# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|---|---|---|---|
| 001. memo | Terry Good to Todd Stern re: Personnel (1 page) | 11/02/1995 | b(6) |
| 002. memo | From Harold Ickes re: DNC 1995 Operating Budget (10 pages) | 10/20/1995 | Personal Misfile |

**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7691

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Chron Files November 5-11, 1995 [3]

2019-0774-S
rs3297

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

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

**C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.**
**PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).**
**RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.**

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11-5-95

**TO:** Leon
Harold
ERSkine
George
Pat
Laura

**FROM:** Staff Secretary

This just came in.
I've forwarded it to
the President.

# Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

November 9, 1995 95 NOV 9 P7:03

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Today your Chief of Staff, Mr. Panetta, referred to our efforts to balance the federal budget by slowing the growth of government spending as "terrorism."

Despite the inflammatory and highly partisan rhetoric that continues to flow from your White House staff, we can assure you that the Republican Congressional leadership is committed to working with you to keep the government operating as we move toward balancing the federal budget in seven years.

Instead of meeting with your Cabinet to plan a government shutdown, you should be meeting with the leadership of Congress to devise a plan to keep the government operating while we work together on a balanced budget.

We sincerely hope you will help us give the American people the balanced budget this country so desperately needs.

Sincerely,

Bob Dole
Senate Majority Leader

Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the House

Pete Domenici
Chairman
Senate Budget Committee

John Kasich
Chairman
House Budget Committee

CLINTON ☆ GORE 96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.9.95

95 NOV 7 P5:29

6 November 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

From: Harold Ickes

Re: President's name on 1996 primary ballots.

A review of the name used on the primary and general election ballots in 1992 indicates that in virtually all states the name "Bill Clinton" was used. Unless you wish otherwise, we will begin notifying states, at the appropriate time, that the name "Bill Clinton" should be placed on the 1996 primary ballots.

CLINTON/GORE '96
P.O. BOX 19300 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-9300 PHONE 202/331-1996
*Paid for by the Clinton/Gore '96 Primary Committee, Inc.*
*Contributions to Clinton/G*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11/09/95

**TO:** NSC

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

Please provide a response for
the President to sign.

11/09
Todd,
Was not sure if you had already seen.

Nancy has retained the original.

I will send to NSC for reply.

s

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-9-95

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

November 9, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

As you must have sensed, your words and deeds had a very profound impact on the people of Israel, at a very difficult time.

One manifestation of this impact is the attached sticker -- Shalom Chaver -- in Hebrew. It was given to us by one of the numerous young Israelis who keep a vigil in front of the Rabin family's private residence. Mrs. Rabin wrote a few personal words to you. I know that she will write to you and to Mrs. Clinton and that she and all of us will find additional ways of expressing our gratitude to you and to the American people. But right now I can hardly think of a more personal and poignant way of depicting the effect that you had on all of us.

Mrs. Lea Rabin asked me to convey to you once again her and her family's gratitude, appreciation and friendship.

Sincerely,

Itamar Rabinovich
Ambassador

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

3514 INTERNATIONAL DRIVE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008 • TEL: (202) 364-5500 • FAX: (202) 364-5607

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
3514 INTERNATIONAL DRIVE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

Ambassador Rabinovich

The President

The White House

Washington, D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11/09/95

**TO:** LEON PANETTA

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

I have just received this back from the President. He is asking that a response be done soon.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.9.95

November 9, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

This just came in. I've copied Leon, Harold, Erskine, George, Pat and Laura.

Todd Stern

Answer Soon
Per Pres

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-9-95

# Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

95 NOV 9 P7:03

November 9, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

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Despite the inflammatory and highly partisan rhetoric that continues to flow from your White House staff, we can assure you that the Republican Congressional leadership is committed to working with you to keep the government operating as we move toward balancing the federal budget in seven years.

Instead of meeting with your Cabinet to plan a government shutdown, you should be meeting with the leadership of Congress to devise a plan to keep the government operating while we work together on a balanced budget.

We sincerely hope you will help us give the American people the balanced budget this country so desperately needs.

Sincerely,

Bob Dole
Senate Majority Leader

Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the House

Pete Domenici
Chairman
Senate Budget Committee

John Kasich
Chairman
House Budget Committee

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-9-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 8 P2:07

6 November 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta
Maggie Williams
David Strauss
Skila Harris
Doug Sosnik

From: Harold Ickes

Re: Detroit, New York City and Tennessee Fundraisers for 6-7 November 1995

Because of the funeral in Israel, the Detroit, New York City and Tennessee C/G '96 re-elect fundraisers scheduled for 6 and 7 November were canceled. According to Laura Hartigan, they expected a gross of $350,000 from Detroit, $1.4 million from New York and $600,000 from Tennessee. All of the money, with the exception of approximately $670,000, is in hand.

There is very strong feeling from New Yorkers that a New York event needs to be rescheduled. It does not, however, necessarily have to be a full scale dinner. Laura Hartigan and Terry McAuliffe are checking with New Yorkers about a substitute event.

We will look to the Vice President's staff with regard to a recommendation of whether we need a substitute event for Tennessee.

Likewise, Doug will make a recommendation with regard to a substitute event in Detroit.

I point out that while Clinton/Gore '96 "lost" approximately $670,000 by canceling events, it also picked up considerable savings due to the fact that Air Force One and the Vice President's travel expenses were not incurred.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-9-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 8, 1995

Mr. President:

Attached are memos from Counsel listing proposed denials of pardons and commutations. The only Arkansan is Nicholas Baxter. No action is required on your part.

Todd Stern

I'd like to talk to Jane Turner about this — she's been to Mississippi & knows it well

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-9-95

95 NOV 1 P4:45

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 26, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON E. PANETTA
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ABNER J. MIKVA
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

CHERYL MILLS
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

VICKI DIVOLL
OFFICE OF COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Denial of Commutation of Sentence Requests

We have received the Justice Department's recommendations against commuting the sentences and/or remitting the fines of the petitioners identified below. After a review of the Pardon Attorney's memoranda summarizing the circumstances in these cases, we have concluded that denial of these petitions is appropriate.

We will transmit your denial of the petitioners' requests for commutation of sentence and/or remission of fines in the following 86 cases on Thursday, November 9, 1995, unless you reach an earlier decision or indicate that you would like additional information on any of the cases listed.

| | |
|---|---|
| Christopher Kitua Akpala | Maryland |
| Fernando Almestica-Collazo | Texas |
| Roberto Ivan Alvarez-Baltodano | Florida |
| Pablo Jose Alvarez-Gonzales | Florida |
| John August Antonelli | Oklahoma |
| Jesus Hernan Arizala-Sinisterra | Virgin Islands |
| Maritza Balbin | Florida |
| Nicholas Allen Baxter | Arkansas |
| Jeffrey Scott Begeman | Virginia |
| Eligio Blanco (aka Busito) | Florida |
| Delbert Bowling | Kentucky |
| Thomas F. Bracewell | Alabama |
| Ronald E. Brooks | Alabama |
| Benny Michael Brown | Kentucky |
| Domingo Luis Bueno-Obregon | Florida |

| | |
|---|---|
| Eugar Dumount Burnett | Missouri |
| Joseph H. Burnett | Florida |
| Raymond Carrillo-Rojas<br>(aka Raymond Rojas Carrillo) | California |
| Jose Alfredo Castro | Texas |
| Rodolfo Cepin<br>(aka Carlos Colon) | Ohio |
| Shirley S. Coble | Alaska |
| Curley Lee Andrew Compton, Jr. | California |
| Damien Michael Connolly | Wisconsin |
| Scott Conor Crosby | Arizona |
| Larry Clayton Fields | North Carolina |
| Edward Gilbert | Pennsylvania |
| Felix Jorge Gomez | Alabama |
| William G. Graves | Maryland |
| Robert Vernon Griffin | Florida |
| Nereida Guzman | New York |
| Abdul Mohammed Haliq | Florida |
| Donald Ray Hall, Jr. | Illinois |
| Kenneth G. Hardy | Ohio |
| Ralvyn Harris | Louisiana |
| David Paul Henry | New Mexico |
| Mayra Hernandez | New York |
| Maximino Navarro Hernandez | Texas |
| Larry Hertz | Texas |
| Jerry Lynn High | South Carolina |
| Benjamin Hollingsworth | Mississippi |
| Ethel Hollis | Louisiana |
| Thomas H. Hornick | New York |
| Casey Gerard Howard | Mississippi |
| David Sherman Johnson | Kentucky |
| Agha Khan | California |
| Albert Kappell | North Carolina |
| Geneva Saylor Ledford | Kentucky |
| Michael Anthony Limon | Texas |
| Lelya Londono | Florida |
| Arthur William Mack | Oregon |
| David Thomas MacMillan | Alaska |
| Robert Vincent Manino | New Jersey |
| Kenneth Marshall | California |
| Allen M. Mason | Washington |
| William McCoy<br>(aka William McBee) | North Carolina,<br>Maryland,Georgia,<br>Kansas,Illinois |

| | |
|---|---|
| Maureen McGinley | California |
| Michael Joel McMahon | Florida |
| Michael Reece Mellott | Oregon |
| Glenn Clifford Miller | California |
| David Lynn Mosby | Missouri |
| Akhtar Munir | Florida |
| Oakland Lloyd Nixon | Georgia |
| Anna Delia Pagan | Pennsylvania |
| Gladys Peluyera | Pennsylvania |
| Robert Henry Ponder | Georgia |
| Olanrewaju Raji | Illinois |
| Michael Wayne Resha | Florida |
| Henry Rice | South Carolina |
| Vincente Victor Robinson (aka Victor Vincente Robinson-Robinson) | Florida |
| Alvaro Rojo-Alvarez | Maine |
| Michael Gerard Santos | Washington |
| Juan Antonio Santos-Rivera (aka Saul Castillo) | Ohio |
| Stephen Warren Setlif | North Carolina |
| Harris Shendur | New York |
| Charles Joseph Sibbio (aka Anthony Peter Davey) | Tennessee |
| Mark Emmanuel Solana | Texas |
| Elizabeth Boyett Taylor | Texas |
| Maggie Denise Thompson | Alabama |
| Sarah Vasquez | Florida |
| Arturo Vasquez-Castillo | Virgin Islands |
| Abelardo Velasquez | Florida |
| Campbell Sebastian Violette (aka Peter Vogell and Peter Violette) | Massachusetts |
| Calvin Scott Wedington | Maryland |
| Robert Lee Wiley | Washington |
| Earlus Leon Williams | Ohio |
| Willard Williams (aka Felix Davis, "The Black Prince") | New York |

**DECISION:**

APPROVE (sign) William J Clinton

DISAPPROVE (sign) _____

MORE INFORMATION _____

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.9.95

95 NOV 1 P4:45

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 26, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: LEON E. PANETTA
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: ABNER J. MIKVA
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

CHERYL MILLS
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

VICKI DIVOLL
OFFICE OF COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Denial of Pardon Requests

We have received the Justice Department's recommendations against pardons after completion of sentence for the petitioners identified below. After a review of the Pardon Attorney's memoranda summarizing the circumstances in these cases, we have concluded that denial of these petitions is appropriate.

We will transmit your denial of the petitioners' requests for pardon in the following 26 cases on Thursday, November 9, 1995, unless you reach an earlier decision or indicate that you would like additional information on any of the cases listed.

| | |
|---|---|
| Joyce Geraldine Beach | North Carolina |
| Prentiss Arthur Carmichael | Texas |
| James Vincent Cozzolino | California |
| Richard Anthony Downs | Minnesota |
| J.B. Dykes | Georgia |
| | |
| Frances Ellen | California |
| Adolph Wildy Finnie, Jr. | Louisiana |
| Mike Mehdi Fooladi | Texas |
| Saeed Foroughi | California |
| Michael Leslie Helfand | Michigan |
| | |
| Ernest Edward Johnson | District of Columbia |
| Ronald James Kehoe | Michigan |
| Thomas Grant Lobello | Minnesota |
| John Lomelo, Jr. | Florida |
| Steven Scott Nail | Texas |

| | |
|---|---|
| Alvin Narcisse, Jr. | Louisiana |
| Mark Douglas Odom | North Carolina |
| Joseph Paul Poulos | Alabama |
| Raymond Leroy Pruett | Utah |
| Jorge Luis Reyes | Louisiana |
| Michael James Rogers | Texas |
| Anthony Joseph Scherer, Jr. | Illinois |
| Charles Richard Tedford | Texas |
| Amos Terrell | Louisiana |
| Rodney Gregory Van Cleave | Louisiana |
| Patrick Henry Wright, Jr. | Louisiana |

**DECISION:**

APPROVE (sign) W J Clinton

DISAPPROVE (sign) _____

MORE INFORMATION _____

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-9-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 8 P5:25

November 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DON BAER
SUBJECT: Newsweek Column

Attached is the essay you worked on last week. It is a good piece on which to build other public arguments about this subject. Meanwhile, I have already expressed my dismay to editors at Newsweek about the photo selection, which should have included you.

We moved on
Your column
Can Rex -
Bc

# Why Bosnia Matters to America

## Our values, interests and security are all at stake

BY PRESIDENT CLINTON

OVER THE LAST FOUR years, the world has witnessed images we thought had been banished from Europe forever: sunken-eyed prisoners; defenseless men shot down into mass graves. Bosnia-Herzegovina, once a symbol of multiethnic tolerance, has been Europe's bloodiest battleground since World War II.

But now, in Dayton, Ohio—where the Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia are beginning negotiations aimed at ending the brutality—horror is giving way to hope. America has led the way to the best chance for peace since the war began. American pilots and their NATO colleagues waged a bombing campaign that halted Bosnian Serb attacks on the safe areas. America's determined diplomacy brought the parties to the peace table. And in Dayton, America's negotiating team—together with our European and Russian partners—is working with them to make a lasting peace.

Peace in Bosnia matters to America—to our values and our interests. We have an urgent stake in stopping the slaughter, preventing the war from spreading, and building a Europe at peace.

The war in Bosnia has been waged chiefly against innocent civilians, who have suffered mass executions, ethnic cleansing, terror, and systematic rape. Murder in the markets and the playgrounds of Sarajevo has outraged our nation and our conscience—for the violence done to the Bosnian people does violence to the principles on which America stands. The only way to stop the killing for good is to make peace.

Peace would also prevent the war from spreading. Bosnia lies amidst some of America's NATO allies and many of Europe's fragile new democracies. If war reignites in Bosnia, it could spark a much wider conflagration. In 1914, a gunshot in Sarajevo launched the first of two world wars. We must not let the century close with gunfire in Sarajevo.

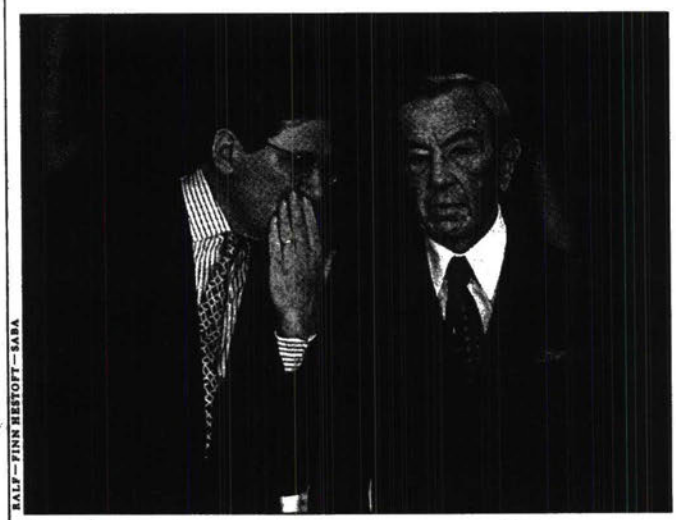
Making peace in Bosnia will help build a peaceful, undivided Europe. A united Europe will be America's best partner in security and trade. But Europe will not come together with a brutal conflict raging at its heart. Europe will not come together if the forces of intolerance triumph.

To seize this opportunity for peace, America must continue to lead. Already, American mediators have helped the parties agree to a cease-fire and to the basic principles of a settlement. Bosnia will remain a single state, with an equitable distribution of territory, free elections and democratic government. But many difficult obstacles remain to be overcome in Dayton before a comprehensive settlement is reached. There is no guarantee the parties will succeed.

If peace is achieved, NATO must help secure it—and as NATO's leader, America must take part. Only NATO—proven, strong, effective—can give the Bosnian people the breathing space they need to begin to reconcile and rebuild. If the U.S. does not do its part in a NATO mission, our partners may turn their backs on Bosnia as well. The hard-won peace could be lost. We would also weaken NATO—the anchor of America's and Europe's common security—and jeopardize U.S. leadership in Europe.

As President, I have no responsibility more grave than putting American soldiers in harm's way. I will not deploy U.S. troops to Bosnia unless the parties commit to a solid peace agreement. I will insist on NATO command and control that protects our troops and ensures the effectiveness of the operation. Our troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO forces—no one else. They will have clear rules of engagement, a carefully defined mission, and an exit strategy. As the peace process moves forward, I will continue to consult closely with Congress. If an agreement is reached, I will request an expression of Congressional support for American participation in a NATO implementation force.

I was proud to see that when the Balkan leaders arrived in Dayton, they were welcomed by hundreds of Americans of diverse faiths and backgrounds, demonstrating how deeply our nation hopes for peace. Standing together, they reflected the foundation of America's strength: E Pluribus Unum—from many, we are one. The war of ethnic and religious hatred in Bosnia strikes at the heart of the American ideal. But there was a time when Bosnia, too, found unity in its diversity. Now is the time for Bosnia to find that unity in peace—for the orphans of Sarajevo; for the untold victims of Srebrenica; for the countless men and women from every ethnic community, driven from their homes and divided from their families. And now is the time for the United States to stand by our principles and stand up for our interests. We must be leaders for peace. That is our responsibility as Americans.



RALF-FINN HESTOFT—SABA

**Seizing the chance:** The United States has taken the lead in working to end the slaughter

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.9.95

95 NOV 7 P5:16

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS

SUBJECT: OKC Scholarship Fund

I recently spoke with Governor George Nigh who sent his greetings from Hope, Arkansas. He wanted you to know that he was calling in from the Sonic in Hope and had just placed his order for a Sonic chili dog. He's sending a picture for you to sign.

We discussed his plans for the Oklahoma City Scholarship Fund. He is moving ahead to expand the board with prominent current and former Arkansans. Vince Gill has agreed to serve. He is in touch with Herb Kelleher, CEO of Southwest Airlines, Jim Garner, originally from Norman, W.R. Howell, CEO of J.C. Penney and is likely to pursue Barry Switzer and Troy Aikman. He also wants Secretary Riley to participate.

He has asked for two meetings: the first at the White House with you and the board members in November or December. He also asked that you come to Oklahoma in early February, to visit the campus of the University of Central Oklahoma for a dedication and meet with student leaders from across Oklahoma. He then would accompany you to the site of the bombing in downtown Oklahoma City.

Scheduling is moving ahead to plan a meeting with the Scholarship advisory board before the end of the year. A trip to Oklahoma in February is not possible, but a visit to commemorate the first anniversary is under consideration.

Note: Jane Alexander, Governor Frank Keating, Mayor Ronald Norick, Secretaries Pena and Cisneros and Administrator Roger Johnson will open an exhibit on November 16, in Washington, at the National Building Museum. The exhibit, "We will be back: Oklahoma City Rebuilds", recognizes the rebuilding and healing of the City.

cc: Bob Nash
Nancy Hernreich
Marcia Hale
Stephanie Streett
Anne Walley

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

October 18, 1995

*The Federal agency that supports the visual, literary and performing arts to benefit all Americans*

*Office of the Chairman*

*Arts in Education*
*Challenge & Advancement*
*Dance*
*Design*
*Expansion Arts*
*Folk & Traditional Arts*
*International*
*Literature*
*Local Arts Agencies*
*Media Arts*
*Museum*
*Music*
*Opera/Musical Theater*
*Presenting*
*State & Regional*
*Theater*
*Visual Arts*

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to invite you to open the exhibition, ***We Will be back: Oklahoma City Rebuilds***, on November 16, 1995, at the National Building Museum here in D.C. The exhibition explores how the citizens of Oklahoma City have approached the redesign of their city following the tragic bombing on April 19. It focuses on how the community has begun to heal and rebuild itself, and how the power of design can aid these processes.

Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Pena, Director Roger Johnson and I, through our four agencies sponsored a design workshop in Oklahoma City after the bombing.

The exhibition at the National Building Museum will show designs for developing and rebuilding the area devastated by the bomb blast, and will illustrate the human response to the disaster through photographs, oral interviews and memorials hung on the fence erected around the bombed site.

Governor Frank Keating and Oklahoma City Mayor Ronald Norick will participate in the opening, which will be highlighted with a flag procession by the Kiowa Black Leggins Warrior Society and the singing of spirituals by internationally renowned baritone Dr. Thomas Devore Carey.

Your presence will demonstrate the abiding commitment of the nation to helping the citizens of Oklahoma City to rebuild, and we hope you will be able to attend.

Best regards,

Jane Alexander
Chairman

*The Nancy Hanks Center*
*1100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW*
*Washington, DC 20506*
*202/682-5400*

6:00 PM

# Exhibit to Document Boom-Bust History, Bombing Aftermath

By John Perry
Staff Writer

Oklahoma City's boom-and-bust history and its resilience in the aftermath of the April 19 bombing will go on display in our nation's Capitol next month in an exhibit at the National Building Museum.

The exhibit titled "We Will Be Back: Oklahoma City Rebuilds," is to open Nov. 16.

It will fill three galleries at the museum and focus on Oklahoma City's history, the destruction caused by the bombing and the efforts to rebuild.

The exhibit is sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Building Museum, with the support of the General Services Administration and the U.S. Transportation and Housing and Urban Development departments.

The Transportation Department and HUD had employees among the 169 killed as a result of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building bombing.

Exhibit curator Sharon Blume and her partner, Lynne Breslins, spent several weeks in Oklahoma City researching the city's history and collecting material.

"What we learned ... was that people's reaction to the blast is easier to understand if you know what people there have gone through since 1889," Blume said. "The reaction after the bombing and the way people pulled together was not out of the ordinary."

Blume said the city's boom-and-bust history will be told in one gallery using artifacts from the Oklahoma Historical Society and private collections.

A second gallery will focus on the bomb's effects, with stories and photos from *The Oklahoman* and video news footage from KOCO-TV Channel 5.

An exhibit on the rebuilding efforts will include material from a planning session sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts. It also will include videotaped interviews of city residents involved in the rebuilding effort talking about the city's image and their vision of its future.

"We're trying to have people understand a little bit more about Oklahoma City than that it's the place where the bomb went off, or that it's a place where people called Okies live," Blume said.

"What we're hoping to do is tell the story about how the community is moving beyond the tragedy, in a sense, by making the dream that started with the Land Run come true."

Oklahoma City Mayor Ron Norick was among those interviewed for the exhibit. He said the idea for it came after he was offered free assistance from the National Endowment for the Arts design program in planning to rebuild downtown.

The design program brings together top national designers with communities to develop creative solutions to urban problems.

Endowment officials proposed the exhibit, Norick said, because "they were so impressed with what we were doing generally around here and with the history of the city."

The exhibit will remain on display in Washington, D.C., at least four months, said Jackie Jones, Arts Council of Oklahoma City director.

Depending on its success, it may tour the country after its initial showing, Jones said.

Jones said she hopes it can at least be displayed in Oklahoma City.

The National Building Museum is at 401 F St. on Judiciary Square in Washington. It is dedicated to all aspects of building, including architecture, construction, engineering, urban planning and landscape architecture.

The exhibit is not related to the local effort to build a monument on the Murrah Building site.

Bob Johnson, head of the task force planning the memorial, said a subcommittee of bombing survivors and victims' families has met monthly since the task force was formed in July.

Johnson said the task force is planning a survey of public opinion about the memorial. A series of town meetings also is planned, though no dates have been set.

He said the task force should approve a memorial mission statement by March 31. The task force then will solicit design ideas from professional designers, architects and artists.

Johnson has said the planning process will take at least a year.

"We're moving cautiously to allow time to elapse and to give some room for healing," he said.



FYI

Post-it® Fax Note 7671 | Date 10/11 | # of pages ▶
To Susanna Reiss | From Crystal Rudisill
Co./Dept. NEA Grants | Co. Arts Council of OKC
Phone # | Phone # 405-236-1426
Fax # 202-682-5619 | Fax #

ORIGINAL TO DORSKIND

P. O. Box 10518
Atlanta, GA 30310
(404) 755-2855

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinat
the reply.

November 6, 1995

President William Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.9.95

Dear Mr. President:

We write today to urge you to use your power of veto to reject **HR 2099**, a pernicious bill now in the House/Senate Conference Committee which threatens to gut the Environmental Protection Agency; **HR 1977** will devastate the Department of Energy's energy conservation / renewable energy programs and threatens national parks / national forest lands and which seeks to cripple the Bureau of Indian Affairs; **HR 2002** a bill that cuts in half funding for public transit systems while increasing funding for more roads and highway projects and all other legislation that crosses your desk that attacks our health and safety or would destroy our communities' right-to-know.

This letter comes to you from people all across the country who are deeply concerned about the current Congressional assault on public health and environmental protection. For us, this is not an abstract matter. Our organizations represent thousands of people in communities contaminated by toxic waste and industrial pollution. Many of us, our neighbors and our relatives, suffer from cancer and lupus, rashes and respiratory illnesses, chromosome damage and other genetic and reproductive disorders that emanate from increased and unmitigated toxins in our environment.

After years of dwindling faith in the capacity of government to respond, hope was ignited when you signed Executive Order 12898, mandating interagency cooperation in the pursuit of environmental justice. We hoped this was but a first step in constructing a society where human need took precedence over government and corporate malfeasance and greed. However, today's Congressional activity undermines that hope. Driven by the big money interests that contribute to their election campaigns, members of the House and Senate are waging war on our collective health and environment. We vow to begin building a long term effort which will support all elected officials who, by rejecting all attempts to undermine or reverse twenty five years of democratically established rights and laws, indicate their commitment to environmental justice. Those who do not, must be held accountable, and we ask you to help us do that with your veto.

As you so rightly noted in your speech at the University of Texas, "America must clean its house." In a more literal sense, the millions of people who suffer from exposure to toxic chemicals are depending on you to do just that. We appeal to you to act swiftly and decisively by using your veto power to safeguard our nation's health and to protect our environment from polluting companies and shortsighted colleagues on either side of the aisle.

We also call upon you to meet with us and other impacted citizens from across the country for a State of the Environment Town Hall meeting. These types of gatherings provide an opportunity to put faces on impacted citizens and education for the American public.

Sincerely,

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Enclosure: Letter to U.S. Congress, October 16, 1995

**P.O. Box 10518**
**Atlanta, Georgia 30310**
**(404) 755-2855**

October 16, 1995

Dear Member of Congress:

**We write to you to express our alarm about the attack in the Senate and the House on environmental regulations and programs designed to protect the health and lives of the people you represent. We ask you to demonstrate your understanding of the impact of your decisions on our very lives by voting against anti-environmental protection bills and riders and proposed cuts in the budgets of the very agencies established to protect our air, water and land.**

We are ordinary working and poor, young and old Americans, diverse in our racial makeup and in our political beliefs, who share a commitment to environmental justice for all. We are joined by others who share our concerns. We are bi-partisan and multi-generational. We come together to write to you today because we believe the collective actions of the 104th Congress constitute a threat to the safety of our workers, the well-being and survival of our people and the long-term health and viability of our planet.

First, we want to make clear that, we too, want a balanced budget and a steady decrease in the deficit. We want waste to be cut, bureaucracy reduced and government that is humane and just, because some of us have been the victims of government waste, bureaucracy, corporate welfare, disdain and unjust treatment. We want this stopped, and we want our nation's resources appropriated in a **fiscally and socially responsible manner**.

Many of us, our neighbors and our relatives suffer from cancer and lupus, rashes and respiratory illnesses, chromosome damage and other genetic and reproductive disorders. Some of our young boys' private parts swell, many of our women's breasts are riddled with disease. Our children suffer from learning and developmental disabilities which we believe contribute to behavioral problems including violence. These effects are cumulative and multi-generational, unless we and Congress change how business is conducted and decisions are made.

It has been documented that communities where people of color and poor whites live, work and play are more likely to suffer from toxic environmental exposure. However, no community or group of people are immune to environmental contamination and toxic poisoning. Indeed a public health crisis from environmental poisoning looms before all Americans. We all encounter dangerous pollutants through the air we breath, the food we eat, the water we drink and the land on which we build our homes. Two out of five Americans - more than 80 million of us - still reside in areas where the air is too polluted to meet minimal federal health standards, and three out of five of us are supplied with contaminated water when we turn on our tap. In short, chemical exposure pathways are multiple and the impacts are cumulative and synergistic.

**The assault on our collective health must stop and we, the people, are prepared to demand and work together with you, our elected officials, and the public agencies we jointly established, to ensure that we have permanent and comprehensive solutions to this catalogue of environment dangers we all encounter as we go about our daily lives.**

Many signers of this letter have had less than satisfactory encounters with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Departments of Energy, Housing and Urban Development, Health and Human Services, Interior and the many other public agencies chartered with protecting us and our environment. We have charged many local, state and federal bodies with environmental racism and class bias in their implementation of regulations and laws, and in their permitting of sites for toxic waste disposal and polluting industries. We have charged these agencies and bodies with treating impacted communities with arrogance and disdain; ignoring the concerns of communities impacted by environmental exposures and not involving them in decision-making; covering-up information; and favoring industry.

We were, however, encouraged that through the persistent and determined organizing, monitoring and involvement of our communities we have evidenced some degree of accountability from these agencies, when EPA Administrator Browner made environmental justice a priority of her administration, and with the Environmental Justice Executive Order 12898. It mandates "interagency cooperation" to identify and address "...the disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies and activities on minority populations and low-income populations in the United States."

It seemed that our government was finally listening to us as various agencies conducted public hearings where thousands of impacted citizens voiced their concerns. We were encouraged as governmental agencies, with the involvement of impacted citizens, began to develop administrative strategies to remedy past governmental disparities.

However, as Congress, the Administration and our public institutions have grappled with these very critical public health concerns, many of the multi-national corporations that live in our midst have invested millions of dollars in research to dispute our claims, to question our motives, and to protect their interests. Many of these industry giants, with no loyalty to our country and no commitment to our people, launched public relations campaigns and massive lobbying efforts designed to suggest that our concerns about the health of our people and our planet were unfounded, that our claims were exaggerated, that our regulations and protections were not required and only served to hamper their mobility and profits.

**We want our Congress, our President, and appointed federal officials to safeguard our health and to protect our environment. We cannot afford to have a Congress more beholding to the few business and private interests who can afford to contribute massive amounts of money to their campaigns and their national political committees, than they are to the many individual people whose collective public interest they have vowed to secure. We ask that you reject corporate welfare and protectionism, embrace responsible leadership and consider our collective concerns.**

Five of our most pressing and immediate concerns are listed below. We believe that there are many other critical issues before Congress that threaten our well being, but the ones listed are strong and clear indicators of a dangerous direction that requires your immediate attention. These concerns that we have expressed are vitally important to our country's security and well-being and we urge you to act on them today. **We ask that you vote and lobby against anti-environmental bills and budget cuts in Conference, and support a Presidential veto should the significant cuts and provisions of concern pass in Conference.**

Yours truly,

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Deehon Ferris, Washington Office On Environmental Justice, Washington, DC, (202) 637-2467
Laura Foreman, Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition, (304) 522-0246
Ellen Furnari, Shelburn, UT 05482, (802) 452-2022
Daenon L. Gault, Citizens Clearing House For Hazardous Waste, (703) 237-2249
John Gipson, African Americans for Environmental Justice, Brooksville, MS, (601) 738-4568
Phyllis Glazer, Mothers Organized to Stop Environmental Sins, Winona, TX (903) 877-4801
Susan Glazer, Coordinator Project Empowerment, (407) 588-2909
Tom Goldtooth, Indigenous Environmental Network, (218) 751-4967
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Jean Gauna, Southwest Organizing Project, Albuquerque, NM, (505) 247-8832
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Rita Harris, Mid-South Peace & Justice Center, (901)452-6997
Dave Harrison, IEN, Alaska Council & Chicakaloon Traditional Village, (907) 745-0505
Debbie Heck, Shameless Agitators of Arkansas, (501) 849-2817
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Marjorie Hinds & Ray Larson, Los Angeles, CA, 90025
Jane Hodes, Emoryville, CA
Lonnie Hollis, Atlanta, GA, (404) 346-3611
Faith Holsaert, (301) 270-0265
Margaret Morgan-Hubbard, Executive Director, Environmental Action Foundation, Takoma Pak, MD, (301) 669-3933

Pat Hussain, Southerners On New Ground, Atlanta, GA
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Leah S. Jaffe, Miami Beach, FL 33141
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Vivian Jones, West Side Residents & Home Owners Alliance, Spartanburg, NC, (803) 439-1825
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Gary Zuckett, West Virginia Environmental Council, (304) 659-3193

## SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY CONCERNS

**NUMBER ONE: The Senate and House versions of the VA/HUD Appropriations Bill, HR 2099. Both propose drastic cuts in the budget of the Environmental Protection Agency. The House version of HR 2099 provides for a 34 percent reduction and the Senate a 23 percent reduction in EPA FY96 funds.**

The appropriations bills are proposing to:

- Gravely weaken enforcement actions in favor of "compliance assistance" and dilute EPA's authority to make toxic waste polluters pay for remediation efforts;

- Harm air and water quality protection programs;

- Reduce EPA's ability to enforce some drinking water standards;

- Slash funding for essential health and technical research programs;

- Stop efforts to initiate health services and clinical research for impacted communities;

- Cut lead grants which fund cities' and states' lead prevention efforts including lead abatement;

- Cut technical assistance grants and other community programs which helps citizens to participate in problem solving and provide technical advice for informed environmental decisions by the impacted community;

- Prevent any new major toxic waste clean-up efforts and curtail those under-way;

- Undermine the development of Indigenous governmental environmental protection programs and significantly impact funding levels for Indigenous waste-water, drinking water infrastructure and water quality programs.

Here are our top disagreements:

- Of major concern is the $500 million proposed cut to the Superfund Program under the appropriations process. Superfund sites are often located in or near residential communities. Contaminants found at Superfund sites include dioxin, creosote, lead, PCBs, volatile organic compounds, asbestos and acids which are known carcinogens/toxins. One in four Americans live within four miles of an NPL site. Superfund provides the only real hope we have for cleanup and remediation of contaminated sites in our communities. Failure to cleanup contaminated sites will result in further spreading of contaminants on and off-site, and further expose community members to life threatening toxins. According to the EPA, the House proposal will allow no new project starts in Superfund. Approximately 120 cleanup construction projects alone are threatened by the House proposal. Projects underway would move to completion of their current phase, but would not proceed to the next phase of cleanup. Cuts in the response program impact sites in over 80 percent of the states in the nation; nearly every state would have viable cleanup projects canceled due to federal funding constraints;

- The Senate now calls for the essential National Institute of Environmental Health Services to be cut $18 million in research and $2 million in worker training;

- The 60 percent targeted reduction ($65 million) to the Superfund enforcement program will severely curtail the entire program. Specifically, the Agency will be unable to continue many Superfund reform activities designed to make the program fairer, faster, and cheaper. The proposed cuts will also threaten the concept of polluter pays, which would saddle the general public with the burdens of cleaning up pollution.

• The bill fails to address the special needs of Indigenous governments and impacted communities to develop Indigenous Superfund initiatives that recognize cultural, commerce, subsistence and economic needs in addition to implementing environmental justice criteria in the enforcement of federal environmental laws and programs within Indigenous lands.

• The reductions will halt all new cost recovery activity, causing the government to permanently forego approximately $300 million in cost recovery due to missing the statue of limitation for cost recovery actions. Current litigation will be delayed and private parties will likely discontinue all ongoing negotiations to conduct site clean ups. This will have a detrimental, long term impact on the pace and the productivity of the program.

• Reductions to EPA's research and development program would eliminate essential technical support to regional and state cleanup programs, the Hazardous Substance Research Centers and research and demonstration activities that are developing improved, lower-cost site characterization and remediation technologies

• The proposed cuts will severely impact already under-funded slow moving State Superfund Programs.

• The administration of the TAG (Technical Assistance Grant) program will be drastically reduced, the principle means contaminated communities have to acquire technical expertise so that they can have informed participation in site decisions.

• Funding to the newly established EPA Office of Environmental Justice will be reduced.

**NUMBER TWO: The numerous anti-environmental special interest riders in HR 2099 for both Senate and House versions prevent EPA from enforcing key health and safety regulations, and bar enforcement and implementation of specific EPA rules.**

These special interest riders represent a systematic dismantling of environmental standards that curtail the emissions of toxic substances by polluters, and undermine EPA's legal authority to enforce and strengthen the Community Right-to-Know law. Three of these riders in the House version are explicit "right-to-know nothing" measures that would:

• Exempt the Oil and Gas Exploration industry from chemical safety planning and disclosure of potential worst case accidents that threaten communities;

• Prohibit EPA from collecting better data on chemicals used by industry;

• Prevent EPA from prosecuting polluters who have hidden environmental violations in secret self-audits authorized by state law.

**NUMBER THREE:** Department of Interior Appropriations Bill HR 1977 proposes a 10.6 percent cut in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, cuts enforcement of environmental rules at strip mines and proposes a series of budget assaults on forest and wildlife conservation, and energy conservation research. Legislative proposals amending section 518 of the CWA, HR 961, and the amendments of sections 24 and 26 of FIFCA (Title V of HR 1627) would change federal law and policy regarding Indigenous government authority to regulate the environment within reservation political boundaries. These proposals will eliminate Indigenous governmental authority to implement programs under these acts for reservation lands owned in whole or part by non-members of the Indigenous government.

**NUMBER FOUR: The suite of anti-environmental legislation** including The Risk Assessment/Cost Benefit Analysis Bill, The Takings Bill, The Right to Farm Bill represents a serious danger to workers and the public's health, to pollution prevention, environmental regulation and enforcement, remediation and cleanup of contaminated communities, and poses an unprecedented assault on environmental protection in this country. We are appealing to you to help us protect the laws that protect us. We would point out to you that the existing environmental regulations do not prohibit pollution but rather

regulate how much a company can pollute. The current attack is designed to remove these restraints and allow uncontrolled pollution of the environment.

**NUMBER FIVE:** Legislation has been introduced to change the definition of 501 C-3 organizations. This legislation will make it impossible for community groups receiving as little as 5% or more of its funding from federal grants from engaging in any form of public education. Under these new definitions any form of public education would be considered lobbying.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11.5.15

**TO:** Lauren

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

Latest missive from Secy Reich. I thought you'd want to see before I send in to Potus, but this should be closely held. Previous Reich memos leaked during DNA 1st year or so to bad effect. Please let me know if you want to do any comment.

