Serb aggression in Bosnia to a complete and unquestionable end.

Sincerely,

St. Augustine

Dana Rohrabacher

Jul R. Kay

John W. Oliver

Ben Cardin

Chris Smith

Susan Molinari

Robert Torricelli

Jim Moran

Signatories

Rep. Steny H. Hoyer
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher
Rep. Frank R. Wolf
Rep. John Olver
Rep. Benjamin Cardin

Rep. Christopher H. Smith
Rep. Susan Molinari
Rep. Robert G. Torricelli
Rep. Jim Moran