Rob

Confidential

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
Initials: MS Date: 12/5/19
2019-0774-S-1

**MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM: RBR** Bob

**Date: November 8, 1995**

**RE: Idea on corporate responsibility**

95 NOV 8 P1:56

**Republicans want to eliminate (House) or substantially reduce (Senate) the corporate Alternative Minimum Tax. The House Republicans seek additional corporate tax cuts.**

**As part of your response to their budget proposal, you might say that you're willing to offer a tax cut to certain corporations, but only those that accept certain responsibilities for generating good jobs in America.**

**In order to qualify for special tax relief, corporations must satisfy 6 criteria of corporate responsibility:**

**1. Devote at least 2 percent of payroll to employee training;**

**2. Offer to all employees a basic package of health benefits;**

**3. Offer to all employees child care;**

**4. Operate an employee profit-sharing plan, gain-sharing plan, or certified stock ownership plan;**

**5. Pay their highest-paid employee no more than 50 times what they pay their lowest-paid employee; and**

**6. Refrain from laying off workers when operating at a net profit.**

**I have more details. Let me know if you'd like to pursue this.**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-9-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Laura
Woody Brock's memo is right on the money. Todd suggests that you ask Laura and Joe Stiglitz to prepare a response. RC

November 8, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

Woody Brock recently sent you a memo arguing against the BEA's new chain-weighted index to measure GDP and suggesting that you should have the BEA postpone the new revisions.

I asked Laura and Joe Stiglitz to take a look at the memo and they prepared a response. The Brock memo and the Tyson/Stiglitz responses are all attached.

The bottom line is that Laura and Joe disagree with Brock's analysis; explain that the upcoming downward revision in GDP over the past several years is unrelated to the new chain-weighted index; strongly counsel against any action that could appear as political interference with statistical data (an unfounded allegation of this led to Senate hearings and a GAO investigation in 1992); and warn that *if* we say BEA estimates seriously understate growth, we must be prepared to assert that the CPI seriously overstates inflation, since these are two sides of the same coin.

Todd Stern

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.9.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 3 P2:46

November 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LAURA D'ANDREA TYSON Laura D Tyson

RE: BROCK LETTER AND CEA/BEA RESPONSE

The staff secretary sent me a copy of the attached letter to you from Woody Brock. Dr. Brock raises serious concerns about the BEA's new chain-weighted index to measure GDP, an issue about which you have already heard from both the CEA and the BEA. Dr. Brock recommends that the Administration take action to postpone publication of the new index because he believes that it will make your growth record look worse. I asked the CEA and the BEA to provide a response to Dr. Brock's concerns and to his recommendation, and their response is also attached.

I concur with the analysis and recommendations in the joint CEA-BEA response. I would add two additional points.

First, any statement by the Administration that BEA estimates of growth are seriously understated would be tantamount to a statement that the CPI seriously overstates inflation. Unless we are prepared to make the latter statement and defend it in the ongoing budget battle, we should avoid making the former statement.

Second, the BEA plans to continue to publish both the new chain-weighted index and the more traditional benchmark index, based on the revised 1992 benchmark, for the foreseeable future. Over the next few years, these two measures should yield very similar results; only gradually as the revised benchmark becomes increasingly outdated would the benchmark series begin to show more rapid growth than the chain-weighted series. By that time, however, many of the quality adjustments already in the works at BEA should improve the latter series, making it an even more reliable measure of growth.

Finally, for your information, the meeting between Joe Stiglitz and Steve Roach referred to in the Brock letter has been postponed to a later date. In the meantime, the CEA and the BEA will prepare a written response to Dr. Brock to address his concerns.

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

THE CHAIRMAN

November 2, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ, CHAIRMAN, CEA
EVERETT EHRLICH, UNDER SECRETARY
FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

SUBJECT: Brock Letter on GDP

Woody Brock has suggested that you direct the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the Department of Commerce (BEA) to postpone releasing the new chain-weighted GDP data. We believe that this would be a mistake on policy grounds and could be interpreted as political interference in the statistical data release process. With your permission, we would like to prepare a response to Brock and explain the reasons for our judgement.

The BEA will release revised GDP data in December that will likely show slower growth over the past several years. This downward revision to growth is <u>not</u> the result of the shift to a chain-weighted index, however. Over the past several decades, the BEA's standard practice is to revise its estimates of real GDP every five years to update the benchmark year, and this has always reduced the estimates of growth around the time of the revision.

The primary reason for updating the benchmark year regularly is that rapid growth in sectors with significant price declines leads to a distortion of GDP growth, and that distortion increases in each year following the benchmark year. This can most easily be seen in the case of computers. The benchmark is now 1987. This means that everything is added into GDP based on what it was "worth" in 1987. Since a Pentium-class personal computer cost about as much as a car in that year, each computer and each car adds an equal amount to GDP using 1987 weights. Shifting to a 1992 base year will mean that each computer will add an amount equal to only half a car, as was the case in 1992, in the revised data.

<u>Even if BEA were to forget about its chain-weighted index and simply update the benchmark, growth numbers would be lower than under the outdated 1987 weights</u>. The purpose of the chain-weighted index is to avoid changing the estimates of real GDP growth every five years in the future. The new index moves the

base year forward year-by-year and prevents abrupt changes in the numbers. Starting in January 1996 the BEA will report real GDP growth using both the chain-weighted index and the 1992 constant-dollar measure. The old methodology will be preserved for those who want to use it.

Brock states that other biases in current data understate the pace of economic growth. This is true; a phone call today costs about the same as a phone call ten years ago but today's call is clearer, more convenient and probably more mobile. This improvement in quality is not measured in GDP and leads to an understatement of real growth.

The inadequate adjustment for quality that leads to an understatement of GDP growth also creates one of the biases leading the CPI to overstate inflation. Eliminating this bias would lead to better measurement of both growth and inflation. The difficulty is that the magnitude of the quality bias is not known with precision, and this precludes the statistical agencies from making immediate adjustments. BEA is currently working on the quality problem, and the product of this effort should increase measured growth as improvements are incorporated into the GDP data.

While the lack of precision precludes the statistical agencies from making immediate numerical adjustments, it does not preclude the Administration from making policy judgments. For example, experts could make a reasonable judgment that the most likely magnitude of the quality bias may be, say, 0.5, and that CPI-0.5 may be the most appropriate measure for adjusting income tax brackets and social security benefits. Similarly, when commenting on GDP data, it would be perfectly reasonable to argue that real GDP growth was probably understated by a similar magnitude.

Whatever the merits of the quality bias argument, as a practical matter, it would not be possible to stop the GDP revision process without extraordinarily bad press and a possible revolt in the statistical community. An unfounded allegation of political interference with the data in 1992 led to Senate hearings and a GAO investigation.

We all share the concern that our economic data convey accurately our successes. We should encourage the statistical agencies to eliminate all biases from the data and we should try and give them the resources to carry out this task. But shutting down the process of revision would be a bad idea and would give an undue impression of interference.

STRATEGIC ECONOMIC DECISIONS, INC.
905 SHERMAN AVENUE
MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA 94025
U.S.A.

95 OCT 27 P4:48

TEL: (415) 854-2404
FAX: (415) 854-2415

# MEMO

**TO: President William Clinton**

**FROM: Woody Brock**

Joe Stiglitz will apparently be meeting with Steve Roach this coming Tuesday. Roach is the Chief Economist of Morgan Stanley, and has been well ahead of the pack in understanding the productivity revolution during recent years. They will be discussing an issue which should be of importance to you personally given your forthcoming campaign.

This concerns the forthcoming and highly unwise revision in the way real GDP growth will be calculated from January on. The new calculations will lower the recorded rate of economic growth and productivity growth you have achieved.

Here is why this is a problem. The revision (introduction of "chain-weighted" measurements) is intended to eliminate the troublesome issue of "substitution bias" in computing price increases. This is admirable as far as it goes.

The problem is that substitution bias is only one of four serious biases which impact the calculation of all the key macro-numbers. This bias does indeed overstate GDP and productivity growth. But all three other biases cause these key numbers to be understated, as currently computed. Most important of these other three biases is the failure of the National Accounting System to capture improvements in the quality of goods and services. This is a very serious bias and virtually all experts agree on this point.

Were the BEA to introduce revisions addressing all four biases, then the net impact would be to raise – not lower – the growth in real output and productivity that has occurred under your administration. As it stands, the BEA is adjusting the only source of bias which will make you look worse. This is absurd!

Given this reality, why not have the BEA postpone the new revisions until a more coordinated attack on the bias problem is possible? If you do not postpone what is happening, the resulting new data will magnify the distortions already present in the numbers. This is serious, and Steve Roach wholly agrees. His visit is aimed at encouraging a postponement. Might you alert Joe to it??

All Best Wishes!

Pls send
to J.
O'Connor.
Copy to
my ticker

The Pres. has had
seen

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL•CIO

555 NEW JERSEY AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20001-2079
202-879-4400

ALBERT SHANKER
President

EDWARD J. McELROY
Secretary-Treasurer

95 NOV 8 P6:52

November 8, 1995

Ms. Nancy Hernrich
Special Assistant to the President
Fax: 202 456 6703

Dear Ms. Hernrich:

I would like to communicate to President Clinton that I strongly urge his further intervention on behalf of the former members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) who were fired by President Reagan.

Thus far, of the 5,000 PATCO controllers who have actively tried to return to their former jobs since the President's directive allowing them to do so, only 37 have been rehired. At the same time, the FAA has been hiring less qualified trainees, while indicating that it does not intend to expand the hiring of former controllers. This despite chronic shortages.

I would appreciate speaking to the President or someone in his office about this matter.

Sincerely,

Albert Shanker
President

AS:ama
opeiu2aflcio

cc: Harold Ickes

cc w/inc.
Scheduling
-Stephanie Streett & Anne Wells
-NSC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

11-9-95

November 8, 1995

Potus wants to see him in Japan!

Satoshi Iue
Chairman and CEO
Sanyo Electric Company, Ltd.
5-5 Keihan-Hondori 2-chome
Moriguchi City
Osaka 570
JAPAN

Dear Satoshi:

Thanks for your letter of October 26. It was good to hear from you, and I appreciate your letting me know once more about your visits to Dalian, China. Although I don't have any trips to China currently planned, I've passed your letter along to my schedulers to let them know of your suggestion.

I hope that you're well and look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Satoshi Iue LL. D.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

October 26, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of The United States of America
The White House
Washington D.C.
20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I am sure you are busy preparing for the upcoming APEC meetings scheduled in November here in Osaka. I also wish that you and your family are in good health.

In December of last year, I have written you about the City of Dalian in China, where I had a chance to visit again two weeks ago. Since it was such an impressive trip, I wish to share my experience I had during the two days n Dalian with you.

The purpose of my trip was twofold. One was to receive an honorary professorship from Dalian University of Technology, and the other was to receive an honorary citizenship from the City of Dalian. I also participated in the opening festivities of Chuzan Music Square where Sanyo has donated audio equipment to be installed.

Mayor Bo Xi Lai is working towards his ambition to establish "Hong Kong of the North" in Dalian. I am overwhelmed with the swiftness of its growth. My first visit to Dalian was in 1992, when it just started inviting industries. Subsequently in 1993 and 1994, Mayor Bo has continued to work on the progress by promoting service industries such as finance. Now in 1995, he has put emphasis on preservation of the environment and promotion of culture. This is impressive because unlike Japan, where one phase of an economic development would take about five years, Dalian's progress is taking only a year.

The tree-planting ceremony at the Laborers' Park where I was invited, the "greening" effort with trees and other greeneries being planted along local roads and the inauguration of the music square, are just a few examples of Dalian's progress in its environmental concern

and cultural development. This is also impressive in the sense that this effort resembles Sanyo's corporate philosophy, "Creating a comfortable living space."

The tape-cutting ceremony of Chuzan Music Square was filled with excitement and inspiration with 30,000 Dalians participating. The buildings in the vicinity of the square were designed and built with late 19th century or early 20th century European flavor. The sounds from the speakers bounce off the graceful figures of the buildings that beam in the night sky by the light from the ground. The whole surrounding was an elegant music hall, with acoustic effect so awesome that I was filled with excitement and sensation.

Immersed in this fantasia with the rest of the 30,000 Dalians, I was thinking how wonderful it would be, if all the leaders of the world would gather at this Chuzan Square, and freely exchanged views on world peace. I mentioned this in my speech to the crowd of 30,000, and I also promised that I would promote this square to the world as a citizen. The response from the crowd told how much they admired Mayor Bo for his effort in enhancing the citizens' interest in cultural development. It was certainly one of my greatest experiences and I surely wished you had been there with us.

Mr. President, should your itinerary in the future take you to China, please consider meeting Mayor Bo in Dalian and visit the Chuzan Square. I look forward to seeing you in Osaka at the APEC meetings.

Sincerely,

Satoshi Iue
Chairman & CEO

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11/9

**TO:** George - FYI

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

This will be autopenned and sent to the Hill.

Note pp 2-3 on your trip.

PMI

7538

VP

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
November 6, 1995

ACTION

95 NOV 6 P4:27

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: THE EXECUTIVE CLERK

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
PATRICK GRIFFIN PG

SUBJECT: Report to Congress on Cyprus

Purpose

To forward the bimonthly Presidential Report to the Congress on Cyprus.

Background

The International Security Assistance Act of 1978 requires that every 60 days you submit a report on progress made during the period toward "the conclusion of a negotiated solution of the Cyprus problem," including any relevant reports prepared by the UN Secretary General for the Security Council. The Department of State prepared for your approval a draft Presidential Report on Cyprus at Tab A. Also at Tab A are transmittal letters to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The previous report covered progress through July 31, 1995.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters to the Congress at Tab A.

Attachment
Tab A Report to Congress

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In accordance with Public Law 95-384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I submit to you this report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. The previous report covered progress through July 31, 1995. The current report covers the period August 1, 1995, through September 30, 1995.

I can assure you of my continuing interest in helping find a solution to this long-standing issue, but I also believe that peace can result only through the will and determination of the parties themselves. I remain concerned about the current lack of progress. My Administration is working to ensure that preparations for Special Emissary Beattie's renewed effort later this year will be successful.

We continue to believe strongly that the EU accession process for Cyprus can have a positive impact on efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement. In that context, there are substantive questions arising from prospective EU membership. Accordingly, the EU must maintain frequent contacts with both Cypriot communities to address these key questions. This subject is a constant theme in our discussions with EU representatives.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Speaker:

In accordance with Public Law 95-384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I submit to you this report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. The previous report covered progress through July 31, 1995. The current report covers the period August 1, 1995, through September 30, 1995.

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

PRESIDENT'S BI-MONTHLY REPORT ON CYPRUS

Throughout August and September, U.S. Government representatives continued regular diplomatic consultations on Cyprus. These included discussions within the UN context and exploration with representatives of European Union member states on how the EU accession process for Cyprus could be used to promote a solution. U.S. officials routinely underscored the importance of regular, frequent meetings of representatives of the European Union and its member states with both Cypriot communities to address questions arising from Cyprus' course toward EU accession. U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus Richard Boucher met with Cypriot President Glafcos Clerides and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash on preparations for renewed efforts by my special emissary, Richard Beattie, later this year. Ambassador Boucher solicited ideas from Messrs Clerides and Denktash on how to move the stalled negotiations forward.

During August and September, my ambassadors in Nicosia, Athens and Ankara raised with host governments the need to exercise restraint with regard to the build-up of armaments and military activities on Cyprus. The ambassadors pointed out that failure to show restraint in these areas would have a deleterious effect on ongoing diplomatic efforts and complicate Mr. Beattie's renewed initiative later this year.

In the Cyprus section of his August "Report of the Secretary General on the work of the Organization," the UN Secretary General reviewed briefly the results of his good offices mission on Cyprus. He concluded, regretfully, that the negotiating process again appeared blocked. The Secretary General expressed concern over the level of foreign troops and armaments on Cyprus and called on both sides to take reciprocal measures to lower tensions. The latter included a ban on the deployment of live ammunition or weapons, other than hand-held, along the cease-fire lines.

From August 19-29, my senior advisor, George Stephanopoulos, travelled to Turkey, Cyprus and Greece on a private visit. In Cyprus on August 22, he made substantive calls on President Clerides, Foreign Minister Michaelides, and Mr. Denktash, among others. In reviewing the Cyprus situation, President Clerides urged progress on the demilitarization issue and Mr. Denktash referred to the importance of security assurances to the Turkish Cypriots. Mr. Stephanopoulos noted the U.S. Government continued to support a bizonal, bicommunal federated Cyprus and reiterated my commitment to help solve the Cyprus problem. He stressed, however, that a solution can only come from the parties themselves. In a press conference in Nicosia that day, Mr. Stephanopoulos told assembled Turkish and Greek Cypriot

journalists that Mr. Beattie would continue to strive for progress in the negotiations but repeated that peace required both sides to work hard and make difficult choices. Mr. Stephanopoulos also discussed the Cyprus issue during visits to Greece and Turkey.

On September 7, following a meeting with Mr. Denktash, UN Cyprus negotiator Gustave Feissel told newsmen in Nicosia that all elements for a solution were on the table. He observed that the current negotiations stalemate benefited no one and urged both communities to find ways to promote a solution.

In Washington on September 11, Special Cyprus Coordinator (SCC) James Williams and the Director of the Office of Southern European Affairs, Marshall Adair, told a visiting Turkish Cypriot advisor to Mr. Denktash that the EU accession process was not intended to supersede diplomatic efforts for a negotiated settlement. Both tracks were linked, however, and should proceed concurrently.

Mr. Beattie met with new U.K. Permanent Representative Sir John Weston in New York on September 12 to discuss ways to move the Cyprus negotiations process forward.

SCC Williams made a round of calls at the United Nations regarding Cyprus on September 14. His schedule included a working lunch with the new Turkish Permanent Representative, who affirmed that Turkey wished to see a solution to the Cyprus problem but only with security guarantees in place. In September, the Turkish PermRep also met with USUN Ambassadors Gnehm and Inderfurth to discuss Cyprus and the possible impact of Turkish Prime Minister Ciller's September 20 resignation.

On September 25 and 26, Ambassador Boucher met in Brussels with members of the U.S. Mission to the European Union and EU officials. They exchanged views on how to harness Cyprus' progress toward membership in the European Union to support settlement efforts.

On September 26, SCC Williams and EUR Deputy Assistant Secretary Adair addressed a visiting group of EU parliamentarians at the Department of State. Williams and Adair briefed the parliamentarians on the vital role of the EU with respect to Turkey and Cyprus. They underscored the importance of having senior EU officials meet regularly with the two Cypriot communities as the EU accession process continued.

The opening of the 50th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in September provided many opportunities for U.S. officials to

engage on Cyprus. On September 26, Secretary of State Christopher and British Foreign Secretary Rifkind considered how EU membership could help produce a settlement. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Richard Holbrooke consulted with the Irish Foreign Minister Spring, who noted that he had not yet worked out a specific date for his visit to Cyprus. In New York on September 27, SCC Williams and visiting Italian MFA official De Franchis reviewed Italy's role as the next EU president (January-June 1996). The Italian diplomat looked forward to continued close cooperation between the EU and the U.S. on Cyprus.

United Nations A/50/1

General Assembly
Fiftieth session

Distr: General

22 August 1995
Original: Arabic/Chinese/
English/French/
Russian/Spanish

# Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization*

August 1995

* The present document is an advance version of the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, which will be issued in final form as *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fiftieth Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/50/1).*

95-24752 (E) 080995 110995

Team in May 1994, be extended by six months and that he should be assisted during this period by one military adviser. In accordance with his mandate, my Representative has maintained close liaison with the host Government, as well as with United Nations programmes and agencies operating in the country.

648. The broad cooperation between the Government, the United Nations and the international community has brought further progress to the country during the past year. The generous pledges made at the third meeting of the International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC) are clear evidence of the sustained commitment of the international community to assist the Government in its endeavours to establish a peaceful, democratic and prosperous State.

649. Discussions in May 1995 between my Special Envoy, Under-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding, and the Cambodian Government led to an agreement to introduce measures to improve communication between the United Nations Centre for Human Rights in Phnom Penh and the Government, and for the office to continue to function with its existing mandate. At that time I issued a personal appeal to Member States for contributions to the Trust Fund for a Human Rights Education Programme in Cambodia. I repeat this appeal now.

## 6. Cyprus

650. During the past year, my mission of good offices proceeded within the overall framework set out by the Security Council in resolution 939 (1994): to continue to work for progress on both the substance of the Cyprus problem and the implementation of the package of confidence-building measures that had been the focus of efforts during the previous period.

651. After my Special Representative, Mr. Joe Clark, visited the region in September 1994 for meetings with the Cypriot parties and the Governments of Greece and Turkey, he reported to me that matters were close to an impasse. The Greek Cypriot leader continued to insist on progress on an overall solution, while the Turkish Cypriot leader placed priority on the early implementation of the confidence-building measures. In response, I wrote to each of the community leaders on 10 October 1994, informing them that I had requested my Deputy Special Representative to invite them to join him for a number of informal consultations. These consultations were to explore, in a concrete manner, ways in which the implementation of the confidence-building measures and the long-contemplated overall settlement of the Cyprus problem might be advanced.

652. Both leaders accepted this invitation, meeting five times between 18 and 31 October 1994. They discussed the essential elements of a federation in Cyprus as well as the implementation of the confidence-building measures, exploring a broad range of ideas pertaining to political equality, sovereignty, membership in the European Union, aspects of the federal constitutional arrangements, security and demilitarization, displaced persons, property claims and territorial adjustments, as well as modalities for the early establishment of the federation and implementation of the confidence-building measures. The ideas broached under these headings offered ways of satisfying in an equitable manner what have consistently been the most deeply held concerns and interests of each community.

653. In November and December 1994, I met separately with each of the Cypriot leaders to hear their views on the informal meetings. I told them that given the necessary political will, the elements discussed during their meetings offered the possibility of a significant step forward both on the substance of the Cyprus question and on the confidence-building measures. I also strongly encouraged the Turkish Cypriot leader to respond in a commensurate manner to the ideas that had been broached. I instructed my Representatives to pursue their contacts with the parties in order to establish the basis for a further discussion of these issues. To this end, Mr. Clark travelled to the region in March and May 1995.

654. The continuing support of the members of the Security Council for the efforts of my mission of good offices has been particularly encouraging. But I regret that, in spite of the presence on the negotiating table of almost all elements required for a just and lasting settlement, the negotiating process again appears to be blocked.

655. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) has continued to carry out effectively its mandate despite the reduction of its strength by nearly half over the past couple of years. The two sides have generally exercised restraint in the past year. However, the continuing quiet should not obscure the fact that there is merely a cease-fire — not peace — on the island. I continue to be concerned by the excessive level of foreign troops and of armament in Cyprus, and the rate at which these are being strengthened. The two sides have not yet agreed, in accordance with the proposed package of confidence-building measures, to extend without delay the 1989 unmanning agreement to all parts of the buffer zone where their forces remain in close proximity to each other. The Security Council's repeated call for a significant reduction in the number of foreign troops and in defence spending should be heeded by all concerned. I again urge both sides to take reciprocal measures to lower the tension, including mutual commitments, through UNFICYP, not to deploy

along the cease-fire lines live ammunition or weapons other than those that are hand-held and to prohibit firing of weapons within sight or hearing of the buffer zone.

## 7. East Timor

656. I have continued to provide my good offices in the search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. During the period under review, I held two more rounds of talks at Geneva, on 9 January and 8 July 1995, with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal. These talks identified a number of substantive issues for further discussions and explored possible avenues towards a solution.

657. During my visit to Indonesia in April, I had very useful discussions with President Suharto. I have had equally valuable meetings with President Mario Soares when I visited Portugal at the end of August. I also dispatched a mission to Portugal, Indonesia and East Timor in December 1994 to consult with the two Governments and a broad range of East Timorese personalities on a series of ideas to help move the process forward.

658. With the support of the two Ministers, I took the initiative to facilitate and offer necessary arrangements for the convening of an all-inclusive intra-East Timorese dialogue. The dialogue does not address the political status of East Timor or represent a second negotiating track. Instead, it is intended to be a forum for free and informal discussions among the East Timorese on practical ideas aimed at creating an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question. The first meeting of the dialogue was convened at Burg Schlaining, Austria, from 2 to 5 June 1995, and was attended by 30 East Timorese of all shades of political opinion. In a positive atmosphere, the delegates reached a declaration by consensus and produced a number of useful ideas that I examined in July with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal. The participants voiced their desire to have further meetings of this kind in the future. I share this view and intend to pursue this matter with the two parties.

659. While deep differences remain between the two sides on the core issue of the status of the Territory, I am convinced that a solution can be found through patient dialogue. I am encouraged in this belief by the willingness of the two sides to continue the dialogue and to seek a lasting solution. I am also heartened by the desire expressed by the East Timorese, recently manifested at the first session of the dialogue, to contribute to the peace process. The next ministerial meeting will take place in London in January 1996.

## 8. El Salvador

660. With the assistance of the United Nations, El Salvador continued its progress from a violent and closed society towards one in which democratic order, the rule of law and respect for human rights are being established. However, as in previous years, significant progress in the implementation of outstanding elements of the peace accords was not without problems or delay. These included the full deployment of the National Civil Police and the completion of the demobilization of the National Police; the reform of the judicial and electoral systems; the transfer of land to former combatants; and the conclusion of reintegration programmes for them. On 31 October 1994, I reported to the Security Council that I deemed it necessary to recommend that the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) be extended until 30 April 1995.

661. The Government of President Armando Calderón Sol and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) have continued to express their determination, e.g., in a joint declaration signed on 4 October 1994, to see the peace accords promptly implemented for the benefit of all Salvadorans. Specifically in the latter part of the year, implementation of the outstanding points assumed a more rapid pace. For example, the long-delayed demobilization of the National Police was formally effected on 31 December 1994. In the early months of 1995, however, the land programme slowed and some worrisome indicators emerged.

662. In the light of these developments, I informed the President of the Security Council on 6 February 1995 of my intention to set up in El Salvador, following the expiration of the mandate of ONUSAL, a small team of United Nations officials to provide good offices and verify implementation of the outstanding provisions of the peace accords. The team, which would be established for an initial period of six months, would also provide me with a continuing flow of information, thus allowing me to keep the Council informed of further developments. On 17 February, the Council welcomed my proposal, and preparations began for the team's deployment.

663. At the beginning of April 1995, I made a visit to El Salvador, the third occasion on which I had done so as Secretary-General. Although I stressed that the primary responsibility for the process lay with Salvadorans, I assured the Government and people of El Salvador that the commitment of the United Nations remained, despite the withdrawal of ONUSAL.

THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 8 P4:08

November 8, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

You have received an invitation from Steve Trachtenberg, President of George Washington University (my University) to speak on its Charter Day on February 9th.

Please give the invitation every consideration since it appears GW is the only major university in Washington you haven't been to.

It would be wonderful to see you speak there!

Best,

Molly

11-8-95
Original to

The President
The White House

11-8-95

Send to Scheduling for appropriate action?

Yes ✓

No ___

Staff Secy's Ofc.

175TH ANNIVERSARY 1821-1996

THE PRESIDENT

October 31, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Board of Trustees of the University, I have the honor to invite you to receive an honorary degree and deliver the address on the occasion of the University's 175th Anniversary on Friday, February 9, 1996. The Charter Day celebration will be held before an enthusiastic crowd of students, faculty, alumni, members of the Board of Trustees, and representatives of colleges and universities across the land who will come to Washington to celebrate with us.

The Charter Day Ceremony will be held in the morning (at a time convenient to your schedule) in the Smith Center, where, you will recall, GW distinguished itself by trouncing a team from the University of Massachusetts in a basketball game which you and Chelsea attended last February. As you inspired greatness from the stands in the Smith Center on that day, this time we want you to inspire greatness from a position on the court.

I am told (by people who keep track of such things) that you have paid an official visit to every other major university in Washington except this one. Since we inhabit the same neighborhood (and since we never tire at this University of reciting the litany of location advantages that our students enjoy), may I respectfully encourage you to think of us as down-the-street neighbors and accept this invitation to visit our home. You will be very well received, and we throw a terrific party!

We look forward to welcoming you officially to our academic family and we await your response.

Sincerely,

Stephen Joel Trachtenberg
President

2121 EYE STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20052 • (202) 994-6500 • FAX (202) 994-0654

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

31 October 1995 95 NOV 1 P4:54

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAROLD ICKES HI

RE: COMBAT GOLF

I received the attached "manuscript" entitled Combat Golf: No Other Book Declares War on Your Opponent, by CPT Bruce Warren Ollstein which was sent to me by George Sheldon of Florida. George, who I have known for a number of years, told me that Mr. Ollstein asked him to get this manuscript to you. George said to tell you that it is the new "little red book" of golf.

Betty
Please Prepare Response for Mr. Ickes

11-8-95

Send to Golf Unit for response (Betty has not done thank you).

No -- Yes ✓

Sent to Maureen No ✓

(Lewis, E.W.)

C.

Copy given to her

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

06-Nov-1995 01:19pm

**TO:** Betty Currie

**FROM:** John O. Sutton
Office of the Chief of Staff

**SUBJECT:** Bruce Warren Ollstein

I got his number from George Sheldon. 813-876-4944. Do you want me to have somebody call that number to get his address?

## GIFT INTENDED FOR

President ☑ Both/All ☐

First Lady ☐ Chelsea ☐

## DONOR INFORMATION

Name: CPT Bruce Warren Ollstein

Address: _____

_____ Phone: _____

## PRESENTATION

Date: 11-5-95 Event: _____

Handed to President ☐ Other Method ☐ _____

Gift Description: _____

_____

**Send Gift and Register to OEOB, Room 457 x7133**

Sent to Potus by George Sheldon

Captain Bruce W. Ollstein
3415 West Hillsborough Avenue
Apartment 312
Tampa, FL 33614

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|---|---|---|---|
| 001. memo | Terry Good to Todd Stern re: Personnel (1 page) | 11/02/1995 | b(6) |

**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7691

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Chron Files November 5-11, 1995 [3]

2019-0774-S
rs3297

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

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

**C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.**
**PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).**
**RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.**

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

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

MIRAMAX
FILMS

95 NOV 8 P4:08

*Marcy Granata*
*Executive Vice President*
*Marketing and Publicity*
*ext. 2449*

11-8-95
Original to Jim Dorskind
M.

November 7, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton:

As you know, Harvey Weinstein is one of your greatest fans. We thought you might like to read a profile of Harvey, Bob and Miramax Films that was recently published in GQ magazine.

All of us at Miramax Films are looking forward to supporting you in the coming election year.

Best regards,

Marcy Granata

Marcy Granata

11-8-95
Send to Dorskind for reply?
Yes ✓
no

C

375 Greenwich Street • New York, NY 10013-2338
Tel: (212) 941-3800 Fax: (212) 941-3949

MIRAMAX
FILMS

*With the compliments of*

MARCY GRANATA

Executive Vice President
Marketing and Publicity

# The 'New' Hollywood

# GQ

OCTOBER $3.00

A PROFILE OF MIRAMAX FILMS

## John Travolta Throws His Weight Around

By Tom Junod

Made Men Who Make Movies

Abel Ferrara's Thug Life

Will Michael Eisner Eat Hollywood?

Tarantino's Early Years

10>
37122
0 757358 3

# *Waterville House & Golf Links*

*Waterville, Ring of Kerry, Ireland*
*(353) 66-74102 Fax (353) 66-74482*


THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-95

November 6, 1995

Jim Dorskind
Please coordinate the reply.
Original to Jim Dorskind

Ms. Stephanie Street
Director of Scheduling
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Room 185
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Street,

I believe the enclosed will be useful for the Presidents golf round at Ballybunion.

Sincerely,

James J. Connolly
President
Waterville House & Golf Links

Notified C Rodman 11-8-95
I want to sign TY
BK

Send copies of this letter, Plus the brochures to Bowles, K O'Keefe -
BK

Scheduling will do thank you

ORIGINAL Brochures (1 set each) went to Bowles + O'Keefe


*2701 Summer St., Suite 200, Stamford, CT 06905*
*In U.S. & Canada call: 1-800-858-0621 (203) 363-2085 Fax (203) 363-2100*

*Waterville House & Golf Links*

*Waterville, Ring of Kerry, Ireland*
*(353) 66-74102 Fax (353) 66-74482*

November 6, 1995

Mr. William J. Clinton
President, United States of America
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I attended your Irish Trade and Investment Conference earlier this year, and as an owner of a golf resort in Ireland, I was excited to hear that you are playing Ballybunion on December 2. I am told that the Irish component of the foursome will be Ministers Spring and Kenny-both friends and veteran links golfers.

In the spirit of international sportsmanship may I suggest the following tips to adapt your game to a links environment:

1. Links golf is a mystical experience. The elements are always a factor, particularly the wind. Don't try to compensate with power. Swing smooth and keep the ball down. High wedge shots don't work well at Ballybunion.

2. Review the enclosed yardage book. Make sure you get the best caddie and trust his advice.

3. Bring good rain gear and a skull cap. The temperature will most likely range between 40 and 50 degrees with wind and rain always a threat.

4. Finally, USGA handicaps don't travel well in Ireland, so don't loose the match on the first tee. Remember an 18 Irish handicap was produced under all weather conditions while the U.S. golfer is generally only a fair weather player.

As insurance I have included some Irish 10 p coins that possess both "Luck and Wisdom." Remember the harp is always up on the green and the face, the wild Salmon, can provide angling sport on your next trip.

Good luck.

Respectfully,

James J. Connolly
President
Waterville House & Golf Links

*2701 Summer St., Suite 200, Stamford, CT 06905*
*In U.S. & Canada call: 1-800-858-0621 (203) 363-2085 Fax (203) 363-2188*

BALLYBUNION
GOLF CLUB
B.G.C.
36 HOLE PAR SAVER
Old Course Introduced by Tom Watson

# Ballybunion Golf Hotel

100 bedrooms all with private bath/shower, direct dial telephone and satellite television. Some family rooms are also available. Situated in the centre of town, convenient to golf courses and beaches.

~

Nightly Entertainment

The Rooftop Restaurant serves superb food and commands a panoramic view of the Atlantic

~

*Special rate available for groups*

~

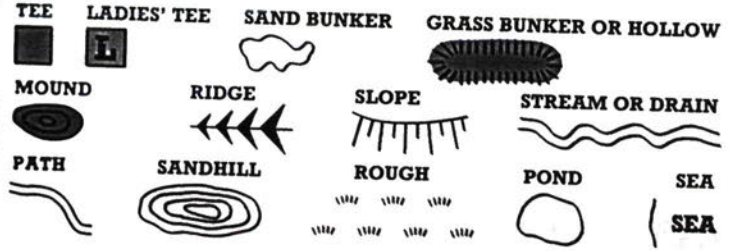
**For further details either phone or write to:**

**Con McCarthy**
**Ballybunion Golf Hotel**
**Ballybunion**
**Co. Kerry**
**Telephone (068) 27111**
**Facsimile (068) 27166**


# BALLYBUNION PAR SAVER

## KEY

Yardages from Tee are from medal marker shown in red.
Yardages from Green are from centre front of Green shown in Black.
Yardages are within plus minus 1% at the time of print. Out of bounds Streams and Tracks indicated where appropriate.




## LOCAL RULES

1. **Out of Bounds** (Rule 29; Def. 21)
   a) Outside the boundaries of the course.
   b) Graveyard at 1st hole.
   c) From the 1st to 5th hole when a ball lies beyond wire fence bounding the links/or when ball lies totally beyond a line determined by the nearest *inside* points of the stakes at ground level.
   d) Outside boundary wire/stakes at right of 6th hole.
   e) Over cliff edge at 7th hole.
   f) From left of 10th hole to the 18th Tee a ball lying over the cliff edge beyond wire/stakes.
2. **Water Hazard** (Rule 33; Def. 14(b); Note 2 Rule 33)
   The water course at the 2nd and 13th holes is a Water Hazard.
3. Old and New Clubhouse, Roads, Paths and Shelters are an integral part of the Links and the ball shall be played as it lies.
4. Sand area in front of the 17th Tee is not a hazard.
5. **Obstructions** (Rule 31; Def. 20)
   a) Concrete stakes on right of 1st Tee.
   b) All water installations and manhole covers.
6. A ball lying in the sand hazard "through the green" at the 18th hole may be lifted and dropped anywhere behind the hazard not nearer the hole under penalty of one stroke.


**Front Cover Picture: An authentic 1917 photograph reproduced courtesy of Angela Gilmore.**

**Special thanks to John Molyneaux, Tom O'Keeffe, Sean Walsh, Lamonn Allen and Michael O'Connell for their efforts in the production of this brochure.**



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**Publisher: Bryan E. Carroll.**

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1995

**MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT**

THROUGH: ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT & ANNE WALLEY

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

**ACCEPT:**

| Date of Event: | Description of Event |
|---|---|
| 11/13/95 | Meeting With the President of the Church of Latter Day Saints |
| before APEC | Meeting With Senators on Bosnia |
| before APEC | Meeting With House Members on Bosnia |
| tbd | Meeting With John Sweeney, President AFL-CIO |
| December | White House Ceremony For World Series Champions, the Atlanta Braves |
| Jan/Feb. '96 | White House Conference on Youth Drug Abuse and Violence |

**REGRET:**

| Date of Event: | Description of Event |
|---|---|
| 11/1/95 - 11/16/95 | Ambassador Credentials |

**These will be scheduled in December after your foreign travel.**

| | |
|---|---|
| 11/1/95-11/30/95 | Interview With High Profile Media From Britain and Ireland<br><br>**Due to the time constraints on your schedule, it was recommended that you not do this.** |
| 11/13/95 | Teen Pregnancy Event in Boston<br><br>**It was recommended by political affairs that you not do a teen pregnancy event in Boston but rather a Medicare/Medicaid event.** |

**PENDING:**

| Date of Event: | Description of Event: |
|---|---|
| 11/1/95-12/30/95 | Roundtable Discussion on Women and Families<br><br>**This event would be profiled in *Family Circle* magazine and televised on Lifetime.** |
| 12/7/95 - 12/14/95 | Event Profiling the Growth of Women's Business |

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-95

LORAL
Corporation

11/1 (. CC: NH
2. president

600 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10016
(212) 697-1105
Telex: 644018

Bernard L. Schwartz
Chairman of the Board
Chief Executive Officer

November 1, 1995

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The President of the United States
Executive Offices of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

As you can see from the enclosed reports from today's newspapers, the growth issue may be getting away from us. I urge you to reconsider a comprehensive economic plan that would target a more aggressive growth rate for the country. This was the theme of our last meeting and it remains good policy as well as good politics.

I look forward to seeing you in New York on Monday, November 6.

Best regards,

Bernard L. Schwartz

BLS:lsm
110195
enclosures (WSJ, NYT articles)

ECONOMY

# Wages, Benefits Continue Slow Growth

## Rise of 2.7% in 12 Months Was Smallest in 14 Years; Economists Are Puzzled

By CHRISTINA DUFF
*Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*

WASHINGTON—The pace of wage and benefit increases has continued to slow despite the low unemployment rate, chastening economists who have predicted such a trend was unlikely to last.

The Labor Department said yesterday that workers' wages, salaries and benefits rose just 2.7% in the year ended Sept. 30, the smallest increase since the Employment Cost Index was launched in 1981. Benefits rose only 2.2%, down sharply from a 3.8% increase during the previous 12 months. Wages and salaries rose 2.8%, almost unchanged from the year-ago period.

Some economists find that data surprising since the unemployment rate has hovered near a historically low 5.5% all year. Conventional economic wisdom holds that when relatively few people are seeking work, workers have leverage to demand higher wages, putting upward pressure on prices. The employment-cost report appears to contradict that long-held view.

Why aren't paychecks getting any fatter? "I don't know, but I continue to have nightmares over it," said Edmund Phelps, a prominent Columbia University economist who had asserted inflation was sure to return if unemployment fell to its current level.

Seeking ways to explain the trend, economists speculate that a changing labor market has lowered what they call "the natural rate" of unemployment, the level that sparks wage increases. The rising education levels of American workers may play a role, Mr. Phelps suggested, in driving down this so-called natural rate.

But Mr. Phelps and other economists throw up their hands when asked how much farther the unemployment rate can fall without reviving inflation. "We're in uncharted territory here," he said. The National Association of Manufacturers ventured yesterday that the "natural" rate may be as low as 5.2%. The actual rate was 5.6% in September.

James Tobin, a Nobel laureate at Yale University, cautioned that other barometers suggest the labor market isn't as tight as the jobless rate makes it seem. Employers increasingly use temporary workers, for example, to fill jobs, which doesn't put pressure on wage costs.

Other key structural changes in the labor market also have helped employers, allowing them to stand firm against compensation gains. These "suggest that the labor market can operate at a low level of unemployment for a while now without inflation," said Larry Katz, a Harvard University economist.

Unlike other recessions, for instance, the last one hit white-collar as well as blue-collar workers. Middle managers for the first time are much more skittish about barging into the bosses' offices and demanding more money.

What's more, labor unions represent just 11% of the private-sector work force now, down from a high of about 35% in the early 1970s, said Alan Krueger, a Princeton University economist. So workers aren't as well-organized to bargain collectively for better pay as they used to be, he said.

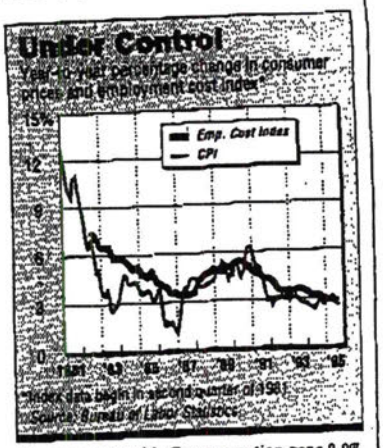
"The remarkable thing," Mr. Krueger said, is that while all signs point to a steadily improving economy, "people still say they don't feel like they're benefiting. And they're right."

Typically, when unemployment falls there are more vacancies, or jobs in need of people to fill them. Not this time. One reason, said economist Brad DeLong of the University of California at Berkeley, is that aging baby boomers are highly employable; they're better at finding jobs so vacancies don't last long. Also, companies are now able to increase production with fewer workers and more technology.

The growth of benefits' costs may continue to slow, economists said, as companies increasingly rely on more efficient health maintenance organizations to provide medical care, while encouraging workers to spend less by making them pay more from their own pockets.

Economists said their crystal balls remain cloudy about when workers finally will take home more pay. "I look at the labor market and say, 'What is there out there that's going to push wages up?'" said Mr. Krueger. "I just don't see anything."

Over the past 12 months, worker compensation has risen more rapidly in the South — up 2.8% — and less rapidly in the West — 2.1% — than elsewhere, the Labor Department said. Compensation rose 2.9% in service industries and 2.1% in manufacturing and other goods-producing industries.




The Employment Cost Index for private-sector and government workers, the government's broadest measure of wage trends, rose 0.6% in the third quarter after rising 0.7% in the second quarter. The pace of wage and salary increases was unchanged from the previous quarter at 0.7%, but benefit costs increased only 0.4% after rising 0.7% in the second quarter and 0.2% in the first.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
November 1, 1995

VOL.CXLV.... No. 50,232

# WORKER EARNINGS POST RISE OF 2.7%, LOWEST ON RECORD

## BARELY ABOVE INFLATION

## Wages Stagnant in Latest Year Even as Economy Expanded — Health Benefits Dip

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 — The expanding economy that has propelled stock prices to record levels has not spilled over to the paychecks of American workers, whose earnings rose by 2.7 percent in the last 12 months, the smallest amount on record, the Labor Department reported today.

In the year that ended in September, wages and salaries rose by 2.8 percent and benefits rose by 2.2 percent, resulting in the calculation of a 2.7 percent overall rise in earnings. Inflation for the same period was 2.5 percent, while economic growth was 3.5 percent.

The figures also showed that business was succeeding in its effort to bring down the cost of health care. The amount spent on health benefits fell by one-tenth of 1 percent, the first decline since the Government began tracking these costs in 1981. As recently as 1988, health spending was going up by 14 percent a year.

Since the mid-1980's, the incomes of middle-class households have stagnated. But today's figures underscore the view that even in a year with a solidly expanding economy, a roaring stock market and strong corporate profits, many American workers cannot find perceptible improvements in their earnings.

The frustration and insecurity that have resulted are expected to play a major role in shaping next year's Presidential race as politicians of both parties try to portray themselves as the best choice to provide economic growth that will benefit the middle class.

President Clinton has already found it hard to get political credit for the strong economy, and stagnant paychecks will make it harder for him to contend that he has helped the average worker. But the results also hold out little joy for the Republicans as they try to deal with public skepticism about many of the Federal spending cuts they plan to enact in such areas as education and Medicare.

"There is something wrong with rising profits, rising productivity and a soaring stock market but employee compensation heading nowhere," Secretary of Labor Robert B. Reich said today.

Representative Marge Roukema, Republican of New Jersey, a senior member of the Banking Committee, said today that the figures were a result of broad changes in the structure of the American economy. "It's not the fault of either party or budget problems," she said. "It's the fundamental changes in the technological base and employment patterns."

But, she added, "If we don't get the budget deficit down and we don't reorder our savings and tax policies, we'll never be able to tackle this."

Continued From Page A1

While economic growth has been steady, Jerry Jasinowski, the president of the National Association of Manufacturers, contends that it has not been high enough to drive up wages. Faster growth will not occur without lower interest rates from the Federal Reserve and more Government support for exports, he said.

"If we are concerned about wages and workers' standard of living, we ought to focus more on doing all we can to raise growth," he said. Many analysts do expect the Federal Reserve will lower short-term interest rates one more time this year.

The hope that higher growth will lift compensation may be of scant comfort to workers worried about keeping their jobs. Even as economic growth remains steady, companies continue to announce plans to shed jobs, the latest being an announcement today that W. R. Grace & Company would cut 800 jobs by the end of next year.

The job insecurity bred by such cutbacks was cited this month by Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, as a major factor in the slowdown in labor compensation. "That fear has doubtless played a significant role in the slowdown in the growth of labor compensation as workers have in effect sought to preserve their jobs by accepting lesser increases in wages," he said.

Today's figures, however, offered hope that incomes could be about to grow somewhat faster.

"We are getting health costs under control," said Joseph E. Stiglitz, the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. "That leaves more room for wages to increase."

While some analysts remain skeptical that reductions in benefit costs can be sustained, there is a growing sense that some significant portion will be shared with workers as well as with stockholders.

And specialists say that most of the savings so far have come not from a shrinking of benefits or a shifting of costs to workers but from companies using their leverage to bargain harder with hospitals, clinics and other providers of health care.

"Employers have become a lot smarter in using their leverage to negotiate and providers are doing all they can to keep their share of the market," said Charles Kerby, an official at William M. Mercer Inc., a consulting firm based in New York.

Today's report showed that total compensation costs rose just six-tenths of 1 percent in the third quarter, matching the first quarter of this year for the smallest increase since the series began in 1982.

Wages and salaries were up seven-tenths of 1 percent for a 12-month total of 2.8 percent, while benefit costs were up four-tenths of 1 percent for a 2.2 percent yearly rise.

For workers in private industry, employment costs rose six-tenths of 1 percent, or 2.6 percent over 12 months. That, according to economists at Merrill Lynch, is probably the smallest rise in at least 40 years.

Wayne Shelly of the department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, noting the decades of minimal gains in benefits, said the Merrill Lynch assessment sounded "reasonable."

The figures for health costs were not published separately from benefits as a whole, which also encompass vacation, holidays, sick leave, shift differentials, life insurance, retirement benefits, unemployment insurance and severance pay.

But Mr. Shelly said health costs eased one-tenth of 1 percent in the latest 12 months, the first time they had shown such a retreat.

As gauged by the Consumer Price Index, inflation in medical care has moderated significantly in recent years but still ran at 4.4 percent for the 12 months through September. The decline in employers' costs implies some hard bargaining was done by corporate America.

For the 12 months through September, today's report showed, workers in service industries posted compensation gains of 2.9 percent compared with 2.1 percent for those in goods-producing industries. This was markedly different from the year ended September 1994 when the increases of both groups were separated by just one-tenth of a point, straddling 3.25 percent.

White-collar workers had bigger gains than blue-collar workers, 2.8 percent to 2.3 percent, while nonunion workers, up 2.7 percent, did a bit better than union workers, up 2.4 percent, the report also found.

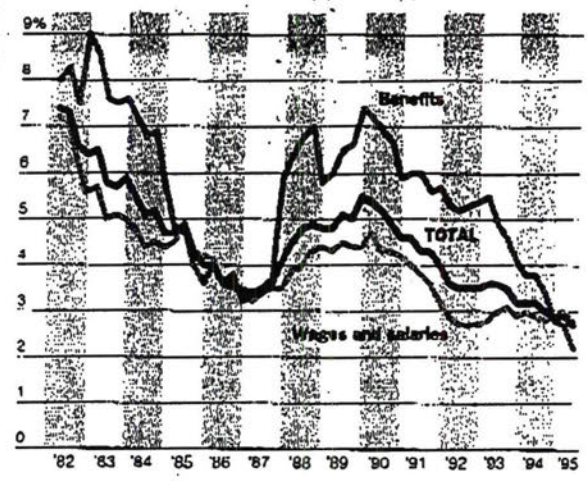
One of the biggest gains came for workers at colleges and universities, where pay and benefits rose 4.7 percent. Machine operators, assemblers and inspectors, on the other hand, gained just 1.8 percent.

# Workers' Earnings Rose 2.7% in Latest Year

### No Gain for Workers

Companies have been squeezing down the rate of growth in spending on employee benefits since 1993. Even though the economy has been growing steadily and productivity has improved, employees have enjoyed few of the benefits of the cost savings: Wages and salaries since 1993 have not even kept up with inflation.

Here is the rate of growth of the employment cost index, which measures employers' spending on pay and benefits for each hour worked, plotted quarterly. Figures are percentage changes from the corresponding quarter a year ago and include all civilian workers.




Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times

NEW YORK TIMES
November 1, 1995

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Nov 6, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I will be attending the Presidential Disability Conference at Wake Forest University on Nov 10-12. This is the second meeting of the working group on disability in United States Presidents since January of this year at the Carter Center. I will attend along with Cheryl Mills from your Legal Counsel Office.

I have attached FYI the initial subcommittee report to be presented at the conference involving the role of the White House Physician. At the first conference, there was a movement to establish a "panel" of physicians who would routinely examine the President to determine disability. My predecessors and I strongly disagreed with a panel making the determination and recommended that the White House Physician be tasked with that responsibility and that the White House Physician select the appropriate physicians/consultants AS NEEDE The conference will be televised on C-span. I do not intend to discuss anything related to your personal health. My role is to inform them about the workings of the Medical Unit of which many of the attendees are unaware.

Please let me know if you have any questio

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

or concerns regarding the attached proposals.

I will be away from the White House most of this week (in Oklahoma City Wed - Friday meeting with the American College of Physicians and then to Wake Forest University). I will be travelling with you to Boston the following week.

Take Care,
Connie

Erskine B
Fyi -
Bc

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-95

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## WINSTON-SALEM, NC

*Hawthorne Inn
420 High St.
(910) 777-3000
Rate: $60.00

*Courtyard by Marriott
3111 University Pkwy.
(910) 727-1277
Rate: $59.95 + tax
Special Event Rate: $64.95

*Holiday Inn North
3050 University Pkwy.
(910) 723-2911
Rate: $89.60

Adams' Mark
425 N. Cherry St.
(910) 725-3500
Rate: $60.00 - $115.00

The Marque of Winston-Salem
460 N. Cherry St.
(910) 725-1234
Rate: $99.00 + tax

***Request Presidential Disability Conference Block***

***List of additional hotels available upon request.***

## BENEFACTOR

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American Psychiatric Association

Bowman Gray School of Medicine of
Wake Forest University

The Carter Center

Wake Forest University

* only attendance is being funded separately by the USNavy to avoid any conflict of interest issues

**FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:**

Ms. Dee Dee Vernon
Conference Administrator
Bowman Gray School of Medicine
Medical Center Boulevard
Winston-Salem, NC 27157-1068
TEL: (910) 716-6103
FAX. (910) [illegible] 5477

# WORKING GROUP ON DISABILITY IN UNITED STATES PRESIDENTS

CONVENERS:

Dr. Arthur S. Link
Dr. James F. Toole

CHAIRMAN, PROGRAM COMMITTEE:

Mr. H. Miles Foy

Wake Forest University

and the

Bowman Gray School of Medicine

## NOVEMBER 10-12, 1995

Wake Forest University
Reynolda Campus
Winston-Salem, NC

## TENTATIVE AGENDA

Friday, November 10, 1995

— C-Span —

:00 PM Welcome and Opening Address
**The Honorable Gerald Ford**

:30 PM Panel Discussion – Procedures for Determining Presidential Disability: Is There a Need for Reform?

30 PM **Questions and Answers**

00 PM Panel Discussion – Disclosure of Information about the President's Health: Who Needs to Know? When Do They Need to Know It?

0 PM **Questions and Answers**

meet at Graylyn

0 PM Adjourn

PM Dinner

***open meetings will be held in the ndle Recital Hall in the Scales Fine Arts ter, Wake Forest University***

3

## TENTATIVE AGENDA

Saturday, November 11, 1995

8:30 AM Panel Discussion – The Role of the President's Spouse and the White House Staff

9:30 AM **Questions and Answers**

10:00 AM * Panel Discussion – The Role of the White House Physician

11:00 AM **Questions and Answers**

11:30 AM * Panel Discussion – Criteria for Determining Presidential Impairment

12:30 PM Adjourn

*Winston-Salem is approximately 26 miles from the Piedmont Triad International Airport in Greensboro, North Carolina.*

*Smith Reynolds Airport in Winston-Salem has limited service and better flights might be obtained using Piedmont Triad International Airport.*

*Transportation is availab. .4 hours a day.*

## TENTATIVE AGENDA
## (Closed Sessions)

Saturday, November 11, 1995

*These Sessions will be held at the Graylyn Conference Center.*

2:30 PM Executive Session
Chairs: Drs. Toole and Link

5:00 PM Adjourn

6:00 PM Reception and Dinner

Sunday, November 12, 1995

9:00 AM Executive Session
Chairs: Drs. Toole & Link

11:00 AM Adjourn

* = I have been asked to sit on these panels

This edition of the recommendations of the Subcommittee on the Role of the Physician to the President, 3 November 1995, includes bracketed editings that were not included in the overall circulated edition because of time constraints. They will be presented at the conference.

Howell Smith

COMMITTEE ON THE
OFFICE OF THE PHYSICIAN TO THE PRESIDENT

[AT THE NOVEMBER MEETING, AN EARLIER DISCUSSION SHOULD DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF WHETHER CONGRESS CAN CONSTITUTIONALLY REQUIRE A PRESIDENT TO CONFORM TO THESE RECOMMENDATIONS. SEE ART II. SEC. I AND 25TH AMENDMENT.]

PHYSICIAN TO THE PRESIDENT

I. Before inauguration, the President elect shall appoint a Physician to the President whose duty it shall be to provide those services necessary for the President's health. [Should the President elect not to name a Physician to the President, the Senior White House Physician shall assume the duties of the Presidential Physician with the approval of the President.]

The Physician to the President shall have dual responsibilities:

(a) To provide for the welfare of the President through individual medical care.

(b) To provide for the welfare of the nation by reporting medical conditions that will impair the leadership of the country to appropriate authorities through properly and lawfully established channels.

to be discussed & determined

The person appointed Physician to the President should be highly regarded as an expert [physician] and have both considerable clinical experience and professional stature. Salary and benefits of the office should be commensurate with individual professional experience and stature.

The Physician to the President shall take an oath to uphold the Constitution and laws of the nation.

II. Duties and Responsibilities

A. As part of the responsibility for the health of the President, the Physician to the President shall be the Director of the White House Medical Unit.

B. The Physician to the President shall assume other responsibilities in the field of medical care that the President shall assign.

C. In order the sustain his or her professional growth and stature in the medical field, the Physician to the President should accept appointment [and practice medicine] in the area medical institutions so long as practice in no way impinges on the care of the President.

D. The Physician to the President shall arrange consultations with any specialists whose areas of expertise are appropriate to the care of the President.

E. The Physician to the President shall keep the medical records of the President.

F. Annually and at other times as needed, the Physician to the President shall report to the President and spouse, the Vice President, and to the White House Chief of Staff concerning the health of the President.

to be discussed. Annual physical exams to be but release of information only after the President concurs.

III. Implementation of the Twenty Fifth Amendment

A. A meeting will be held prior to the Inauguration to develop the Presidential Disability Contingency Plan. The meeting will include the President and spouse, the Vice President and spouse, the Physician to the President in recognition that the Physician will be the prime advisor on the issue of disability or impairment, the White House Chief of Staff, the Counsel to the President, and others whom the President may request.

Within the Presidential Disability Contingency Plan, the Physician to the President shall be responsible for gathering the necessary information and reporting to the Vice President and Cabinet leaders the degree of impairment of the President.

B. At a subsequent meeting or by appropriate process prior to inauguration, all individuals who will be involved in implementing the Twenty Fifth Amendment in the event that the President becomes so physically or mentally impaired as to be unable to carry out the presidential duties shall concur in ratifying the Presidential Disability Contingency Plan.

C. In the case of temporary transmittal of presidential authority, as in Section 3, the Physician to the President shall advise the President concerning the medical conditions that may impair abilities to function. The Physician to the President, with appropriate medical expert consultation, shall be responsible for determining when the President is medically capable of resuming the full responsibilities of the office.

procedure to be discussed

D. In a situation in which the Physician to the President has judged that the President is so impaired as to endanger the welfare of the nation, and has failed to obtain agreement from the Vice President and Cabinet leaders, the Physician shall communicate his/her advice to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

E. The Physician to the President has the responsibility to assist the recovery of the President in every way possible.

IV. Physician to the President Succession

In the event that the office of the Physician to the President is vacant, the Senior White House Physician shall assume all the responsibilities and authority of that office until a Physician to the President is appointed.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

# OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

## Fax Transmittal Sheet

Faxed to Sen. Mitchell
11-8-95

**TO:** Senator George Mitchell
Attention: Mary Jackson

**Fax Number:** 736-4535 **Phone Number:** 736-4539

**FROM:** Office of the President

**SUBJECT:** Presidential Note

**DATE:** November 8, 1995

**NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):** 4

**MESSAGE:**

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

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As requested

# The Cullinane Group, Inc.

*Specializing in technology issues for Senior Management*

John J. Cullinane
*President*

## MEMORANDUM

cc Jerry Re Tex

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-7-95

TO: The Honorable William J. Clinton
Attention: Nancy Hernreich

FROM: John Cullinane

DATE: October 26, 1995

SUBJECT: **Ireland Trip**

Erskine Bowles

Tony Lake/Nsc
Please forward as any working memo on trip to Ireland
cc: George Mitchell
Accepted

Two noted venture capitalists, Peter Brooke, Chairman of the Board & Chief Executive Officer of Advent International Corporation, and William Egan, President of Burr, Egan, Deleage, plus Frank Costello, Connecticut businessman Richard Segerson (son-in-law of John Brogan, former President of the American Ireland Fund), and I participated in a very intensive analysis of the venture capital opportunities on the island of Ireland last week.

In a few words, we were extremely impressed with the level of technical excellence and companies in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and its potential for a venture capital fund. Actually, we were astounded as we met one outstanding high tech company after another. A perfect example of the potential for venture capitalists in Ireland is Computer Business Training (CBT), a software company which recently went public in the United States and now has a market value of $400 million. In fact, Ireland, like Holland in the 15th Century, has the potential of becoming the world's information technology power of the 21st Century.

To capitalize on this opportunity, we plan to create a $30 million venture capital fund to invest in Irish companies, both in the North and the South, that will have strong access to American companies and thus be able to establish marketing links between American and Irish high tech firms in order to expand their markets and eventually take them public, as appropriate. This would be an all private sector initiative.

We also met with the International Fund for Ireland (IFI), who is redirecting some of its funds to a *Research and Development between Ireland and the United States (RADIUS)* program designed to operate as the Israeli-BIRD does, but focuses on research and development opportunities. The Industrial Development Agency of Ireland (IDA) and the Industrial Development Board for Northern Ireland (IDB) would represent them in the United States.

The above initiatives both come directly from President Clinton's concern and interest in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

NEWS

# Hi-tech venture fund Dollar deal

A $20m venture capital fund to support hi-tech projects in Northern Ireland and the border counties is to be set up in 1996.

John Cullinane, the software billionaire who has spearheaded the proposed Technology Fund for Ireland, said venture capitalists are now committed to financing the project.

Mr Cullinane, in an exclusive interview with Business Telegraph, said he is quite optimistic that finance will be raised in the private sector within months

Mr Cullinane, together with Frank Costello, chairman of Boston-Derry Ventures, brought key US venture capitalists and businessmen to the province last week.

He said three powerful players, Peter A Brooke, William Egan and Richard Segerson, are so impressed with the potential they are now committed to the project.

"The quality of the people we met and the level of technology both north and south has been far far superior to anything we ever imagined," said Mr Cullinane.

Mr Brooke, who has links to the Brookeborough family in Northern Ireland, pioneered the venture capital industry in the US where he controls $1.5bn in investment capital. He is chairman and chief executive officer of Advent International Corporation, the world's most extensive global private equity investment organisation.

Mr Egan manages a $600-$700m venture capital fund. He is a founding member of Burr, Egan and Delcage & Co, a private venture capital firm which has investments in more than 100 US companies.

Mr Cullinane said these individuals will not only help with raising finance, but will be instrumental in opening up vital US markets to fledging hi-tech Ulster companies.

"They are all committed to the project," he said. "The next step we will have to take is to sit down and develop a proposal and set in motion the process of raising the money."

The fund is supported by Belfast Councillors Reg Empey and Alisdair McDonnell who met with Mr Cullinane at the Washington Conference in May. The fund is based on an Israeli BIRD programme which has raised $2bn.

Belfast Telegraph
10/24/95

# The Cullinane Group, Inc.

*Specializing in technology issues for Senior Management*

John J. Cullinane
President

## TELEFAX

TO: Nancy Hernreich

FROM: John Cullinane

DATE: 10/26/95

SUBJECT:

PAGE OF

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/30/95

LP
HI
EB
JQ

Dave Barram

October 19, 1995

Mr. President,

Here is the paper I promised. It is written in a personal style and I tried to be blunt and critical. If you should want to circulate it without some of the personal criticisms, I can easily clean it up. You can, of course, do whatever you like with it.

The paper starts with a description of the 1992 high tech endorsement and suggests a much more powerful idea for 1996. I have also been very direct in stating my belief that the Administration's governing style on business issues should change.

Naturally, I would be happy to talk with you at any time about any of this.

Dave

RM

cc: Leon
Chuck T.
FYI

**Dave Barram**

October 19, 1995

President Bill Clinton

Dear Mr. President,

I am often asked how Silicon Valley thinks about you. The simple answer is that, right now, they are waiting to see. As usual it is more complicated – and more hopeful – than that.

This paper describes my view of the 1992 endorsement and what it will take to re-capture the spirit and the energy that came from that endorsement.

## THE SILICON VALLEY ENDORSEMENT OF 1992

1. It was a small group of CEO's, whose national stature gave it a big impact.

2. Their support of a Democrat was a big surprise – to them as well as to the nation.

3. Now, the characters of the 1992 drama are not in the same places and the industry is different. These are the keys to why a similar endorsement is not likely this time. I'm going to suggest that we aim for something bigger, anyway, because the Republicans will almost certainly have their own "Silicon Valley Endorsement" and will try to make theirs look like a repudiation of the one you got in 1992.

4. In 1992, the CEOs signed on to a technology policy and an expected new way of governing. They didn't care about the glamour. They wanted a leader who didn't just occupy the position; they wanted someone who led, much as CEO's of high tech companies have to. They are not sure they got what they signed on to. Therein lies our challenge.

***To expand on those four points ...***

1. For most people, "Silicon Valley" usually means the whole national high tech community. However, the whole community didn't really support you and Al Gore in 1992. Rather, a few highly influential leaders did. But it mattered enormously – in Silicon Valley and across the country! And, in addition to the support from the small group of influencers, we used the media well to keep the story **big**. For example, John Sculley was all over TV during October and early November.

2. Supporting a political figure so openly was brand new behavior. That the support was for a Democrat was especially unusual. Essentially they took a chance. They think the Administration failed to be as different as they hoped and they can't forget it. I don't think they are bitter; just unlikely to jump again. *(See the attached paper outlining specific issues.)*

3. The characters and the industry are different today. The two big hitters are in a different situation. John Young is in his third year of retirement. He is still very respected and quite active, but with somewhat less of a power base. John Sculley is not in the picture for that community, although I expect he will re-emerge. The leaders who were in the "second tier" have not established the same cachet as Young and Sculley had. Don't ever forget that John Sculley has a wonderful ability to describe the future in ways that people relate to and get excited about. When he talked about that future and then said he saw Bill Clinton as the right person to lead America in that direction, people took notice.

   The industry is different. Computers dominated in 1992. Today the landscape has more balance with software, networking, entertainment and telecommunications right in there with computers. The characters who lead those companies have shown no vision for the people. They are busy creating megacompanies, advertising to influence legislation, and generally scrambling to survive in a wild, global economy.

   We shouldn't aim to win the old, small group back. It doesn't exist, it doesn't have the same clout and it won't play, anyway. Because the Republicans will be likely to get a few of them to "defect", we need a new strategy. I think we should define a new "Silicon Valley", identify a new group of CEOs, and then get them to endorse. We should select a few CEOs who share our vision of the future and who can make the new group come alive, and target those select few as spokespeople. *(See the section below entitled, The 1996 Endorsement: THE INFORMATION INDUSTRY ENDORSEMENT.)*

4. When we go after our target CEOs, it should not be by inviting them to play golf with the President. That might work for old fashioned CEO's, but not these. They are not much interested in glamour. They want a government that quickly understands those issues that really matter and that knows how to make itself work efficiently and quickly. We have to show them we have changed our governing behavior, show that we understand their needs, and will get things done at the right pace. Then, they might sign up.

## THIS IS NOT ABOUT SILICON VALLEY, ANYWAY.

We should not think about "Silicon Valley" as a specific place but as a metaphor for firms and people whose future is brighter than their past. As you said about the Peace Corps and Mark Gearan, "they represent our best selves on our best days." So do people think about the "place" called Silicon Valley. It feels to people like a place where hope is the driving force and where working hard pays off. It is a culture of individual responsibility and satisfying reward. In short, places that are a tangible manifestation of your central attitude.

This concept of "Silicon Valley" can encompass an innovative chemical plant in Cleveland, a completely reinvented hospital outside Dallas, a defense contractor turned commercial tiger north of Los Angeles, along with those Silicon Valley–located companies like 56 year old Hewlett-Packard, 20 year old Apple Computer and 2 year old Netscape. Places where technology and good organization have combined to let people's ideas and industry give them hope – hope of a future based on their efforts. That style is, in a deeper psychological way, why you appealed to Silicon Valley leaders and why that marriage felt so good to most of America.

## The 1996 Endorsement: THE INFORMATION INDUSTRY ENDORSEMENT

In 1996, we have moved a long way from 1992. We are living in a profoundly different political world and a relentlessly global economy. The high tech landscape has become very different and very pervasive in society. And I think, although I can't prove it, America is beginning to believe we might be able to restore a sense of community, largely because you are so committed to it.

You now have a record, as President, that shows how you think about these enormous changes and what policies you are pursuing to address them.

I can get very excited imagining you telling this multi-part story. However, this paper is about creating a way to captivate America and the new technology leaders (the leaders might not be new, but the landscape is.) As I said earlier, the 1992 "event" is in the past. Can we do something better and even more compelling that will make trivial any attempt by the Republicans to steal our 1992 endorsers? This could actually give us a double win. Along with being the way to attract the new supporters, we may need it to shore up the support of the 1992 endorsers.

So, what is it?

I think we need to do three things:

### 1. DESCRIBE THE NEW LANDSCAPE.

In 1992, it was sufficient to describe the companies of the future by mentioning Apple, HP, Microsoft and a few others. Now, four years later, everybody knows there is a startling future ahead. That recognition of a drastically different future is one reason for so much fear. We can help people through those fears by describing a wonderful future where technology is their friend and an important tool to help them control their destiny. Clearly a technology-dominated future is inevitable. Can we all learn to see it as wonderful?

A compelling description of the new landscape would allow us to show the CEOs that we "get it" and allow them some cover with their constituents (boards of directors, shareholders, employees.) It would also free them to ally with us and generate their own excitement within our broad description.

The new landscape is dramatically broader than the computer and biotechnology firms of Silicon Valley, even an expanded Silicon Valley. It includes content (entertainment, education), providers (telephone, cable, broadcast), hardware (computers, semiconductors), biotechnology and the finance community that provides them all capital. And, it shows how intertwined these industries are becoming and how pervasive they are becoming to all Americans.

We should get a very small group of the right people together to describe the new landscape and define the way we can connect with it in an honest and compelling way. To me,

the new landscape touches every American's present life and future. I believe a national strategy for how America invests in technology is as important as anything we could do. We need to get started on it and figure out how we can market it as well as Procter & Gamble marketed Crest toothpaste. Crest wasn't just hype. Stannous fluoride actually prevented cavities.

On a possibly extraneous note, I think there is another dynamic now at play. These days, the development, production, marketing and distribution of the industries in this new landscape require huge investments. Only the US and Japan have the resources to make these large investments, at least broadly. Every other country has to make some scary decisions about what markets or industries to target. They can't afford to fail; that's one reason those governments get so involved. And each country has to make alliances with either the US or Japan to have any chance of being successful in the global economy. This is scary to us as well, but it opens the opportunity to paint this challenge in national strategic terms. I think that could be very exciting.

***I believe imagining this future and helping Americans enjoy and succeed in it is one of the highest and best roles of the President.***

## 2. CHANGE THE WAY WE GOVERN.

We just simply take too long to make decisions that are in our power to make. I see at least three reasons this happens:

- If just one or two senior people react to business' concerns with historic Democratic wariness, that is enough to throw a decision back on to the old slow path. I genuinely don't know why this happens in any particular case, but with the volume of issues confronting us, it is very easy to put off a decision because someone is concerned that business is being greedy or it would "hurt our traditional base." (Which, I believe, does not exist anymore.)

- We let the interagency process work too long without political guidance. For example, any decision that requires State, Defense and Commerce to agree – no matter how cooperative we feel at the political level – brings out the historic turf protection of long-time employees and the risk-averse caution of the often, newer political leadership.

- You set the tone for a style of too thorough and too nuanced analysis. I find myself personally engaged in that and impressed at the intellectual power of it, but I have seen it slow down the chance to have the Administration get credit for grasping issues quickly and taking action. I see FASB and securities litigation as prime examples. To me, NAFTA, Bosnia and health care require extremely careful review and broad constituency building. FASB and securities litigation reform do not need that much.

We need to change the paradigm. One way is to make it clear that your Administration will start all policy discussions by assuming trust and partnership with

business, certainly those in the new landscape, *whose futures are brighter than their pasts*. We need this trust and partnership to gain the confidence and comfort to act quickly before the value of acting is gone. We can't take so long to relax export controls, approve new and innovative medical devices, reform securities litigation, approve remote sensing contracts, and many other things that are in our power to do quickly.

We have to understand that technology changes quickly and therefore any policy that we have must reflect that. Understanding life in 1995, means understanding that **frivolous lawsuits** hamstring risk-taking, fast-growing companies, who generally have volatile stock prices. We have to curb our natural inclination to "protect" potential unwitting shareholders because we do it for little gain to them and big hurt to the companies. Although a few individuals in the industry know you want this fixed, our behavior looks like we have not trusted the technology companies' passionate pleas to change the law.

Understanding life in 1995, means understanding that the need for **export controls** is different in a new political world and very different in the truly global economy. We seem to worry more about old international diplomacy and old views of arms proliferation than to trust the technology companies when they say they lose market share to foreign companies because they can't export and the foreign companies can. Our announcement last month was great. It took too long, though. We knew enough in September 1994 to act; we knew then what we know today, a year later. We let the interagency "process" stop us from taking action at a pace that would have won us points. We need lots more points to gain loyalty and support.

Understanding life in 1995, also means appreciating the passion small companies have about too much **regulation**. They may need some educating on the importance of certain regulations, but their ability to compete is harmed by other regulations. We need to curb our natural inclination to *seem to believe in regulations* rather than the freedom to operate freely in a tough global economy.

Remember the extraordinary reception you and Vice President received at the Small Business Conference when you announced eliminating some onerous regulations. You and the VP did *not* capitulate on environmental regulations, yet the audience still appreciated your actions. We need to make that experience the norm. I doubt if we have done much to translate the actions that engendered that reception into a mode of operation.

I can't emphasize enough the need to govern in a different way, to do it right away and do it with unfailing consistency. I don't know if it's too late, but if we really believe in that idea, we should change our governing behavior anyway.

***One idea:*** *You could empower Laura Tyson and the NEC to establish an internal timetable for resolving new business-oriented issues, a timetable that you, personally, would agree to honor. The timetable could define some issues as "X" issues. We would start by assuming that the business community's position on an "X" issue was both honorable and in the national interest. Then we could have a short period for all the affected agencies to weigh in with concerns. Unless, these concerns surfaced a major reason to slow the process, we would then decide within the time set in the timetable.*

It is hard to sell enthusiasm for this Administration to business leaders. I can sell some of our action and lots of our promise. But, it doesn't grab anyone. Without the consistency I mentioned above, they expect us to revert to old Democratic behavior when the pressure gets tough.

### 3. ENROLL LEADERS FROM THIS NEW LANDSCAPE.

Announce their support in a venue and manner that fits the times. Make it feel like we understand 1996 and how it can be a launching pad to the end of this century.

We should enroll them in private conversation and then have them "go public" in a "high tech, 1996" kind of way. That would certainly include a specific set of activities on the information superhighway. Also, the information highway allows us to build the power of their involvement over time. It allows our enrolled leaders to reference it; and it allows citizens, campaign workers and reporters to see and hear these leaders as they engage the issues of the Administration and the country.

This can be an exciting set of events, but we need to be sure we realize that any events we create are based on the reality of the first two steps. If we try to make an event before we describe the new landscape or before we reform our manner of governing, it will fall flat.

While we are developing the basics of the new landscape, we should start thinking about which leaders to enroll. The industries I mentioned above are merging and losing clear identity in the marketplace and in the minds of Americans. Yet, we can still break them into segments to give us some categories and help develop the group of leaders we want to enroll.

I have begun to make up a list of *possible* leaders from each of these segments. Very few supported you in 1992; even some of the ones who did support you have been non-committal so far this time around. I have no grand illusion that we can get the majority of these people to endorse you – certainly at first. We need to study the list to see if we can target the right ones so we can represent each segment and show broad support from the combined landscape. And, this list is just a starting point.

## CONCLUSION

If you find this idea compelling, we will need a plan to make it all happen. As I said earlier, I believe it hinges on our willingness to govern differently. With a process in place to do that and a few cases of supporting action, I believe we could create a solid plan and begin to enroll an exciting set of CEOs.

I think you will be reelected because people will come to realize how diligently you have addressed the country's big issues. That realization can help enroll these CEOs and enrolling them can enhance that realization.

I can see the support of the Information Industry being key to the kind of victory that will give you a powerful mandate to continue the changes you have started.

Dave

**GOVERNING IN A TIME OF RAPID TECHNOLOGY CHANGE AND IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF INNOVATION AND ENTREPRENEURIAL POWER.**

Here are some specific issues that we face and have faced in the past 3 years and, too often, not handled well. It is hard to "manage" the spirit of an entrepreneur; it is folly to try to control technology. When we try to do either, we encounter an obdurate foe and lose our chance to use these inevitable forces to move the economy ahead.

There is no chance that government can consistently pass or revise laws or rules that affect technology as fast as technology changes. So, we need to change our thinking. We need to have a mentality that carries us to respond quickly and correctly.

This list is not in any particular order of importance.

| Description | Problem | Result |
|---|---|---|
| **NAFTA** | | We look courageous and right! |
| **GATT** | | We look courageous and right! |
| **EXPORT CONTROLS:** Technology has been subject to export controls for national security. With the demise of COCOM and the reach of the global market, technology is generally available anyway. So, under a too strict regime our companies just lose market share. | ***Interagency differences.*** We raised the threshold in Sep 93 to great praise. But, it took us 2 years to raise it again. We can't seem to see how important it is to keep raising it as technology changes. Congress is involved, but the main cause is our interagency differences. | We can't be counted on to quickly see the need and respond. |

| Description | Problem | Result |
|---|---|---|
| **SECURITIES LITIGATION:**<br>Companies make claims about future performance and when they are wrong, they get sued. The law makes it easy to sue and discover. Companies settle rather than waste time and money defending. The horror stories are true and involve the best and brightest. (When HP spends $700K in legal costs, the cost of 10 engineers, and lots of management time to fight a clearly frivolous suit – a suit that was dismissed six months later – you know something is wrong with the system.) | This was the AEA's number one issue in 1995 and we never really stood up and showed we "got" it.<br><br>We should have jumped all over this and fixed it five minutes after hearing about it. | We dithered and lost a chance to show the high tech community that we could get the right thing done, quickly. |
| **FASB:**<br>FASB responded to criticism of excessive executive compensation with a proposal to charge companies for options at the time they were granted. (Some of this excessive compensation criticism came from Candidate Bill Clinton.) The fix is best done by Boards of Directors, which is now happening (although public scrutiny should continue.)<br>The problem was that (1) valuing options is wildly inaccurate and (2) charging at time of grant would slow or stop the practice of granting options in lieu of compensation, which is a key way new and growing companies lure talent. | This was the AEA's number one issue in 1994 and we took all year to resolve it. We almost gave it away to the Republicans.<br><br>We should have jumped all over this and fixed this one five minutes after hearing about it. | We dithered and lost the confidence of the high tech community.<br><br>Now, we will have to scramble to get any credit. |
| **PRODUCT LIABILITY:**<br>Firms have felt that it is too easy to claim liability, but I don't think industry really believes we have failed them. I think they accept a reasonable liability and just want it reformed. | We let it be lumped with securities litigation rather than show we understood the contrasting levels of passion industry felt. | We lost the chance to show our insight. |

| Description | Problem | Result |
|---|---|---|
| **REMOTE SENSING:**<br>Satellite imagery is now becoming commercially available at 1 meter resolution. That allows it to compete with aerial photos. It is also important because commercial use drives defense conversion. Defense firms that survive keep jobs and stay at the technology leading edge, thereby strengthening us militarily.<br>It is important for global competitiveness, also, as other countries are building this capability. | ***Interagency differences.*** The President signed a PDD which set the rules. Companies invested and made deals within those rules. Then, when the first specific deal came to us, State dragged out the approval process. It seemed as if they really didn't want the rules that the PDD set. (The one caveat I will acknowledge was that the first deal involved the Middle East. That mollifies industry on the substance, but not on the process.) | By the time the agreement was approved, it didn't feel like a win for the companies.<br><br>*We got a little break because we were dealing with defense firms and they were almost tolerant of our delays.* |
| **CAPITAL GAINS TAX:**<br>A long time argument. Most of those in favor argue for a lower rate on investments for job-creating start-up companies. Others argue for a lower rate on all gains, thereby freeing up lots of capital from old investments. Those opposed say it doesn't induce more investment and gives the rich a windfall. | Few expect us to support a broad capital gains tax reduction in this budget environment. Some even acknowledge that the arguments are not overly persuasive. | We're OK, but we haven't marketed our thinking.<br>I think we'd get credit for taking a stand if it was clearer and fit into a broader and clearer set of policies. |
| **FOREIGN SALES CORP. (FSC):**<br>The FSC was enacted to encourage exports of U.S. made products. The regulations that followed created some unintended results. A software firm can export 1,000 copies and have its foreign partner add its own code before selling. In that case, it gets a FSC credit. If the same firm sends its "master" disk to its foreign partner so they can make copies, the sale gets no FSC credit. *This is not the case with films and video.* | Treasury has not agreed to redo these regulations. They estimate that it would be a hit to revenue of $200M over 5 years.<br><br>The mainframe software companies, led by Oracle, are upset. They think we are taking too long to get to the right decision. | We should make this change. We should also keep it in perspective behind the more significant ones, like securities litigation.<br><br>This is **not** a category A issue in the technology community. We should not respond episodically to this. |

| Description | Problem | Result |
|---|---|---|
| **ENCRYPTION:**<br>The future is about networking. Software and hardware products on the network require strong encryption. We don't allow software exports over a certain strength of encryption. In early 1994 we proposed allowing exports using a hardware encryption scheme that was strong and was managed by the government. The industry thought we were dead wrong and that we did not understand how that would make them uncompetitive in global markets. They thought we had let national security "concerns" run roughshod over competitiveness. (Some also feared the specter of control of information by the government.)<br>Last month we proposed a scheme that we thought they would accept. They might, but they still think we are trying to impose a solution on them (key escrow) that the market won't pay for. | ***Interagency differences.*** We too readily acquiesced to the FBI and Intelligence Community concerns in the face of industry's push to get moving. The Intelligence Community learned, but the FBI is still resisting. | We made the industry work too hard to "teach" us and then took too long to act once we got it.<br><br>Industry is being a bit unreasonable today, but I attribute that to their paranoia about what we will do.<br><br>It is also an issue whose perception now exceeds its substance. |
| **HEALTH CARE:**<br>Small business, particularly, feels that our health care thrust would have hurt them. | What more can be said. I think it is a huge case of broad misunderstanding and of unfair political behavior, but no small business person I have talked with thinks we learned enough from it. | We are seen as unrepentant. Maybe we should not say we are sorry, but somehow ...<br><br>*I think the President will be vindicated by the general public, but I'm not sure that will be the small business reaction.* |
| **FDA APPROVALS:**<br>Drugs probably still take too long to approve, but I'll leave that for another discussion. This is about non-invasive **medical devices**, like blood analyzers. These are generally developed by biotechnology companies, usually start-ups. This is not a drug approval practice; it is for non-invasive devices that are cheaper, accomplish their task faster and have higher quality. | Small start-up companies can't afford burning cash each month while the approval mechanism plods along.<br><br>The approval process too often is based on exactly the process these new devices replace. If the new device will replace technicians, the resistance is huge. | The promise of our words and style (pro-business, attentive) is dashed by our inability or unwillingness to just get these devices approved.<br><br>They know, and we know, that we can't stop these products from coming to market, so when we countenance delay, we seem to be part of the problem. |

Pat G/Ben B/Andy C

This is a great piece
should get to our
allies in congress
Would consider sens
of to argument

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-8-95

# SENIOR ISSUE?

## U.S. programs for aged affect next generation

ROBERT SCHEER

The trouble with old people these days is that they aren't willing to die when it is most convenient for the rest of us. There was a time when seniors were lucky to hit 65, but now those old codgers are like the Energizer Bunny — they just keep going and going.

Seniors annoy the younger taxpayers by doing everything to survive, including exercising, dieting and even drinking red wine. Worse yet, they remain politically active and vote in larger numbers. And using that political clout, these ingrates expect to collect on the medical care that they were promised and have paid for. But, as the Republican congressional leadership points out, the seniors broke their end of the deal by living too long.

Whose fault is that? The Democrats, of course. House Speaker Newt Gingrich is right: The seniors' conspiracy to stick around was abetted by a whole range of knee-jerk liberal programs that made their golden years worth living. Without Medicare, Medicaid, senior housing and social centers where they do those stretching exercises, a lot more seniors would have expired years earlier.

I recall the case of my own mother, who had the nerve to outlive two doctors who warned her that her Parkinson's disease was terminal. It was, eventually, but she cheated for almost 20 years by staggering through challenging walks to various lectures, the library and plays, keeping both body and mind alert. She even got on a senior citizen center bus to go picket the governor and legislators every time it looked as if they might stick it to the old people.

Why didn't her son just take care of her, my Libertarian readers at this very moment are asking? Well, I did. At first she resisted, much preferring her independence and friends in the city to our suburban life, which she termed "boring." But after her second mugging, once the new plastic hips were in place, we kidnapped her, and suddenly there I was, for seven years, the only townhouse dweller in our gated community with a mother in residence.

Mostly, our living arrangement — Mom, me, my wife, two kids and a large Akita dog — was viewed by the neighbors as weird. At worst, a grown man living with his mother could be seen as kinky; at best, our extended family suggested a possible violation of the condo association's rules. We had only three bedrooms, after all. The architects of yuppie housing don't expect sickly old people to spend the night.

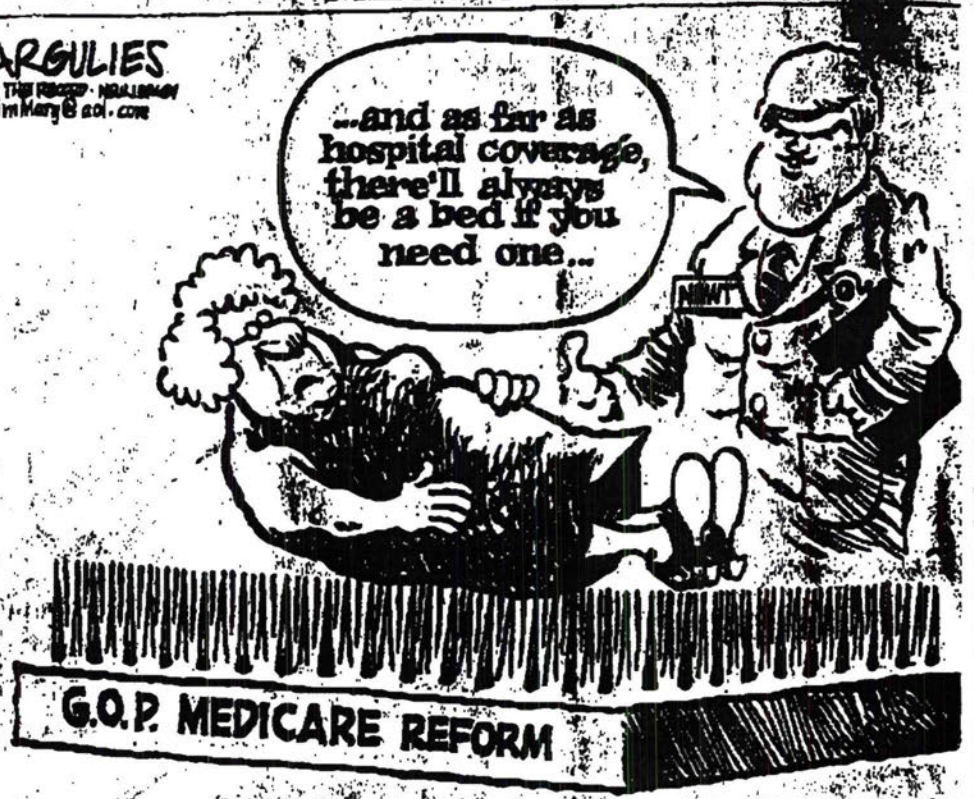
My wife and I actually liked Mom. She read more books than we did and kept us intellectually on our toes. Our little kids adored her, once they got used to the teeth-in-the-glass-jar routine. They doubled up so that she could have a room and rushed to her assistance when she refused to use the walker and kept falling over. They loved her stories and her endless jokes, even though she would come to forget the punch lines, and they found it liberating that there was an adult in the house who sided with them.

So, yes, it was a very positive experience. And now, with the Republican cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, including a devastating attack on federal support for nursing homes, many more couples will get the opportunity to take in family members who are sick and old. For the last few years of her life, my mother required a 24-hour caretaker; she became incontinent, we had to feed her, and there were frequent doctor and hospital visits. I hope your family is willing to take on this responsibility; my spouse is a saint, but I don't know about yours.

Oh, I almost forgot, unless you are seriously wealthy, if the Republican cuts go through, you had better be prepared to go broke. Medicare kicked in in 1965, when my mother retired after more than four decades of sewing clothes. At that time, I still was getting my act together, and if not for the government supplement to my mother's meager union health plan, I would have had trouble supporting her. Even when I was more prosperous, the costs of a growing family were spiraling and without Medicare, my mother's medical bills would have wiped out the kids' college funds and more.

Anybody who tells you Medicare is a program that benefits only seniors never has had to care for a parent who is old. Take the word of this rapidly aging yuppie: Wire your congresspersons to keep their mitts off the programs that help seniors, or be prepared to turn your snappy condo into an underfunded nursing home.

*Robert Scheer writes for the Los Angeles Times.*




*Jimmy Margulies/New Jersey Record*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11-7

**TO:** George
Mike M.
Don
Rahm

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

Any view on
whether to do this?

THE Hollywood REPORTER

5055 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • LOS ANGELES, CA 90036-4396 • FAX: 213/525-2385 • TELEPHONE: 213/525-2000

**ROBERT J. DOWLING**
*Publisher and Editor-In-Chief*

November 3, 1995

William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On November 20, *The Hollywood Reporter* will publish it's 65th Anniversary Edition, entitled "**The Influence of Hollywood**." As in previous years, this edition will again be devoted to topics and causes that generate controversy among entertainment industry professionals and the public at large.

The hottest topics this past year have focused on violence in film and on television, as well as the reinstitution of family values. Many political officials have openly expressed views that the entertainment industry should be held accountable, causing considerable debate about what needs to be done and which organization would be called upon to do it.

As leader of our great country, we invite you to contribute your views on this topic in the form of a letter to the entertainment industry which we will print in this special edition. Within the context of this forum, we also welcome your comments on the quality of today's entertainment and the importance of *The Hollywood Reporter's* special edition as a conduit.

Due to our pending publishing date for the Anniversary Edition, we will need your response by **November 13** latest. To expedite, please send your letter to the attention of Lynne Segall, our Associate Publisher. Thank you for your consideration of this matter - we will look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Dowling
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief

NEW YORK OFFICE: 1501 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NY 10036 • FAX (212) 869-5621 • TELEPHONE (212) 354-1858

11/7 TOPP
No copies made yet.
-To NSC to do reply
or to Borskind to do
reply, coordinating w/NSC
& cc Alexis

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11/07/95

**TO:** NSC

original sent to NSC

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

Please prepare a thank you
letter for the President
to sign per his request.

cc: Alexis Herman

as requested

**Jorge M. Perez**
President

**The Related Group of Florida**
2828 Coral Way, Penthouse Suite
Miami, Florida 33145
305-460-9900

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-7-95

**October 19, 1995**

**President William J. Clinton**
**The White House**
**1600 Pennsylvania Avenue**
**Washington D.C. 20500**

**Dear Mr. President:**

**I am attaching a front page article of The Miami Herald on the Cuba bill. I think your policy has been right on target, enabling you to both hold the line while continuing to offer openings that encourage the peaceful democratization of the island. Your stand against the Republican position has proven to be both intelligent and courageous and, as always, I continue to be very proud of your leadership.**

**Keep up the great work!!**

**Warmest regards,**

**Jorge M. Pérez**

**JMP:amr**
**Enclosure**

cc: Alexis
NSC
Draft for me to sign

BC

**IT'S SEASON FOR GLORIOUS GOURDS**

How to select, store, handle winter squash
**FOOD, 1E**

**A W SHOWERS, 84/74, PAGE 3B**

**CARNAL AIR GOES PUBLIC**

Arison ges with L.A. firm, **BUSINESS, 1C**

**CYBERGUID CHOOSING A PRINTER, LIVING, 8E**

**POOR GAME PUTS KIRBY ON SIDELINE**

Parmalee to start at running back against Jets
**SPORTS, 1D**

**FINAL EDITION**


# The Miami Herald

TSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1995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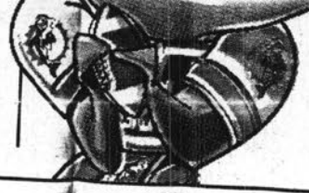
35 CENTS

# A Clinton victory on Cuba bill

CHOOSING A PRINTER, LIVING, 8E



at running back against Jets
SPORTS, 1D

FINAL EDITION

# Miami Herald

TAY, OCTOBER 19, 1995

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35 CENTS

# A Clinton victory on Cuba bill

## Republicans soften sanctions, for now

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — In a major retreat, Senate Republicans on Wednesday dropped the most significant punitive sanctions from proposed legislation to tighten the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba.

The move signaled a victory for the Clinton administration, which has vigorously opposed the sanctions as counterproductive, and successfully marshaled a Democrat-led filibuster to avoid Senate action on them.

It plunged into uncertainty a raft of measures endorsed by the House of Representatives and Cuban exile leaders to punish foreign firms and nations that do business with Cuba and provide new legal muscle to Cuban Americans seeking to resolve property claims on the island.

Those provisions, contained in a portion of the Helms-Burton bill known as Title III, have repeatedly been described as the heart of the legislation by the bill's principal advocates, including the Cuban American National Foundation.

Stricken from the Senate bill is the "right of action" provision that would allow Cuban Americans to use U.S. federal courts to sue foreigners who traffic in properties seized from them in Cuba, even though they were not U.S. citizens at the time.

Sen. Bob Dole, visibly angered over his inability to secure 60 votes to halt Democratic stalling tactics, on Wednesday decried a "White House blitz" to prevent consideration of the entire bill.

"A determined minority, at the urging of the White House, has been able to stop action" on the bill, said the majority leader, who is courting Cuban-American support as part of his presidential bid. "Let there be no mistake: White House inflexibility has forced the change today."

President Clinton's foreign policy advisers

PLEASE SEE CUBA, 18A

**U.S. APPROVES CASTRO VISIT**

■ **Over Republican objections, the Clinton administration has agreed to issue Fidel Castro a visa so he can address the United Nations, 18A.**

Always
In-Store ... Department

# Clinton wins one on Cuba sanctions

CUBA, *FROM* 1A

expressed relief that they had struck a strong blow against measures that, they argued, would dim prospects for a peaceful transition on the island, jeopardize U.S. relations around the world and clutter U.S. courts.

The White House released a statement Wednesday saying it is determined to work with Congress to forge a bipartisan policy on Cuba, and looks forward to opening negotiations with Republican leaders.

**Battle is far from over**

The battle over Cuban sanctions is far from over. The House overwhelmingly approved the Title III measures last month, and Dole pledged to fight for them in the conference committee that must reconcile the two versions of the bill.

"The strength of this bill is Title III, and we will revisit it," he said.

The Senate is expected to approve the scaled-back version of the Helms-Burton bill today. The remainder of the legislation

*'The strength of this bill is Title III, and we will revisit it.'*

**SEN. BOB DOLE**

is a largely toothless document that advises the president — but does not bind him — on future dealings with Cuba.

Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., who led the Democratic filibuster, was exultant Wednesday. The right-of-action provision, he said, would confer special legal status on naturalized Cuban Americans, at the expense of all other nationalities, and prove a burden to U.S. courts.

"There's an old doctor adage that says 'first do no harm.' Well, today, that's exactly what we did by successfully tearing out the very heart of what was wrong with this bill," Dodd said.

While Dodd asserted that "much more needs to be done to fix this legislation," administration officials said their remaining objections to the bill were relatively minor.

**Nail-biting finish**

The wrangling over the Cuba legislation came to a nail-biting finish Wednesday as both sides eagerly awaited the arrival of Sen. Mark Hatfield to cast his vote. Both Dole and the administration sought to pull the moderate Republican from Oregon into their camps.

In the end, Hatfield joined two other Republicans, Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and James Jeffords of Vermont in siding with the Democrats. When it became clear that the Republicans would not be able to muster one more vote to reach the 60 needed to end debate, Dole and Sen. Jesse Helms R-N.C., agreed to delete Title III.

# U.S. gives Castro visa for U.N. trip

From Herald Staff and Wire Reports

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration on Wednesday approved a visa for Cuban President Fidel Castro.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns announced that the United States would allow Castro to enter the United States to address the United Nations General Assembly during 50th anniversary celebrations.

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., called the decision "regrettable."

"I wish the Clinton administration would spend more time supporting democratic change in Cuba and less time honoring the requests of this hemisphere's last remaining dictator," Dole said.

Castro is expected to arrive in New York on Saturday.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11/07/95

**TO:** NSC

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

ORIGINAL FAX to NSC

For appropriate handling.
Thanks.

Nancy Hernreich

Mr President –

Let DOE decide.

Erskine does not

think you should do

it

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Office of
The Ambassador

Vienna, Austria 95 NOV 7 P7:28 October 31, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President,

It was so good to be with you recently. I'm with you in spirit much more often, I assure you. But to be in the same room for an hour was a real pleasure.

As I mentioned, Franz Vranitzky will be in town, although it's in the middle of an election campaign for him. (Dec. 17th, following the collapse of the government over a budget crisis.) He's receiving the Fulbright Prize in a ceremony at the State Department (Mandela and Carter were prior recipients), and he would very much like a few moments with you, regardless of how informal the basis.

I mention this to you, because I think the only way it will happen is if you say you want it. Although the NSC has "approved it," and the State Department is pushing it, there is no reason for the NSC to prioritize this meeting to the schedulers. I know of your respect for Vranitzky, and I want to be sure that what happens is what <u>you</u> want to have happen.

The Fulbright ceremony is Saturday late morning, when you are busy with Veteran's Day events. An ideal meeting time, then, might be Friday evening, or Saturday mid-afternoon after both of you have finished your events -- just an informal conversation without the press pool. I'll be with the Chancellor for the morning and am happy to accompany him, unless you'd rather have a one-on-one.

Of course, he will hope to use a picture of the meeting (from the White House photographer) in his domestic campaign, where he is trying to head off significant recent gains from right wing opportunist, Haider.

I hope to see you again soon. Meanwhile, my very best to you and Hillary. You are a constant inspiration to so many of us. Keep up the extraordinary effort, and please let me know whenever I can be of particular help.

Warmly,

Swanee

Republic of Austria
THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR

Vienna, October 30, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

With pleasure and gratitude I have received the greetings which you communicated to me through the Austrian Federal President on the occasion of his recent visit.

As you may have heard, I have been selected to receive this year's William Fulbright Prize for International Understanding. In this connection I would consider it a great privilege to meet with you, however informally, while being in Washington for the award ceremony from 9-11 November.

I am aware that Veterans Day might pose some scheduling problems, and therefore I am of course flexible with regard to time and format of such a meeting; I would simply welcome the opportunity to renew our friendship and to touch base on a number of issues of mutual interest.

With my sincerest wishes

Franz Vranitzky

Dr. Franz Vranitzky

H.E.
The President of the
United States of America

The White House
Washington, D.C.

cc: Erskine

As you know President wants to see this. Normally I would just forward to Scheduler but this has to do with Pres. NSC armed Guard regulations for Blair Hse

N — Yes - but I don't think he should see it

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11/07/95

**TO:** NSC

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

ORIGINAL TO NSC

For appropriate handling.

thanks.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SANTIAGO, CHILE

October 17, 1995

THE AMBASSADOR

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. President:

What a pleasure and honor it was to have Hillary here with us in Santiago. It was a most successful trip. President and Mrs. Frei were delighted with the visit. As usual, Hillary was just perfect. She quickly gained the love and respect of the Santiaguinos. For Alicia and me, the visit was the highlight of our almost one-year stay here in Santiago representing you and our country.

I am confident you will be reelected next year, so I do hope you do plan to come to the southern cone in the spring of 1997. As Hillary mentioned to you, literally right next door to the official residence there is Santiago's best golf course. You just have to jump the fence.

It was great to see you in mid-September. Keep up the good work. It shows. We are going to win.

Your loyal friend,

Gabriel

Gabriel Guerra-Mondragón

P.S. Andrew did a great job as the head advance; wonderful young man.

The President
The White House
Washington

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.2.95

November 1, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We have received the following recent political information items:

(A) **Ickes note on name and title for ballots.** Forwarding draft memo from Jeff Forbes, C/G '96 delegate selection coordinator, re 1992 primary and general election ballots. Forbes' research so far shows the name "Bill Clinton" was used on virtually every state ballot. Of the information collected to date for 1996, your name will appear the same way; only two states will permit the word "President" next to your name – Arkansas and Massachusetts (primary only, not general). California permits a separate line for title designation.

(B) **Ickes memo on DNC operating and media budgets.** Detailed memo. The 1995 operating budget has been scaled back from $41 million to $32 million; the media budget is $10 million. In order to meet these totals, DNC must raise or borrow $16.7 million by the end of the year ($7.8 operating and $8.9 media). Fundraising projections of $5.5 million through December leave a potential debt of $11.2 million. DNC Finance Chair Marvin Rosen believes that under the right circumstances and with additional fundraising events scheduled, the DNC could end the year with a debt as low as $4 million.

(C) ***Charelston Post and Courier* Clip on DNC talk radio initiative.** Via Harold. Describes efforts of Jon-Christopher Bua (Director of DNC's Speakers Bureau) to educate Dems across the country on the use of talk radio. Harold notes that this is a "small, but seemingly worthwhile endeavor and that he has heard good things about Bua's workshops and training sessions."

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
## Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|---|---|---|---|
| 002. memo | From Harold Ickes re: DNC 1995 Operating Budget (10 pages) | 10/20/1995 | Personal Misfile |

**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7691

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Chron Files November 5-11, 1995 [3]

2019-0774-S
rs3297

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

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

**C.** Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
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**RR.** Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

**DATE:** 11.21

**TO:** [redacted]

**FROM:** **Staff Secretary**

If this had gone through
HS I would have given
you a copy before it
went to POTUS.
But it didn't.

L.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR

RE: Shared sacrifice in balancing the budget

I think you could make much more out of the theme that large corporations and wealthy Americans must bear their fair share of the sacrifice of balancing the federal budget. The underlying issue fairness is, I believe, where Republicans are most vulnerable. Some suggestions:

1. Voice the "shared sacrifice" theme, as a way to frame your specific criticisms. Cuts in Medicare fall disproportionately on the low-income elderly. 75 percent of Medicare recipients have annual incomes of under $25,000. Cuts in Medicaid have an even more regressive effect. A disproportionate share of Republican tax increases fall on lower-income Americans, while tax breaks disproportionately favor higher-income individuals and corporations. A disproportionate share of their program cuts fall on lower-income Americans.

2. Establish your own Commission on Corporate Welfare (or on Corporate Subsidies and Tax Expenditures), composed of 15 CEOs of major American businesses. Charge them with identifying, within the next 6 months, an additional $100 billion of business subsidies which could be eliminated over the next x years. (See the attached Business Week/Harris Poll of 408 senior executives. Also note that just last week, Senators McCain, Thompson, Bob Kerry, Feingold, Kennedy, and Coates proposed the creation of a "corporate welfare commission" modeled on the base-closing commission.)

**BUSINESS WEEK/HARRIS EXECUTIVE POLL**

# A BALANCED BUDGET OR BUST

American business has spoken: Balance the federal budget, even if it means giving up corporate subsidies. That's the message in a new BUSINESS WEEK/Harris Executive Poll of 408 senior executives. A decisive 57% of corporate leaders said balancing the budget was a "top priority" that will only happen by setting a strict deadline. Only 23% felt such a step might harm the economy.

Given a choice between balancing the government's books or slashing taxes, 79% of executives opted for budget balance. Yet few thought it would actually happen: Asked if Uncle Sam's ledgers would be balanced by 2002, 86% said no.

## FULL STEAM AHEAD

Republicans and Democrats are arguing over how to balance the federal budget. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view?

a. Balancing the budget is a top priority that will only happen by setting a strict deadline ..... 57%
b. Balancing the budget is a worthwhile goal, but drastic cuts in federal spending could jeopardize the economy ..... 23%
c. The most important goal should not be balancing the budget, but rather setting different spending priorities ... 20%
d. Not sure/don't know ..... 0%

## SAYING YES TO SACRIFICE

Some Republicans say that the drive to balance the budget by 2002 will require most, if not all, business subsidies to be eliminated. Considering your specific industry, are you willing to forgo special tax incentives or spending programs for the sake of budgetary discipline, or not?*

a. Willing to forgo tax incentives ..... 57%
b. Willing to forgo spending programs ..... 56%
c. Not willing to forgo anything ..... 10%
d. Depends on the circumstances ..... 7%
e. Not sure/don't know ..... 6%

## NO SACRED COWS

I'm going to read you a list of business subsidies or incentives that might be eliminated in order to balance the budget. Should each of the following be eliminated or not in order to help balance the federal budget?

| | SHOULD | SHOULD NOT | NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Farm subsidies | 83% | 13% | 4% |
| 2. Incentives for energy development and efficiency | 68% | 27% | 5% |
| 3. Federal loan guarantees | 65% | 29% | 6% |
| 4. Export-promotion programs | 59% | 34% | 7% |
| 5. Research and development support for emerging high-tech industries | 51% | 45% | 4% |
| 6. Small-business grants and loans | 49% | 47% | 4% |

## AXING AGENCIES

Supporters of a balanced budget are proposing to eliminate some federal agencies. Do you favor or oppose eliminating:

| | FAVOR | OPPOSE | NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Energy Dept. | 71% | 24% | 5% |
| 2. Housing & Urban Development Dept. | 69% | 27% | 4% |
| 3. Commerce Dept. | 63% | 33% | 4% |
| 4. Education Dept. | 52% | 46% | 2% |

* Respondents could pick more than one answer

## READ OUR LIPS

Separately, GOP spending proposals would balance the budget by relying exclusively on spending reductions. As a last resort, would you favor or oppose modest tax increases to help balance the budget by 2002?

a. Favor modest tax increases ..... 39%
b. Oppose modest tax increases ..... 57%
c. Not sure/don't know ..... 4%

## TOP OF THE AGENDA

Which of these issues is THE most important to American business?

1. Balancing the federal budget ..... 31%
2. Improving the U.S. educational system ..... 28%
3. Helping to make U.S. companies more competitive globally ..... 17%
4. Cutting taxes ..... 9%
5. Fighting crime and drugs ..... 6%
6. Reforming the welfare system ..... 5%
7. Providing guaranteed health care for all Americans ..... 1%
8. Reforming campaign finance laws ..... 0%
9. Not sure/don't know ..... 3%

## NO TIME FOR TAX CUTS

Which do you think is more important—balancing the federal budget or cutting taxes for business and individuals?

a. Balancing the federal budget ..... 79%
b. Cutting taxes for business and individuals ..... 19%
c. Not sure/don't know ..... 2%

## YE OF LITTLE FAITH

All in all, do you think the federal budget will be balanced by 2002 or not?

a. Will be balanced ..... 11%
b. Will not be balanced ..... 86%
c. Not sure/don't know ..... 3%

Edited by Michele Galen

Survey of 408 senior executives at corporations drawn from the BUSINESS WEEK 1000. Interviews were conducted May 19-23, 1995 for BUSINESS WEEK by Louis Harris & Associates. Results should be accurate to within 4.9 percentage points.

...RIO MENA/BW

USA TODAY OCT 31 1995 13A

# Corporate welfare lives

## As deficit shrinks lobbyists pull strings

The Corporate Welfare Kings of K Street — the lobbyists who throng Capitol Hill "buying loopholes" — are still calling the Washington shots.

The budget-and-tax package now muscling through Congress, which they have privately blessed, can fairly be described as a fiscal Halloween special: tricks on the elderly, the working poor, college kids and many others, but candy corn treats and chocolate kisses for the Washington lobbyists and tax-code banditi who command 24-carat retainers and 24-hour access to the House Ways and Means and Senate Finance committees.

A century ago, U.S. Sen. Roscoe Conkling, a famous Washington spoilsman, remade Dr. Samuel Johnson's famous quip, saying that those who called patriotism the last refuge of scoundrels had never reckoned with the possibilities of "reform." Now "deficit reduction" has become a comparable opportunity.

COMMENTARY
By Kevin Phillips

It didn't start out that way. Back in the spring, the media were buzzing about "corporate welfare" — America's trillion-dollar-a-decade web of federal subsidies, tax loopholes and tax credits — being towed onto the deficit firing range. Major think-tanks like the Cato Institute and the Progressive Policy Institute detailed how some $250 billion could be trimmed over five years. Ralph Nader's Public Citizen group published its own angry set of price tags. Then in May, Senate Democrats offered a congressional budget alternative, quickly beaten, that would have scrapped half of the Republican-proposed cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, making up that money with a gutsy new provision: a cap limiting the growth of tax entitlements for the wealthy and for corporations to just 1% above the inflation rate.

The careful reader has already said, "Hold on. Is the tax-break pipeline that big?" Yes, because tax expenditures or entitlements have become the third-fastest-growing part of the federal budget, and this spring's Senate Republican budget expanded them another 35% — for a total exceeding $4 trillion over the next seven years. Two of this year's sweetest special-interest sugar plums — a bigger capital gains exclusion for investors and abolition of the corporate alternative minimum tax — by themselves add $40 billion to the budget through 2002. By comparison, flagrant 1995 corporate welfare like the ethanol subsidy and tax breaks like the new one for electric and gas utilities are the political equivalent of petty larceny. The mega-billion corporate tax escape hatches, from tax credits for multinationals to superspeed write-offs of equipment, retired the Golden Fleece Award years ago. So Democrats could be right in saying that slapping a cap on these goodies could raise $228 billion over seven years and enable smaller cuts in Medicare and education.

This number is only an estimate, but it's plausible enough. A poll of ordinary voters would probably give this change 80% support, especially after they knew the lurid whys and wherefores. In September, Colin Powell criticized the "welfare kings on K Street," who are securing and then protecting federal tax preferences for their corporate and upper-bracket clients. Powell cited former Senate Finance Committee Chairman Bob Packwood's diary which recounted how they handed out tax breaks to favored lobbyists who used to work for him.

By Tim Brinton

To add injury to insult, the cost of these subsidies and tax breaks — the dollars that corporations aren't paying — has to be made up by Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer. Which underscores the hypocrisy of this year's lobbyist-blessed deficit reduction. Walloping Grandma's health care is okay, but don't touch the tax entitlements crafted for business and finance. Labor Secretary Robert Reich put another dart in the bull's-eye last spring when he said that "there's a direct connection between unwarranted tax breaks and the problems that we have in our current system of campaign finance and lobbying. Ninety percent of (corporate welfare), if not 100%, is a result of lobbying and campaign donations by particular companies and industries."

This game goes on. Two weeks ago, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., the poster boy of dubious congressional ethics, convened a special meeting of 150 lobbyists in a windowless Capitol basement: Don't worry fellas, your stuff is still okay.

If the current budget moving through Congress could be toughened even by a timid cap on corporate entitlements, serious and fair fiscal progress would become possible. There is, of course, a slight problem: like barring the lobbyists from Capitol Hill, prying their hooks out of the deficit-reduction movement and then picking their pigeon-droppings out of the Internal Revenue Code. Ah, well, nobody ever said that life — or honest budget policy — was easy.

*Kevin Phillips is editor-publisher of the American Political Report.*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11.2.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Update on NGA Executive Committee Meeting -- Medicaid.** By Emily Bromberg, via Erskine. At bi-partisan NGA meeting in Cincinnati, most GOP governors voiced opposition to block-grant approach, recognizing it would be harmful to their states. Gov. Carlson (lead GOP Governor on Medicaid) asked whether they would allow themselves to be rolled by GOP leaders in Washington; Voinovich reported to have said block grants scare him; Carlson and Edgar were dissatisfied with distribution formula; not a single GOP governor voiced opposition to a per-capita cap Medicaid approach. GOP Governors acknowledged overall Medicaid cut has to decrease from $180 billion. Democratic Governors and staff say our state-by-state analyses, Cabinet travel and regional media are making a difference. They asked that Alice do letter to state budget officers outlining funding losses by state. These updates will continue.

(B) **Myers memo on welfare reform, the budget and women.** Forwarded by Harold. Betsy reports women leaders are concerned that women seem marginal to both debates on welfare and the budget. They believe the White House message fails to differentiate us from the Republicans and are dismayed that you would sign Senate bill in its current form. Betsy recommends that you highlight four areas that differentiate you from the GOP -- education and training, child care, EITC and violence against women -- and, absent a veto, at least use these issues as a "line in the sand" to insist on nothing less than the Senate bill. Betsy also recommends that you meet with women leaders to hear their concerns, as you did on affirmative action.

(C) **Tobacco update.** From Jennifer O'Connor via Harold. HHS is running a tobacco "war room". Highlights: 1) Outreach - 110 organizations have signed letter supporting the proposed regulation; 2) Legislative - Helms introduced a companion bill to Funderburk's prohibiting the regulation of tobacco products or their advertising at NASCAR races; 3) Media - Recent news stories indicated that Brown & Williamson considered and then rejected entering the nicotine patch business; RJR Nabisco is firing 575 employees from its Winston Salem offices; 4) Legal - HHS/FDA have extended the comment period on the regulation until January 2, 1996; 5) Intergovernmental - Draft resolution supporting the President's tobacco initiative distributed to Democratic and supportive Republican state legislators, Democratic County Executives, Presidents of Conference of Mayors and League of Cities.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-2-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

23 October 1995

95 OCT 27 P5:22

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
BETSY MYERS

FROM: Harold Ickes

SUBJECT: Welfare reform and women

Attached is a self-explanatory 22 September 1995 memorandum to Leon, et al. from Betsy Myers regarding the correlation between welfare reform, the budget and women. Betsy has spent considerable time recently meeting with women leaders who are very concerned about the welfare bills moving through the Congress.

September 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA
HAROLD ICKES
ERSKINE BOWLES
DOUG SOSNICK
ALEXIS HERMAN

FROM: BETSY MYERS

RE: THE CORRELATION BETWEEN WELFARE REFORM, THE BUDGET AND WOMEN.

---

Over the past several days, my staff and I have met with women leaders and women's organizations in Boston, New York and Washington. In all of these, the women expressed anger that women seem marginal to the welfare reform and budget debate.

The Vice President also heard women leaders express concern about welfare reform and other cuts to entitlements in his meetings with women leaders in Albuquerque on September 20 and San Francisco on September 21.

The issues were best crystallized during the meeting I held on September 21 with the women's grassroots and provider organizations that have been working on welfare reform. All expressed the view that the White House message on welfare and the budget fails to differentiate the White House from the Republicans.

The belief was asserted that the national groups will be unable to galvanize women voters if the White House has failed to delineate their concerns. They expressed frustration and dismay at the President that he would sign the Senate bill in its current form without: (1) a strong safety net; (2) adequate education and job training opportunities to permanently move women from welfare to work; and (3) child care guarantees -- **especially absent assurances for sufficient funding in the budget for these programs.**

I recommend that the White House take the opportunity presented by the welfare reform and budget debate to let women know the President is committed to them. The President's budget priorities actually reflect such a commitment. There are four areas of intersection between welfare reform and the budget that differentiate the President from the Republicans and highlight what is absent from the Senate bill: (1) education and job training; (2) child care; (3) the Earned Income Tax Credit; and (4) violence against women.

Absent a Presidential veto, the President should use these key issues, as *a line in the sand*, to justify accepting nothing less than the Senate version of the bill and to support the President's budget.

Women in this country need to know that the President cares about them and hears their concerns. The White House must demonstrate that it knows the welfare reform and budget debates are inextricably linked to women. Further, this link affords a unique opportunity for a fully integrated message that resonates with women on welfare reform, the budget and Medicare/Medicaid. To this end, we believe that it is essential that the President meet with leaders of the women's community to hear their concerns, much as he did during the Affirmative Action debate.

This is an historic moment and the female '92 electoral base is listening.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-3-95

95 NOV 2 P8:57

November 2, 1995

Jocelyn Jolley --

Per POTUS' note,
Pls prepare thanks
notes to the
Senators.

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM:** **ERSKINE BOWLES**
**LAURA TYSON**
**GENE SPERLING**
**THE BUDGET WORKING GROUP**

**SUBJECT:** **Budget Working Group Report For November 2, 1995**

- **Rapid Response to House Vote on Environmental Riders.** At this morning's Working Group meeting, it was decided that a rapid-response statement from you should be released in the event that the House voted to eliminate the special interest environmental riders. Ten minutes after the vote, Mike McCurry released your statement on environmental riders.

  The *AP wires* ran a quote from your statement, saying, the riders are "a step in the right direction" but the Republican budget "still dismantles vital protections to keep our nation healthy, safe and secure.''

- **Direct Lending.** Secretary Riley's press conference today with Senators Biden, Harkin, Kennedy, Levin, Murray, Robb, and Simon was well attended by the media, including *AP*, *Gannett*, *McNeil-Lehrer*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. The Secretary stated that "Partisan politics and special interests are winning out over common sense and the best interests of students, schools and taxpayers."

  The Secretary concluded by reading from a letter from you to him where you explicitly directed Congress not to "send me a bill that limits the ability of schools to choose whether to be in Direct Lending."

  The AP wires quoted from your letter: "Those who propose to end direct lending are putting the interests of middlemen and special interests above the interests of students."

- **Medicaid Reporters Briefing.** Chris Jennings and Admin. Bruce Vladeck of HCFA held a press roundtable today attended by wire services, trades, and national press (see attached list). Points emphasized include the changes in the GOP state-by-state medicaid formula, nursing home reforms, and spousal impoverishment.

- **Health Care Radio.** Chris Jennings was interviewed today during the morning drive-time on 7 radio stations, including the number one talk stations in Manchester, New Hampshire, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Dayton, Ohio.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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**For Immediate Release** **November 2, 1995**

## STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT ON ENVIRONMENTAL RIDERS

Today's vote on the 17 special interest environmental riders is a step in the right direction, but we still have a long way to go if we are to stop Congress' assault on public health and the environment.

Even with the elimination of the riders, the Republican budget still dismantles vital protections that keep our nation healthy, safe, and secure. It still cuts funding for enforcement of environmental laws in half. America cannot protect the environment if we gut enforcement of anti-pollution laws.

As important as today's vote was, Congress' responsibility does not end here. Now, Congressional Republicans must take the next steps and change their bill to fully protect public health and the environment. As we balance the budget in the interest of our children, we must not leave them a world that is more polluted and less livable.

30-30-30

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1995

The Honorable Richard W. Riley
Secretary of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

Dear Secretary Riley:

As the Congress moves to Conference on reconciliation, I wanted to reaffirm to you my position on Direct Lending.

I strongly oppose the Congressional majority's efforts to eliminate or cap the Direct Lending program.

Our goal should be to do everything in our power to promote opportunity for all Americans by making it more feasible for more families and students to realize the dream of a college education.

Direct Lending works to promote the goal of opportunity. This program is already saving taxpayers billions of dollars, while getting college students their funds faster, with less government red tape, better services, and less administrative costs for colleges and universities. By allowing students to pay back their loans as a small percentage of income over time, the Direct Lending program also allows students to choose the occupation of their choice and improves their ability to repay the money they borrow and cut the default rate.

Those who propose to end Direct Lending are putting the interests of middlemen and special interests above the interests of students. The best solution to the current dispute is for us in Washington to give schools across the nation the freedom to choose the student lending program that works best for them. We should let the market work by letting the consumer decide.

Every school should have the option to join Direct Lending. Let's not take that choice away by Congressional mandate. So let me be clear to Congress: do not send me a bill that limits the ability of schools to choose whether to be in Direct Lending.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton