



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

95 NOV 18 All : 27

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

Date _____
To: Name President Clinton
Firm _____
City _____
Telecopier# _____
From: Name Bart Gordon
(phone: 202-225-4231 fax: 202-225-6887)
Pages 3 (including this cover sheet)

11-18-95

from oval -

Send to Griffin

OR
RM
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This facsimile
intended only for the person(s) to whom it is addressed. Do not
read, copy or disseminate this information unless you are the
addressee (or the person responsible for delivering it). If you
have received this document in error, please call us immediately at
(202) 225-4231, and return the original to Congressman Bart Gordon,
2201 Rayburn House Building, Washington, DC 20515 via mail. Thank
you.

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Clinton
FROM: Bart Gordon
DATE: 11/17/95
RE: CR Letter

Enclosed is the "Roemer-Upton" letter that is being circulated among moderates. It is my understanding that there are currently 42 Democrats and 35 Republicans on the letter. I think this underscores how you are riding a wave...but that all waves have a crest. It may be time to bring some closure on seven years with scoring closer to your terms and retain your message about achieving a balanced budget in a fair manner.

November 17, 1995

Dear Mr. Speaker:

We are writing to urge you, for the good of the country, to end the budget gridlock and move on to reaching an accord that balances our budget in seven years.

We were disappointed, to say the least, that the Congress and the White House were unable to reach an agreement over the recent Continuing Resolution. As such, we would like you to make a good faith effort to end this current budget impasse.

We recommend beginning work on a new CR based on the traditional formula of funding those programs for which an appropriations measure has not been signed into law at the lower of the House or Senate proposals. Since there are many programs which will be terminated this year, and there continues to be some disagreement between the House, the Senate, and the White House, we recommend that those programs be funded at 75% of their current levels until an appropriation measure dealing with those programs is signed into law. Further, we would support this CR lasting until December 7th.

Because the vast majority of Americans believe it is possible to balance the budget in seven years, and because it is immoral to continue to pile debt onto the shoulders of our children, we also support including in this CR a statutory provision which instructs the President to work with the Congress in agreeing to a seven year balanced budget, without any preconditions. In an effort to ensure that a "smoke and mirrors budget deal" does not occur, both the Congress and the President should agree to submit to allowing the Congressional Budget Office to score this agreement, and to be the final arbitrator on economic assumptions and the cost or savings of various provisions.

We believe that this approach is vitally important to the future of this country. While we may have disagreements on specific provisions, all of us believe that a balanced budget must be reached by 2002 for the sake of our children.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 21, 1995

BILL GALSTON:

Per Erskine Bowles; request,
I am sending you the enclosed
material for the project you
are working on.

Todd Stern

Mailed to:

Mr. Bill Galston
Room 31-11
Van Munching Hall
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20742

Mr. George Stephanopoulos,
Special Assistant to the President,
THE WHITE HOUSE

October 2, 1995

Dear George,

I refer you to my covering note to Ms. Capps in which I suggest President Clinton **collect his major speeches into a book with photos** (and perhaps a CD/cassette for commuters).

Examples include:

- * His speech to black ministers in Memphis.
- * On "Religious Diversity and Tolerance" after vacation on Martha's Vineyard.
- * Speech at Michigan State after OK City.
- * Speech to UN a couple of years ago (his first one, I think).
- * Several other excellent articulations.

Maybe 10 speeches max, gems, interspersed with engaging candid photos of Mr. Clinton (samples attached). Lightly edited (Hillary?)

Suggested title: **TOGETHER WE CAN DO IT**

Appearing in three versions:

- * Well-produced coffee-table book.
- * High-quality paperback.
- * Low-cost Xerox/offset for campaign tables.

Launch it with a "We Are the World" feeling, like a rock benefit, maybe an outdoor jazz concert where President Clinton plays a great sax and gives a great speech. T-shirts, caps, mugs, the whole thing.

Sales profits from all products with the logo "Together We Can Do It" go toward reduction of the national debt. A PR coup which will embarrass Gingrich/Murdoch and even Powell.

The work's been done. It just needs collecting. A lot of his speeches nobody's ever heard, never mind read in full. They weren't covered except in snippets. It's an end run around the media that could be informative for the public. It's an end run around Republican glibness and propaganda.

There are two public services here: the educational value of the speeches themselves and the reduction of the national debt. Politically, it makes the President look Presidential (great words) while also human (great photos). And it's a terrific campaign slogan.

As I mentioned to Ms. Capps, I'm available as a volunteer to provide input & ghost-writing on speeches to be given by prominent social figures at fundraising dinners & events. I attach a recent *LA Times* letter and some excerpts from online postings to give you a sense of how I see President Clinton and how I write about him.

Sincerely,



Jane Wardlow Prettyman

2755 Vernon Road, Santa Barbara CA 93105
(805) 682-1920 days (805) 687-6202 home/msgs.

SAX 96 @ aol.com

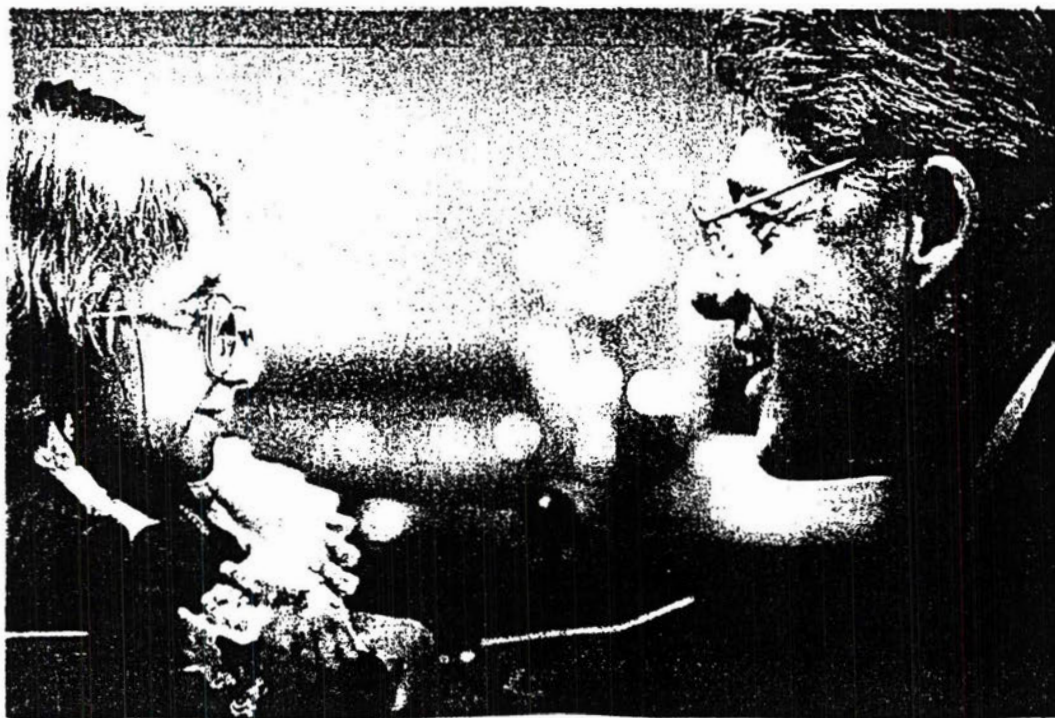
Former associate editor at (the old) *Esquire* Magazine

TOGETHER WE CAN DO IT



Major Speeches of President Bill Clinton
1992-1995







Los Angeles Times

THURSDAY, JULY 27, 1995 ★

Letters to The Times

Clinton's Leadership Style

■ I object to the interpretive "news analysis" by Times staff writer Paul Richter on President Clinton's decision-making style (July 15).

On the other side of the story, Richter fails to ask whether the perception of Clinton's "weakness" is a cheap-shot absurdity. Hardly a phrase in Richter's article gave real credit to the importance of taking time to make decisions and to consider all options and arguments. These are strengths in my view, rare qualities among recent Presidents. Reagan made fast, honest, sentimental decisions (about the Contras, for example) that were trusted but were wrong and/or illegal. Clinton's style is a new model of thinking for a new world that needs the deepest, broadest, best-considered thinking we can get.

You try it sometime. Pretend you're Bill Clinton waking up in the morning and going to work. You'd want to go back to sleep. Clinton pulls all-nighters. The least we can do is bring him a Big Mac at 4 o'clock in the morning.

JANE WARDLOW PRETTYMAN
Santa Barbara

■ The selection of five instances of so-called "tortured decision-making" should have been balanced with instances of non-tortured decision-making, e.g., Haiti, NAFTA, GATT, the Mexican peso crisis, the Japanese Trade Agreement. Not one was mentioned. Is this fairness? Is this a new literary genre taught in departments of journalism?

JOSEPH A. GRISPINO
Lake San Marcos

■ "Key Clinton Supporters Switch to Dole" (July 21) tells how Don Tyson of Tyson Foods has turned his campaign donation support to Bob Dole and Phil Gramm after supporting Bill Clinton in 1992. In another paper the same day, a front-page article told of how Dole was resigned to defeat in his food industry deregulation bill but vowed to bring it up again next year (as a campaign issue). I wonder how much (in campaign contributions) it costs to buy deregulation.

For the second time, first when Clinton

was governor, Tyson Foods found that its campaign contributions cannot compromise the ethics of Bill Clinton. So it chose to support someone who will be more sympathetic to industry no matter how it affects the health of the people.

BILL GORBACK
Thousand Oaks

■ Dole is leading Republican efforts to dismantle portions of the Clean Air and Water acts, and various EPA regulations. Tyson Foods discharges chicken wastes into nearby waterways. Clinton, meanwhile, is fighting to uphold environmental safeguards and upgrade meat and poultry inspections. I was surprised the writer failed to see the connection.

BOB BATH
Mission Viejo

■ The Times on July 13 reported that the Republican National Committee is seeking to diminish the stature of President Clinton by refusing to accord him the title of "Mr. President."

Another news story reported that the Republicans have targeted women, blacks and Jews on a criminal-type "wanted" poster.

Hmm. It appears that the GOP is against Democrats, against women, against blacks and against Jews. Shades of South Africa?

ROSEMARY QUESADA-WEINER
Temple City

SAX 96

Excerpts from online postings by Jane Wardlow Prettyman

10-1-95

I hear your point about President Clinton's minority polling numbers and the 43% thing.

But I think we need to remember it wasn't just a matter of an underwhelming 43% of the popular vote in 1992, but the overwhelming Electoral vote that elected Clinton President . That means the cities and all those places where a lot of people live who will be suffering the slings and arrows of an outrageous Republican Congress. And they're not just lazy dishonest poor people, either. They're honest hard-working poor people and young stockbrokers and suburban housewives of the middle class, driving in and out of the city on highways that are crumbling. The cities are important in the soul of the nation because they remind us that we all live together. The cities contain the public memory. They remind us that we are a community of persons. They remind us that we must take care of the basic infrastructure and quality of life of the whole society if we are to take care of ourselves. Perhaps there needs to be a Town Party.

The view that subtracts the cities and towns is the same view that looks only to the popular vote without considering the weighted Electoral mandate of attending to the needs of highly populated urban centers so important to our production and commerce. It is curious to me that the Republican Party has come to stand for the interests of business, yet the Republican view today neglects the

centers of business by neglecting the quality of life of those who do the work of business in that particular town.

Some of us have been lulled away from respect for President Clinton by snide little criticisms and backhanded insults generated by his political opposition. These are picked up and played to the hilt by conflict-oriented news media who offer their own insults in "attitude writing" to boost sales and ratings. Amid all this, we are longing for what we already have. Powell's appeal tells us how out of touch we are with the reality of Clinton's accomplishments and even his character. Clinton has become a good President, even if some of us bit our nails when we first voted for him and sweated bullets over all that stupid Whitewater stuff. My nails are growing out now. But knowing Jim Leach and Al D'Amato, I'm sure there are a couple of bullets left to sweat.

As for the two- or three-way arrangement in the 96 Presidential election, with only two candidates, voters will have to choose or stay out. This will work in President Clinton's favor. Those who are borderline about him will look around, see the hounds of hell coming out of Congress, look back at Bill and give him the benefit of the doubt.

The three-way play worked in 1992 for special reasons unique to that election that do not exist today. The true benefit of third candidate Perot to Clinton in 1992 was that Perot put "change" on the front burner and made Bush look antiquated, static, status quo. Perot legitimized Clinton's rhetoric of action and change. He put the domestic economy up front, highlighting Bush's neglect of the economy. In his down-home "I'm Crazy" way, Perot put people first, just as Clinton was "Putting People First" on paper. Perot connected a lightweight Clinton to America and gave him body. He scared people a bit with his dire warnings, giving Clinton cover to utter a few straight truths himself, otherwise risky for a politician. I believe Perot's catalytic effect made Clinton suddenly a real force in the public's perception and, in this way, made a difference in 1992.

In the 96 election, Colin Powell's shadow candidacy (which I believe will ultimately be nothing more than that--this time around) is serving a similar function, not for legitimatizing change but for carrying the public's projected aspirations. He is somewhat media-made in this regard, but Powell represents the wish for rock-solid calmness and reasonableness amid a harshly polarized political process and too much ill-considered change too fast under the "New Republican" Congress. Even worse, back on the Reality Ranch, despite generally good news for business economy, on the labor front there is an underlying occupational anxiety about pink slips and the "social fabric" seems to be unraveling thread by thread.

Ironically, we've come this far with change under Bill Clinton (who has handled change fairly gracefully and moderately), only to harken back now for stability in a military man, an Ike-like figure. Is it because a military man always has a job, a steady routine and is unlikely to get mugged? This is a natural but illusory nostalgia, the longing for a good strong father. Generals have often come to civilian power after great periods of upheaval. This is important to look at, the way we would analyze a dream. But I don't think the Powell-projection is Presidential this time around. We've already got most of the best of him in Bill Clinton.

The more we hear about Powell's actual views (he thinks the Contract with America is harsh; he hears racist overtones in the rhetoric of some GOP candidates; he thinks people should pray at home; he believes in affirmative action, pro-choice, and selective gun-controls, etc), Powell's ultimate effect may well be to legitimize President Clinton.

How embarrassing for the naysayers to find out they've fallen in love with the one they're with.

In 1996, without the need for the role Perot played in 92, an actual third candidate and independent party will not help Clinton but hurt him. If Powell is sincere in his views and holds them dearly, his best bet is to stay out of the race, support Clinton, and become Clinton's Secretary of State in the next term.

SAX 96@aol.com

Drop me a post next time you're online.

(805) 682-1920 days

Available for speechwriting for
Clinton campaign fundraising dinners,
rallies, etc by political operatives.
NO CHARGE.

WE ARE THE MEDIA

We complain about media politics but as media consumers, we are the media and we play a role in what we get. We watch our news the same way we watch fictional TV episodes or read short stories. At the end of each mini-drama, we erase our memory tapes to be ready for the implantation of a new set of storied impressions.

For example, Bill Clinton, who is by no means the perfect president, started the ball rolling on deficit reduction, fair tax cuts, and several other reforms. So, whether we like Clinton or not, what "metoism" are we talking about?

By being compared to the "boldness" of Newt Gingrich and by being reported as "following" when in fact he was leading for two years, President Clinton loses appeal as a media hero. This is a term defined by Roone Arledge, the gentleman who created the money-making graphic-pizzazz machine of ABC Sports and then took over ABC News in the smoothest lateral transfer in business history. If we understand Joseph Campbell's "Hero with a Thousand Faces," the ability to change one's mind — that hated Clintonian trait — is considered a necessary strength in the hero's journey. In the media-political version of the legend, flexible strength is called "waffling." This is a form of junky thinking that I call dyeducation.

The other side of Clinton's story is worth considering. We could have a drama just as exciting and just as commercially successful as "build-up/tear-down." We could follow the drama of an evolving leader, suspending our disbelief that effective modern leaders can and do "evolve" and, indeed, must be flexible. Yet, as UC Davis sociologist Jennifer Reich has noted — and the media has adopted as their official second-guess — in today's era of anxious change, people want a decisive leader rather than a thoughtful one.

Perhaps, reasons the media, we find a flexible/thoughtful president frightening. This sounds like a good story — and the media could be wrong. Are we being dyeducated as we speak to ourselves through our media feedback loop? Instead of true heroes, we are creating pathetic figures and stories about "weakness." Media commentators convince us that we feel impotent in the economy, on the street, in our lives. We demand no fullness, we are satisfied with too little, and we wonder why our lives feel vaguely empty.

Perhaps this is where the debate about "violence and media" should start. Do violence emerge, in part, out of anger and boredom with our limited view of heroes?

Whether we like him or not, Clinton kept every major promise made in his campaign document "Putting People First." Yet, as Jacob Weisberg noted in Sept. 5, 1994 New York magazine, most Americans don't know this fact because many of his accomplishments lacked political conflict. This means we didn't give them attention, so the media weren't interested in covering them at length. The Crime Bill offered excitement because it contained gun controls. When defeated on the first round, the Minneapolis Star-Tribune pumped the drama with a headline "Armageddon for Clinton?" Everybody remembers that one.

In the Republican set-up to use health insurance reform as a means to tar Clinton as "big government," his plan was distorted as "socialized medicine" by Rush Limbaugh and as "massive bureaucracy" by Harry and Louise for the insurance companies. Yet U. of Penn. Professor Kathleen Hall Jamieson noted the "massive bureaucracy" was mostly the red tape of the insurance companies themselves which the Clinton plan would cut. Health insurance had a lot of debatable turkey aspects but it wasn't debated. It was propagandized.

Whitewater has been a dream come true for boy-detective "investigative" reporters who imagine themselves the discoverers of the next Watergate. Yet Gene Lyons in October 1994 Harper's does a convincing analysis of "How the New York Times Got Whitewater Wrong" and planted false impressions that remain to this day. This media-on-media story has not spread far in the media, who are like doctors who won't say bad things about other doctors.

After waiting three years to make a peep, Paula Jones milked her less-than-credible allegation of sexual harassment on the Religious Right talk-show circuit where the ratings were huge. After Ms. Jones' interview with the Moral Majority's Jerry Falwell, in which she described every lurid detail, Falwell stated, "We were about to walk away from this thing, but multitudes are telling me, 'Jerry, don't quit now.'"

By 1994, Clinton was perceived as damaged goods — whether true or not we don't know. His name became a negative adjective. The media loved the entertainment potential, jumped on the bandwagon of a "GOP revolution after 40 years in the wilderness," and hyped the sales value of that verbal "cartoon" for all it was worth.

There is no death in cartoons. The cartoonish buffoon Jesse Helms can make a good-old-boy's joke threatening the president's life and nobody bats an eye. "Character" is not the issue so much as caricature.

Pandering to the public's love of conflict in order to be entertained — in news as in sports — for the media, a "big fall" means big sales and a president is the biggest fall there is (Time's "Incredible Shrinking President"). As Russell Baker remarked, "The president stands at the center of America's need to be entertained."

I don't just blame the media, although they certainly have their tricks of the trade. I argue that "we are the media." As media consumers, we have to change if we want media to change. We are also politics and what we get is who we put there. The fast-moving interplay between media and politics, however, has become a loose cannon and we're shooting ourselves in both feet.

Jacob Weisberg observed, "Reporters indulge in a self-satisfied mockery that passes for 'edge' and plays into the popu-



lar prejudice that all politicians are scoundrels." This is true across the board, including Time, Newsweek, and The New York Times.

The media are in the middle — and in the way. They do "splitting." This is a technique that artificially enhances dramatic tension by reporting on conflict and "calling the horseshoe" rather than airing debate. Splitting obviously occurs between political parties fairly naturally which are split further by the media. Splitting also occurs between expectations (which the media exaggerates) and the fulfillment of those expectations. "Broken promises"



are a set-up for splitting, jumped on first by political opponents, then amplified by the media, with little discussion of the childish naivete of voters: "Daddy, you promised."

Partisans and media pundits do little to foster adult realism, appealing instead to our zero tolerance for delayed gratification. This splits off into another split between the tangible and the intangible, summarized as "trust."

The term "liberal media" is bandied about, and you'll notice the media seem in no hurry to correct the impression. It serves them well to have the consuming public think they're just a bit political. The image lends the panache of passion which is helpful for sales. The media hardly wish consumers to know their essential cold-bloodedness as makers, not of news, but of money by "selling the news."

Right now, this works to the advantage of the Republicans but I don't think it's a conspiracy. The media are simply reaping the commercial benefits of "attitude writing" about political battles because these — not issues — are what media consumers want to consume. The back offices of the media are full of polltakers, focus groups and market testers, all trying to figure out what we want. It seldom occurs to us to tell them by writing directly to national and local news managers. We are passive rather than interactive with the people who make the media.

If news affects how we think — and it does — consider that our democratic education is being conducted almost entirely through a commercial process. This is not the same thing as using MCI or AT&T, although it is like a telephone game. The Michael Huffington campaign showed us what money and media can do to advance mediocrity to center stage. Other examples include demagogues like North, Perot and Gingrich. These figures are not fascists but their media-political appeal is fascistic. Time calls Gingrich "master" and "conqueror."

A hunger for frank opinion is causing an upsurge of "alternative media" talk-show performers like Rush Limbaugh. They're outrageous. They say what they think. They have "attitude." They appear to be more numerously conservative than liberal, a mystery I haven't figured out; maybe liberals are too serious to get into the swim.

President Clinton, who is criticized by the media for "campaigning," is in fact a popular campaigner. Aside from him, liberal entertainers are way behind the curve. They must improve.

We can't turn all media into non-commercial PBS or NPR. Since the Reagan Administration stripped away the FCC regulations limiting commercials during newscasts, that cat's out of the bag. We can't go back. Politics is for sale inasmuch as cute news about politics sells. The changes to improve the situation start with us, keeping our eyes and minds alert.

I have no answers. I just want to open up the media subject.

But here's a compromise idea: In televised debates, candidates have — up to now — faced the audience (media) rather than faced each other (no media in between). For a twist, why not demand a return to *mano a mano* political combat face to face with no commercial media (or any other) go-betweens? If we insist on political news as sport, let the sport begin!

Jane Wardlow Prettyman is beginning a media watch salon, an informal group that meets to discuss media issues. She may be reached at 966-7004.

*An informal
monthly gathering
to discuss media and
current affairs*

Jane Wardlow Prettyman, Moderator.
Former Editor at (the old) Esquire Magazine,
Founder of "Media Watch" on America Online

Correspondence address:
2755 Vernon Road,
Santa Barbara, CA 93105
(805) 687-6202

A Media Salon



OPEN MIND



Take Mission west off 101
all the way (several blocks) to curve
which takes you left onto
Robbins, right on Pedragosa,
left on Clearview to 1723.

Bring fruit, cheese, bread,
wine if you like.

Refreshments and excellent conversation.
Bring your friends, your ideas, your gripes,
your Sunday paper—or any media artifacts.

For info, call Jane Prettyman
687-6202 home/eves/msgs.
682-1920 work days

NEXT MEETING OF MINDS:

Sunday, Sept. 24

NOON TO 3 P.M. at the home of Tom & Kathryn Van Sant
1723 Clearview Road, Santa Barbara

To: —
—
—

implemented some proposals -- "ability to pay", "de minimis" settlements -- administratively. Federal solution for dry cleaners is possible, but faces problems: (i) would have to preempt state laws; (ii) an alternate financing scheme for cleanup would have to be developed (e.g., fee-based); (iii) not clear that the trade associations would support such proposals. Katie thinks it might be productive to renew discussions with these associations and other interested parties and seeks your guidance on whether to try to do that.

Quinn note on DOJ involvement in AIDS cases. Responds to your question on a recent NYT op-ed. Though DOJ has not participated in any of the 3 AIDS-related Supreme Court cases arising in this Administration, Jack says DOJ has been involved at lower levels -- settling complaints re failure to provide medical or other services to AIDS patients and investigating allegations of discrimination. Jack will encourage DOJ to participate in any new AIDS-related cases that go to the Supreme Court.

(H) **Ron Brown memo on successes of Commerce Advocacy program.** Touts recent \$12.7 billion Boeing sale to Singapore Airlines, bringing aerospace total to near \$30 billion. Civilian successes: Boeing and McDonnell Douglas in Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Taiwan, India and China; Lockheed Martin in Japan. Defense-related: Sikorsky (Turkey, Japan), McDonnell (Netherlands, UK, Malaysia), Hughes and Raytheon (Sweden), Rockwell (Malaysia), Lockheed (Singapore), Rockwell/Allied Signal (Czech Republic), Boeing (UK), Sikorsky/Lockheed (Kuwait). He suggests that you visit the Advocacy Center, which is currently tracking some 400 projects in sectors like energy, infrastructure, telecommunications and the environment. I have sent copies of his memo to Stephanie and Ann.

(I) **Washington Post article on racial tensions.** Via Harold. Based on interviews with ordinary people. Underscores increasing racial tensions and diverging black/white views. E.g., whites see breakup of black family as main cause of black economic and social problems; blacks see this as only one factor together with discrimination, lack of opportunities, and sense that whites don't want blacks to get ahead.

(J) **Foglietta Dear Colleague supporting you on CR.** From Pat.

(K) **USA TODAY Clip on high school drug testing.** From Rahm. Quotes Lee Brown saying testing is a good tool, though no panacea.

*Noty
Suz - 1 shown*

*11/20
original G. f. n.
memo + the
Foglietta letter
(ccops only)
sent to
Daly
Saw*

*Agree
uncertain
have in
body called
2 weeks - 7
do let me know
if to
Foglia Branch*

*OU
Pat*

*XAXA
good idea
Jim*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1995

95 NOV 16 P2:30

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ~~PRESIDENT~~

FROM: PATRICK J. GRIFFIN 

SUBJECT: Letter from Representative Foglietta

Attached for your information is a Dear Colleague letter written by Representative Foglietta supporting your position on the Continuing Resolution.

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

November 16, 1995

PLEASE RESPOND TO:
☐ 341 CANNON BLDG.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-3901
(202) 225-4731
☐ WILLIAM J. GREEN BUILDING
SIXTH AND ARCH STREETS
ROOM 10402
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19106-1838
(215) 925-6840
ANTHONY GREEN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT-COUNSEL

How the CR Hurts Cities, Seniors, Most Vulnerable Americans

Dear Colleague:

As Chairman of the Congressional Urban Caucus, I am deeply concerned that the pending continuing resolution is hurtful to the people who live in cities and the most vulnerable people in America. I applaud President Clinton for putting the focus on the implications of the previous CR for senior citizens in raising out-of-pocket costs for Medicare. President Clinton is also right to veto the pending CR because it takes us on the road towards severe cuts and establishes a dangerous precedent for resolving the budget process on a long term basis.

All of us are committed to balancing the budget. Throughout the year, I have joined with my Urban Caucus colleagues to make the case that the budget cutting process has been skewed against cities, against senior citizens, against children, against veterans, against the environment and against America's most vulnerable people. In this short term CR and over the next seven years, the Majority would:

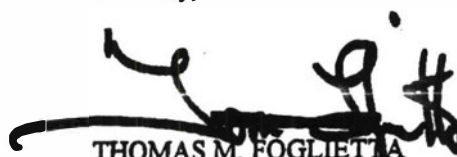
- Increase taxes on poor working class families--people who are trying to stay off welfare--through drastic cuts in the Earned Income Tax Credit;
- Cut taxes for the richest Americans and its wealthiest companies;
- Make no real effort to cut gold-plated subsidies for corporations and agribusiness, when many of us have suggested meaningful ways to cut the budget by getting rid of corporate and farm welfare;
- Increase defense funding by billions more than requested by the Pentagon;
- While cutting subsidies for senior citizens who need help to keep warm in the winter and for children to get a meal in school.

The contradictions and the unfairness of the budget cutting is found in the unprecedented funding formula of the pending CR and the President is right to veto it.

- **It would hurt senior citizens** because it would begin to make deep cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, and would cut the energy assistance program for seniors by 30%, or \$396 million;
- **It would hurt children** because it would cut the Healthy Start infant mortality prevention program from \$100 million to \$60 million;
- **It would hurt veterans** by cutting aid for their medical care by \$500 million;
- **It would hurt people who live in cities** because it would cut HUD's assisted housing program by \$5.48 billion, and by cutting HUD's homeless programs by \$444 million;
- **It would hurt school children** by cutting Title I education funding for disadvantaged communities by \$1.1 billion, or 17%;
- **It would keep young people from going to college** by making school lending much more expensive and kill the national service program with a \$571 million cut to \$6 million.
- **It would jeopardize the environment** by cutting the Superfund program by \$427 million and the safe drinking water revolving loan fund, which would be eliminated, by 40%, by \$280 million.

This CR establishes a dangerous precedent as we begin genuine negotiations to resolve the long term budget crisis. I support President Clinton in his decision to veto the anti-city, anti-senior citizen, anti-children, anti-veteran continuing resolution.

Sincerely,


THOMAS M. FOGLIETTA
Member of Congress

implemented some proposals -- "ability to pay", "de minimis" settlements -- administratively. Federal solution for dry cleaners is possible, but faces problems: (i) would have to preempt state laws; (ii) an alternate financing scheme for cleanup would have to be developed (e.g., fee-based); (iii) not clear that the trade associations would support such proposals. Katie thinks it might be productive to renew discussions with these associations and other interested parties and seeks your guidance on whether to try to do that.

Quinn note on DOJ involvement in AIDS cases. Responds to your question on a recent *NYT* op-ed. Though DOJ has not participated in any of the 3 AIDS-related Supreme Court cases arising in this Administration, Jack says DOJ has been involved at lower levels -- settling complaints re failure to provide medical or other services to AIDS patients and investigating allegations of discrimination. Jack will encourage DOJ to participate in any new AIDS-related cases that go to the Supreme Court.

(H) **Ron Brown memo on successes of Commerce Advocacy program.** Touts recent \$12.7 billion Boeing sale to Singapore Airlines, bringing aerospace total to near \$30 billion. Civilian successes: Boeing and McDonnell Douglas in Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Taiwan, India and China; Lockheed Martin in Japan. Defense-related: Sikorsky (Turkey, Japan), McDonnell (Netherlands, UK, Malaysia), Hughes and Raytheon (Sweden), Rockwell (Malaysia), Lockheed (Singapore), Rockwell/Allied Signal (Czech Republic), Boeing (UK), Sikorsky/Lockheed (Kuwait). He suggests that you visit the Advocacy Center, which is currently tracking some 400 projects in sectors like energy, infrastructure, telecommunications and the environment. I have sent copies of his memo to Stephanie and Ann.

(I) **Washington Post article on racial tensions.** Via Harold. Based on interviews with ordinary people. Underscores increasing racial tensions and diverging black/white views. E.g., whites see breakup of black family as main cause of black economic and social problems; blacks see this as only one factor together with discrimination, lack of opportunities, and sense that whites don't want blacks to get ahead.

(J) **Foglietta Dear Colleague supporting you on CR.** From Pat.

(K) **USA TODAY Clip on high school drug testing.** From Rahm. Quotes Lee Brown saying testing is a good tool, though no panacea.

Boyd - 1/2 shown

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RONALD H. BROWN *RB*

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON RECENT COMMERCIAL SUCCESSES IN THE AEROSPACE
INDUSTRY AND OUR ADVOCACY PROGRAM

Pursuant to my conversation with Erskine Bowles, the following is (1) more detail on the recent triumph by Boeing in Singapore, (2) information on other recent successes in the aerospace sector, and (3) an update on our advocacy program.

Boeing/Singapore Airlines

Today's \$12.7 billion success in Singapore added to the \$16.7 billion in the other successes discussed below equals almost \$30 billion in U.S. aerospace sales abroad. Indeed, the U.S. exports in connection with each of these sales are substantial, as are the more than 400,000 U.S. jobs supported (according to our general rule of thumb that \$1 billion in exports supports about 17,000 person-years).

Earlier today in Singapore, Singapore Airlines (SIA) announced one of the largest airplane purchases by a single firm in history with an order of 77 new Boeing 777-200B passenger planes at a cost of \$12.7 billion, which will support over 200,000 jobs. Boeing beat the European airplane manufacturer Airbus Industrie in the race to win the "firm order" for 34 aircraft to be delivered over the next nine years and an "option" for another 43 aircraft. Six of the firm orders for aircraft and 10 of the options are intended for Singapore Aircraft Leasing Enterprise (SALE), the leasing associate of SIA.

This procurement is particularly timely in view of your visit to Osaka, Japan for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings this weekend. This procurement is a major win for Singapore and the U.S. The planes will help Singapore deploy new aircraft to replace old aircraft in its thriving Asian airline. Building the planes and parts in the U.S. is likely to support over one hundred thousand jobs in the U.S.--either creating new jobs or retaining existing jobs. The Commerce Department has been monitoring this project closely for months. We have been counselling Boeing representatives in Seattle, working with the Transportation Department on certain issues, and working with U.S. Ambassador Timothy Chorba in Singapore, especially in the last few weeks.

Other Aerospace Successes

The Boeing deal in Singapore is only one of many recent export successes in the aerospace industry. Other commercial successes in which we have been involved since our advocacy

95 NOV 14 P6:06

Handwritten notes:
This is great -
I've been
telling you
of our long
history
of success

Handwritten notes:
To Kitty
+ EOB
Stephanie
Ann
(Walley)

program has been established in November 1993 include the following: the final contract signing last month by McDonnell Douglas and Boeing for the \$6 billion Saudia Airlines procurement, South Africa Airways selection of Boeing to supply \$1.3 billion in airplanes for its fleet modernization project, Taiwan's procurement of \$560 million in Boeing airplanes for the fleet modernization of China Airlines, Air India's purchase of two Boeing 747-400 airplanes for about \$330 million, McDonnell Douglas's signing of the \$1.6 billion Trunk Aircraft Project in China, and Lockheed Martin's Atlas IIA Launch Service for \$100 million in Japan. Each of these deals supports thousands of jobs, and collectively over 150,000 jobs, in the U.S.

In addition, the Commerce Department, working with other U.S. Government agencies in the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee (TPCC), has helped a number of aerospace companies win contracts for procurements by foreign ministries of defense. These procurements include the following: Sikorsky's \$150 million marine helicopter procurement in Turkey and its \$12 million helicopter procurement in Japan, McDonnell Douglas's attack helicopters sales in the Netherlands for \$900 million and in the United Kingdom for \$3 billion and its sale of \$80 million in F-18 fighters in Malaysia, Hughes's and Raytheon's sales of \$50 million and \$80 million of Amraam missiles in Sweden, Rockwell's \$50 million in Avionics subsystems for MIG 29s in Malaysia, Lockheed Martin's \$1.2 billion sale of F-16s in Singapore, Rockwell's and Allied Signal's \$200 million sale of L-39 aircraft upgrade in the Czech Republic, Boeing's sale of \$600 million in Chinook helicopters in the United Kingdom, and Sikorsky's and Lockheed-Martin's sale of \$460 million in Blackhawk Helicopters in Kuwait.

Our Advocacy Program

These deals demonstrate clearly that the Administration working in partnership with the private sector has been exceptionally effective in helping companies win contracts in the global marketplace, while creating economic prosperity and jobs in the U.S. In fact, since we established our advocacy program in November 1993, we have helped companies sign business agreements for over 120 projects valued at over \$57 billion in the Big Emerging Markets of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Europe, and other growing markets around the world. These projects benefit small and mid-sized businesses both as subcontractors on the big projects and directly with about \$3 billion worth of advocacy projects having gone directly to small businesses in the last 18 months.

In addition to following up on each of these deals to make sure that the benefits to the U.S. are secured, our Advocacy Center at the Commerce Department is tracking over 400 other projects around the world where U.S. companies have asked us for

3

our support. These 400 projects are collectively valued in excess of \$150 billion (with about \$75 billion in U.S. export value) and fall primarily within the following sectors: energy, transportation infrastructure, telecommunications, environment and aerospace. Among these 400 projects, we expect that major decisions may be made on about 60 projects valued at about \$20 billion (half of which is U.S. export content) within the next six months or so.

However, I feel that we have only scratched the surface. As we move into 1996, we intend to dramatically strengthen and expand our advocacy program at the Commerce Department. We expect to double the size of our Advocacy Center, update our computer systems for managing our database of projects, improve our on-line reporting system, expand participation of other USG agencies in the daily operations of the Center, explore ways we can closely coordinate our USG financing support for these major deals, and increase our sophistication in effective means to further the interests of U.S. companies abroad.

We would, of course, be pleased to have you visit the Department of Commerce's Advocacy Center and provide any further briefing you would find useful. Indeed, we could build an event around your visit announcing recent successes and the program's expansion. We will be in touch with your schedulers on this proposal.

As Chairman of the TPCC, I will continue to work with the other 18 member-agencies to develop new strategies, which help U.S. exporters win their battles in the global marketplace.

politicization, but we argue this trigger is necessary to protect against groundless, political charges (e.g., vs. U.S. military, or for "Israeli war crimes"). Tony says we will find appropriate opportunities to reinforce your support for the Court.

(D) **Stiglitz memo on household debt.** Household debt has grown rapidly this year, which could lead to decreased spending as consumers face paying off their debt. So far, households are managing without much strain -- delinquency rates on home mortgages, consumer loans and credit card loans are up a bit, but well below peaks of 1980s and early '90s. However, the following developments warrant monitoring: debt service as a percentage of income is up sharply; personal bankruptcy filings rose in the first half of this year, after going down for three years; 1994 mortgages are delinquent at 1.5 times the rate of 1993 mortgages; OCC believes banks have lowered their standards for making consumer loans; banks appear to have lowered their lending standards in the intensely competitive credit card business -- the credit available to consumers on bank-issued credit cards is way up this year.

(E) **John Young (PCAST) letter on academic health centers.** Young emphasizes great importance of academic health centers (AHCs) for research, education and care of the indigent and uninsured. Very worried that proposed cuts in Medicare, Medicaid and Disproportionate Share expenditures, plus erosion of clinical revenues resulting from shift toward managed care could have devastating impact. A PCAST health panel has concluded: (i) responsibility for supporting the mission of AHCs rests too much on federal government and should be shared more broadly; (ii) AHCs' disproportionate responsibility for indigent/uninsured will increase given current trends in medical marketplace; (iii) current climate of heated debate is not conducive to resolving these issues. Thus PCAST recommends: (a) appoint expert commission to make recommendations for preserving research and educational capacity of AHCs; (b) in interim, resist disproportionate decrease in Graduate Medical Education accounts; (c) provide adequate resources for AHCs to care for indigent/uninsured.

Jennifer
Klein
11/20/95
S.

John Young (PCAST) letter on 4th plenary session. Reviews PCAST activities in its first year: reports on U.S.-Russian cooperation re protecting nuclear materials, U.S. Fusion Energy R&D program, Statement of principles on Science and Technology policy; op-eds and letters to editor; meetings with Hill; informal consultations with Administration. Two key questions guide Committee for future: (i) how can federal government protect and enhance nation's research enterprise, especially university network; (ii) how can federal government best manage its R&D programs in face of shrinking budgets. Young urges you to continue stressing importance of investing in science/technology and education and to embrace PCAST's Science and Technology principles. Young says direct contacts with you and VP have been very helpful and hopes to meet with you again, perhaps at March 7-8 PCAST meeting. I have sent a copy of this letter to Stephanie and Ann.

(F) **McGinty note on Superfund and dry cleaners.** Response to your note on *Newsweek* article by woman whose mother was hurt by costs of cleaning up toxic wastes generated by her dry cleaning business. Katie points out that this cleanup was required under Oregon, not federal, law. Your Superfund bill would have ensured that small businesses either wouldn't be liable or could settle quickly. EPA has

12-14
Big Issue - we need
to discuss esp. in terms
of their rec _____
Budget Strategy

Todd nor Phil
could market
S.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE OF ADVISORS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

November 8, 1995

95 NOV 14 PM 2:28

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Big vision - we need to discuss in terms of their interests
Leon/ER/Case

The significant accomplishments in American biomedical research and our innovations in medical care are widely respected throughout the country and, indeed, the world. These achievements have occurred primarily at our Nation's academic health centers. Since World War II, the Federal government has played a vital role in the support of academic health centers and has done so on a bipartisan basis.

Your Administration's 1994 health care reform plan acknowledged the important contribution to our quality of life made by academic health centers and provided a mechanism to mitigate the loss of significant revenue that these institutions are now experiencing. In the absence of comprehensive health care reform, academic health centers are beginning to show signs of serious stress. Although they represent only six percent of the Nation's non-Federal acute care hospitals, these institutions provide more than half of the care for the indigent and uninsured populations. The prospect of sharp reductions in Medicare, Medicaid, and Disproportionate Share (DSH) expenditures, coupled with the erosion of clinical revenues resulting from the emergence of managed care, could have a devastating impact on the Nation's capacity to support medical research and education and the system that provides medical care to its most vulnerable citizens.

Academic health centers develop the biomedical knowledge and clinical techniques needed for new and improved treatments, train the Nation's physicians and provide unique patient care resources. In the long term, biomedical research conducted in these centers offers our citizens the best potential to enhance their quality of life and control medical expenditures with cost-effective methods for disease prevention and management.

Historically, the Federal government has assumed responsibility for a majority of the support for fundamental biomedical research and graduate medical education as a public investment that contributes broadly to the health of Americans. In 1995, the Federal investment in academic health centers for biomedical research and education was about one percent of total health care expenditures. Measured by any standard, this very modest rate of investment in an area of extraordinarily rapid advancement in knowledge and technology has had a remarkable yield. In addition, the Federal government provides, through the Medicaid and DSH programs, significant support for low-income patient care delivered in academic health centers.

Clinical revenues derived from medical practice programs conducted by the faculty of academic health centers have been another very significant source of funds for these programs of research, education and indigent care. Current changes in the health care system, including Medicare and Medicaid reform, driven by Federal and State fiscal concerns and the emergence of managed care, also threaten to eliminate this critical support for biomedical research and medical education.

We recognize the need to slow the rate of growth in health care costs and endorse efforts to address this need. Both public and private elements of the health care system need to be carefully examined and restructured to enhance medical efficacy and cost-effectiveness. However, it is also essential that in this process, the crucial public benefits that are contributed uniquely by academic health centers be recognized, and that their continued strength remain an important priority in the ongoing health care debate.

A panel of your Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST) examined these issues and reached the following conclusions:

- **Sharing the Responsibility** -- The education of competent physicians and scientists, and the production of new biomedical knowledge and technologies, represent vital public necessities. To date, only the Federal government has supported these functions explicitly through the Graduate Medical Education (GME) mechanisms of the Medicare program. With a few notable exceptions, other payers do not contribute to this support. We affirm the principle that responsibility for supporting the missions of academic health centers and their contributions to the well-being of society should be broadly shared by all who benefit.
- **Care for the Indigent and Uninsured** -- Historically, academic health centers have provided care for a disproportionate share of the indigent and uninsured populations and have received a Medicare payment adjustment for this service. It is likely that this responsibility can only increase in the developing private and public medical care marketplaces. With the trend toward managed care, others are even less likely to provide this service because of its resource-intensive nature.
- **Current Debate** -- A satisfactory disposition of these critically important and complex issues is unlikely to emerge from the heat of the current public debate, with its intense and narrow focus on budgetary concerns.

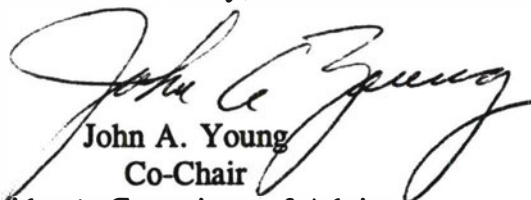
President William J. Clinton
November 8, 1995
Page 3

To support and sustain the Nation's academic health centers in the immediate future and over the longer term, PCAST therefore respectfully suggests that you consider the following recommendations:

- **Expert Commission** -- We recommend that an expert commission, credible to the President, the Congress and the public, be established to develop and recommend specific policies to address the preservation of the research and educational capacity of the Nation's academic health centers, and the supply, composition and support of the future health care work force. The commission should carefully consider the implementation of an equitable mechanism to achieve these objectives. The commission should also determine the most effective way to allocate training funds in furthering the goals of a rational workforce policy to ensure that the numbers and competencies of health care professionals are responsive to the Nation's needs. We believe that such an approach can best ensure the future vitality of our biomedical research enterprise and the highest quality of our Nation's medical care.
- **Graduate Medical Education (GME)** -- In the interim, in revising the Medicare program, the Administration should continue to resist disproportionate decreases in the GME accounts. Further, the funds for GME that are currently melded into the premiums paid to all Medicare managed care providers (the Average Adjusted Per Capita Cost formula) should be redirected to accomplish their intended objectives. This may entail developing a process that provides these payments directly to caregivers and institutions that are involved in graduate medical education.
- **Disproportionate Share** -- If academic health centers are to continue their role of disproportionately caring for the indigent and uninsured populations, then appropriate resources must be provided. This will almost certainly remain a responsibility of the government.

PCAST believes that the academic health centers are a national resource that, together with our research universities, must be sustained for the good of the Nation. We hope that you will find these recommendations helpful.

Sincerely,



John A. Young
Co-Chair
President's Committee of Advisors
on Science and Technology

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

20 November 1995

95 NOV 20 P4:06

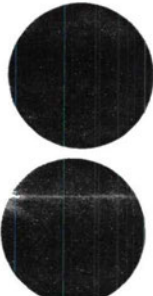
MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR

RE: UNION SUPPORT LETTER

Attached is a letter from Jake West, General President of the Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers. He is congratulating the President on his Reconciliation veto.

11/20
To Dorskind to
handle response ?
yes -
quickly



International Association of

BRIDGE, STRUCTURAL AND ORNAMENTAL IRON WORKERS

JAKE WEST
GENERAL PRESIDENT
202 383-4810

Affiliated with AFL-CIO



SUITE 400
1750 NEW YORK AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006



November 13, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

Congratulations, Mr. President, on your veto. We are grateful that you will not allow Senator Dole, Speaker Gingrich and their associates to hold the American people hostage. We deeply appreciate how much you care about all Americans and particularly the working men and women of America.

Congratulations again and you can count on our support.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jake West", with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

GENERAL PRESIDENT

JW:jh

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 NOV 20 P6:38

20 November 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: JENNIFER O'CONNOR 

RE: ATTACHED

Attached is a letter from Morton Bahr, President of the Communications Workers of America urging the President to hold his position on the budget.

11/18

TOPP

TO

Dorskind to handle

reply?

S

yes

**Communications
Workers of America
AFL-CIO, CLC**

501 Third Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001-2797
202/434-1110 Fax 202/434-1130

Morton Bahr
President

Handwritten signature: Harold J. Jones



Via Fax

November 15, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the 600,000 Communications Workers of America families, I urge you to hold to your position on the budget. The American people have begun to realize what is at stake and support you in your effort to see that the budget is not balanced on the backs of hard working American families, the elderly and the less fortunate.

We are with you.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature: Morton Bahr
Morton Bahr
President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95
Public Strategies Incorporated

FAX COVER LETTER

Fax: (512) 474-0120

Date: November 17, 1995 Time Sent: _____
Number of Pages (Including cover): 6
To: Nancy Hernreich Fax: 202-456-6703
Company: _____ Phone: _____
From: Paul Begala Phone: (512)474-8848

Comments:

Thanks for passing this along for me. 

This is very good
Read carefully
Be

If there are problems with this transmission, please contact
(512)432-1736.

Leon/Hickel/G Bowles

UP Smith

GS/ 

B: DM

Dick Morris

BeTHE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAUL BEGALA
RE: OBSERVATIONS FROM AFAR ON THE BUDGET BATTLE
DATE: NOVEMBER 17, 1995

I've left you alone since I've left town, both to give you a respite from me and to give myself time to gain a little perspective. Now that I've been in Texas nearly three months, established a "real" life, with real priorities, and spent a few dozen sleepless nights holding baby Billy and thinking about the world he's entering, I thought I'd give you a few thoughts. (I also conducted some focus groups just last night in McAlester, Oklahoma. We talked about these issues at some length, and the results were fascinating.)

Strategy

While it's clear you're kicking their ass right now, what's missing is the big picture – the Presidential vision only you can offer: a change-oriented message centered on using a reduced and reinvented government as the engine of middle-class opportunity. By a two-to-one margin, voters prefer the "old Democratic" message of an America in which government protects the vulnerable and guarantees minimum living standards over an "opportunity society" in which government does not guarantee minimum living standards or social benefits, but assures all Americans an equal chance to prosper on their own. (See attached Harris Poll.) I have no doubt that when you add the "New Democrat" dimensions of responsibility, tough criminal penalties and empowerment through non-bureaucratic tools like EITC and student loans, the numbers will go through the roof. But for the present, while you're winning the battle, there's little progress in the larger war against the notion that government will always be so stupid it'll screw up a one-car parade. Over the long haul, that's trouble.

Tactics

A few obvious tactical considerations, others perhaps not so obvious:

- **People admire your strength, fear Gingrich's extremism.** When they worry about you, voters rarely if ever use words like "big spender", "cultural liberal" and the like. Those ideological dynamics don't define life in the real world. Character does. Values do. Folks worry that you're weak a helluva lot more than they worry you're liberal. This fight is a defining moment for your Presidency; a chance to show the strength you never got credit for in the Brady Bill fight, or the NAFTA fight or the '93 economic plan fight, or the health care fight or the student loan fight – or for that matter the strength you showed standing up to Saddam when he tried to assassinate Bush, and later when he massed troops on the Kuwaiti border, or the strength you showed in Haiti, Japan and Mexico. (And your people ought to be putting this fight into the context of your consistent

record of standing tall against long odds and powerful forces, not trying to describe it as a "new Clinton" or a successful repositioning.) On the other hand, when folks worry about Gingrich, it is for exactly the character flaws he's displaying: extremism, arrogance, pettiness, immaturity, intransigence. Kasich is half right: this is "High Noon" meets "Mayberry". You're Gary Cooper, Newtie's Barney Fife.

- **Never complain, never explain.** It upsets your allies, delights your enemies, and exasperates swing voters when you revisit the mistakes of the past (real or imagined.) You don't have a good damn thing to apologize for, and no one wants to hear recriminations about how you wished you'd locked the gate when the wolf is already at the door. Just grab your gun, and shoot the sumbitch. No analysis, no process, no commentary, no reflection. Just action – and action verbs. (I saw Sean Penn on TV telling a story about going out with Jack Nicholson. A beautiful young woman came up to Nicholson and asked, "Do you want to dance?" Nicholson stared at her coolly and replied, "Wrong verb." If it'd been me, back when I was single, I might've babbled for five minutes till she walked away.) Fewer public appearances, briefer public statements, shorter sentences (e.g.: "Tell them no.") all convey strength and certainty. I'd much rather have folks come away thinking, "he's a lot stronger than I thought," than, "he's less liberal than he used to be." All this talk of repositioning and posturing is poisonous. It must be stopped.
- **Fraud is the next fight on Medicare.** Even more than skyrocketing costs, even more than an aging population, people are convinced that the problem with Medicare is fraud. It's the first thing that came up when I asked the Oklahoma focus groups about the budget fight. You should be screaming bloody murder that **the Republicans are not only making it harder for seniors to get Medicare, they're making it easier for swindlers to get away with Medicare fraud!** Look at the corrupt deal they cut with the AMA: repealing your anti-fraud reg that cracked down on physicians referring tests to labs they own, loosening anti-trust enforcement over doctors, and more. I'll bet they also cut back on Medicare fraud enforcement personnel. (Donna Shalala has a great rap on all y'all have done to combat Medicare fraud; you should memorize it.)
- **After Medicare comes education and environment.** Like Medicare, when you get to the specifics of good schools and clean water, people want government to play an activist role. Here again, our specifics trump their general theory. But you've been absolutely right to focus all attention on Medicare for as long as possible. Don't dilute your best shot.
- **Mine the GOP budget for special interest gold.** Remember how they used the length and complexity of our health care bill to "find" horror stories buried on page 1138? We can do the same with their budget. While we should never ignore the argument that the principle rationale for their cuts in Medicare, education and environment are to give a tax break

Should mention in the veto message *

⊛

to the rich, we should also point out all the outrageous special interest giveaways tucked into their budget. (For example, one of our tougher partisans on the Hill should have been in the *Washington Post's* face when their editorial attacked you on Medicare this week, pointing out that the GOP bill contains a multi-billion dollar windfall to media conglomerates like the Post Corp., because they dropped your proposal to auction the airwaves, practically giving the public airwaves to powerful corporations.) There's a reason they didn't reveal what's in their bill till the last minute: they didn't want it carefully scrutinized for all the myriad whorehouse handouts they've put in for their buddies. (Congress Watch has a list of Top Ten Paybacks from the Republicans. Eric Berman can get it for you.)

Looking Down the Road

- **Pensions are to the '96 campaign what health care was to '91 and '92.** People are enormously insecure about their pensions...and they should be. Underfunded pensions – and the obligation of the Pension Benefits Guarantee Corp. to bail them out – could create another crisis on the scale of the S&L issue. But this time both parties need not share the blame. The GOP House passed an amendment to make it *easier* for corporations to raid their workers' pensions, without even their knowledge, much less permission. I honestly believe that vote alone will allow us to reclaim the House; the issue is that powerful, and their position is that indefensible. It's one of those rare issues that combines populist passion with good government foresight. If I were you I'd sit Reich and Bruce Reed down together and make them your pension experts.
- **Corporate irresponsibility is one part of the answer to voters' question: "If you've done so great on the economy how come my paycheck's so small?"** In 1992 you used to talk about how in the 80's "the stock market tripled but wages fell." Guess what, the stock market's up 45% since you took office, but real median income for men is down 3.3%, down about 2.2% for women. You did your part: paid down Reagan's deficit, cut spending, trimmed the bureaucracy, put our economic house in order, pried open markets for US goods. And productivity is at an all-time high, corporate profits are at an all-time high, the Dow is at an all-time high. Government can do some more things to try to boost paychecks: raise the minimum wage, protect the EITC, modernize labor law so new collar, pink collar and blue collar workers can organize to protect their jobs and benefits, expand education and training, etc. But corporate America has to do its part. They have to start behaving like Americans again: CEO pay is still out of control (and still deductible), the tax code still rewards shutting down plants and shipping off jobs, and anxiety permeates the workplace. Pat Buchanan is all over this. Last week in NH he said, "We have got to get high-paying jobs for American workers and young people coming into the market....We're going to put together a new political party. We're going to have working guys in it, middle class guys and entrepreneurs in it. We are going to let the big fellows on Wall Street that run the Fortune 500 companies and take jobs overseas go where they want to go." I know that part of the reason for stagnant wages is the skills gap,

and part is the changing nature of global competition, and part may even be an ahistorically long lag between productivity growth and wage growth...but part of the answer is that after you did your job, Mr. President, Wall Street hijacked the reward.

In Sum

You're doing well. Your strength and steadiness and steeliness are really capturing the public eye, and is playing much better than notions of ideological repositioning, (which is met with only cynicism.) Voters don't know whether Newt is more frightening or funny, but they detest him more than any figure on the American political scene. They do want the budget balanced, but they damn sure don't want Medicare cut. And they still hate the government.

From out here, you're clearly holding up well. Please give my love to Hillary (she went out of her way to be extra-nice to my sister Kathleen at a Consumer Product Safety Commission event recently.) I dearly love my life here, and adore being home at 6:00 to play with John and Billy. But I miss you guys. We're all praying for you.

BUSINESS WEEK/HARRIS POLL

PORTRAIT OF A SKEPTICAL PUBLIC



Cover Story

Whose ox will be gored? Americans continue to support middle-class entitlements, such as Social Security, by a wide margin. What they care less for is welfare—whether it's for the poor, farmers, or corporations. In general, though, the public agrees more with the Democratic notion of govern-

ment as protector of society's most vulnerable than with the Republican vision of Washington as arm's-length guarantor of an "opportunity society." And they're skeptical of Republicans' motives for spending cuts, agreeing by a wide margin with President Clinton's charge that the savings will just go to pay for a large, unnecessary tax cut.

RATING THE PRESIDENT

How would you rate the overall job President Clinton is doing as President—excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?	Excellent.....	6%
	Pretty good.....	45%
	Only fair.....	33%
	Poor.....	16%
	Not sure.....	0%

RATING CONGRESS

And how would you rate the job each of the following is doing—excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?

	EXCELLENT	PRETTY GOOD	ONLY FAIR	POOR	NOT SURE
Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole	4%	32%	40%	18%	6%
Republicans in Congress	5%	30%	39%	24%	2%
Democrats in Congress	3%	31%	44%	20%	2%
House Speaker Newt Gingrich	7%	24%	33%	29%	7%

A HELPING HAND: WHO DESERVES IT?

We're going to ask you some questions about the relationship between the federal government and U.S. citizens. Do you agree or disagree that the federal government should guarantee each of the following?

	AGREE STRONGLY	AGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	DISAGREE STRONGLY	NOT SURE
A Social Security pension to help provide for retirement	73%	19%	5%	2%	1%
Some minimum level of health care	61%	25%	8%	5%	1%
Nursing-home care for the elderly	53%	31%	11%	5%	0%
Subsidized prescription drugs for the elderly	53%	31%	11%	5%	0%
Temporary unemployment-insurance benefits	42%	38%	13%	6%	1%
Public assistance payments for those who cannot work	32%	46%	13%	8%	1%
Continuous access to job retraining	40%	37%	14%	8%	1%
Child care for low-income working mothers	40%	35%	14%	10%	1%
A job if Americans are willing to work	51%	21%	15%	12%	1%
Price supports for farmers	29%	36%	18%	15%	2%
Food stamps for low-income individuals	24%	38%	24%	13%	1%
Federal aid for high-tech manufacturers vying to create new markets	15%	33%	30%	21%	1%

THE EARNED INCOME-TAX CREDIT

Currently, many low-income people who work qualify for a special low-income tax credit designed to increase their earnings.

Do you think that this tax credit should be maintained at its current levels, reduced, or eliminated altogether?

Maintained.....	70%	Eliminated.....	8%
Reduced.....	19%	Not sure.....	3%

THE GOP'S 'OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY'

Many Republicans in Congress believe the federal government should not guarantee minimum living standards or provide social benefits for its citizens. Instead, the Republicans propose to create an "opportunity society" in which the federal government assures all Americans of an equal chance to prosper based on each individual's merits. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with this?

Strongly agree.....	22%	Strongly disagree.....	16%
Somewhat agree.....	41%	Not sure.....	2%
Somewhat disagree.....	19%		

THE SAFETY NET: HOW BIG?

Many Democrats including President Clinton believe the federal government must protect the most vulnerable in society, especially the poor and elderly, by guaranteeing minimum living standards and providing social benefits. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with this?

Strongly agree.....	40%	Strongly disagree.....	7%
Somewhat agree.....	39%	Not sure.....	1%
Somewhat disagree.....	13%		

PRIMING THE PUMP

In order to spur economic growth, do you think the federal government should:

	SHOULD	SHOULD NOT	NOT SURE
Grant tax credits for research and development investments?	59%	38%	3%
Let companies deduct the costs of their plants and equipment more quickly?	44%	50%	6%
Increase government spending to help businesses develop new technologies such as computer chips?	42%	57%	1%
Grant tax credits for a whole variety of investments by business?	36%	61%	3%

CLINTON'S COUNTERATTACK

President Clinton says the Republicans' proposed reforms aren't being driven by a different vision of the role of the federal government. Instead, the President says, Republicans really need the cuts to pay for a big tax cut that will go to people who don't need it. Do you agree or disagree with the President's view?

Agree.....	62%	Disagree.....	36%	Not sure.....	2%
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Edited by Mark N. Varnos

Survey of 1,007 adults conducted Nov. 2-6, 1995, for BUSINESS WEEK by Louis Harris & Associates Inc. Results should be accurate to within three percentage points.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1995

TO: Harold Ickes
George Stephanopoulos
Alexis Herman

FROM: Todd Stern

This is ready to go tomorrow.
Okay with you?

DRAFT

November 20, 1995

Dear Representative 1~:

Thank you for your letter regarding the bill to disapprove of amendments to the Federal Sentencing Guidelines relating to the lowering of crack sentences. As you know, I signed this bill on October 30, 1995.

You are correct in emphasizing the importance of fairness in the criminal justice system. I am committed to ensuring that federal law enforcement under my Administration adheres to the principle of equal protection under the law. However, I believe that tough penalties are warranted for crack distribution because of the devastating impact crack has had on communities across America, especially inner-city communities.

Current federal law does require a substantial disparity between sentences for crack as compared to equal amounts of powder cocaine, and for that reason I stated, upon signing the bill, that some adjustment to the current sentencing scheme is warranted. The legislation I signed directs the United States Sentencing Commission to submit new recommendations to Congress. I have also ordered the Attorney General to promptly develop enforcement strategies to punish those who traffic in large amounts of powder cocaine, with knowledge that it will be converted into crack, as severely as we punish those who distribute crack itself.

Moreover, the crime bill that we proposed and that was enacted last year created a safety valve that allows judges to depart from the mandatory minimum penalties for crack cocaine if the defendant doesn't have a prior criminal record, did not use violence or cause serious injury or death, was not a leader or organizer and cooperated with the government in connection with the others.

What we need is a sentencing scheme that is tough but fair. I want to assure you that I am willing and ready to work with you, the Commission, and the Department of Justice to address this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable 2~
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 NOV 20 P 5:01

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Jocelyn Tolley

Fax Number: 66221

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Federal Sentencing Letter

DATE: 11-20-95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 2

MESSAGE:

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

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DRAFT

95 NOV 20 P4:44

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Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1995

TO: Harold Ickes
George Stephanopoulos
Alexis Herman

FROM: Todd Stern

This is ready to go tomorrow.
Okay with you?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11-20

Harold
George
Alexis
TO:

FROM: Staff Secretary

This is ready to
go tomorrow. OK
with you?

[Signature]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1963-1992

Leon - This is good -
my 123 → 3 in not a bad idea bc

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How to Soften a Harsh Budget

The Republicans have fulfilled their campaign promise by approving a "reconciliation" bill that eliminates the deficit in seven years without gimmicks. The bill, which changes entitlement programs and taxes, is not devoid of merit. For example, it targets two programs popular among Republicans, Medicare and farm subsidies. But the bill is also needlessly harsh and horribly unfair. President Clinton's veto pen is the final defense.

Mr. Clinton has moved toward much of the G.O.P.'s plan — its seven-year horizon, huge tax cuts, large Medicare cuts and the end of federally guaranteed cash aid to the poor. But the bill goes far beyond anything he has endorsed. It pummels poverty programs and shovels tax cuts to the rich. The President has to draw lines where the G.O.P. has gone too far. Here are five such areas.

① The Safety Net. Under the bill, Washington would turn over a fixed block of money to states for welfare but no longer pump more money into states experiencing soaring welfare rolls during recession. Sadly, Mr. Clinton will go along. But he must then insist that Congress preserve other parts of the safety net, such as food stamps and Medicaid, for every poor family. Congress could put a cap on, for example, Medicaid spending per recipient. That way, Congress limits its outlays but provides added help to states with rising poverty.

② Means-Tested Spending. The G.O.P. would cut spending on food stamps, school lunches, Medicaid, foster care and other programs for the needy by about 25 percent. Yet these programs represent only 13 percent of the Federal budget. Slamming the poor twice as hard as everyone else is unconscionable.

* Legal Immigrants. The Republicans would deny legal immigrants Medicaid, food stamps, cash

aid and other services for at least five years. Clinton should insist that sponsors of legal immigrants assume financial responsibility for keeping them off poverty rolls. But if sponsors go bankrupt or die, immigrants, who pay taxes like everyone else, should qualify for at least food stamps and Medicaid.

Medicare. The bill invites retirees to traditional Medicare to set up — with Government money — medical savings accounts, which could replace catastrophic coverage with tax-free deposits which to pay ordinary medical bills. The bill loosens the antitrust laws governing voluntary associations of doctors. The combination of these provisions would be deadly. Doctors would abandon traditional Medicare and serve only healthy wealthy retirees, at inflated prices no one else could afford.

Capital-Gains Taxes. The G.O.P. wants to exempt investors from the impact of inflation protection it would not extend to bondholders or anyone else. The bill would also needlessly cut on the sale of old investments. The first provision would wreck the tax code. The second would create a multibillion-dollar giveaway to wealthy investors. Both warrant a veto.

The Republicans themselves could meet their tests by massively scaling back their tax and defense plans. Even if they agreed, however, the budget plan would still be unsatisfactory. It spends too little on public investments in infrastructure, worker training and research and too much on subsidies to corporations, dairy farmers and special interests.

But at least with these modifications the budget would be less cruel.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-20-95

KEVEN A. MCKENNA**ATTORNEYS AT LAW****23 ACORN STREET****PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02903****401 273-8200 (TEL); 401 521-5820 (FAX)**cc: D. D. D.
Baker
what do you
think?
BS

October 1, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
 President of the United States
 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
 Washington, DC 20005
PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Comments from your R.I. Watch

Dear Mr. President:

Thanks for responding to my June 23, 1995 letter to you. The Madison High School speech on the First Amendment, Religion, and Role of Government was a much need blue print for untangling that issue. I wish it had received more attention. Your encouragement to continue writing, I take, as a compliment to our long standing friendship. I hope my comments and suggestions are helpful, and not overbearing.

As I watch from the left field bleachers here in the New England cyberspace of the Negative Nineties, I am amazed at the amount of information that bubbles forth on your Presidency. From C-Span, to CNN, from the old media war horses of the Boston Globe, New York Times, and the Washington Post, and from various international tv news stations now carried on local cable, I learn more about your every breathing moment than I could have possibly have learned knowing you as a member of the Student Council at Georgetown. Somedays I feel I am sitting along your side as an invisible observer.

I have been fascinated by watching the impact of those cloud bursts of information splash down on my friends in the local Democratic Party, on the local talk shows, at the local pub, on our local "columnists", and on the many people with whom I have contact as lawyer and an activist.

In that context, I would like to share with you a few observations and a few suggestions that may be helpful to you.

1. THANK GOD FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS. WHAT WONDERFUL FOILS ?

I make that comment with my tongue in my cheek. Your Presidency since November of 1994 has been masterful playing defensive politics. No longer burdened by the over the hill rhetoric of left wing ego maniacal members of a Majority Controlled Democratic Congress, you have done a wonderful job of reshaping the priorities of the Country and of the Democratic Party by your responses to the excesses of the Republican Congress.

Speaking at Yellowstone on the loss of environmental protection laws, appearing with students regarding the loss of student loans, and explaining to senior citizens the impact of the cutbacks in Medicare, you have successfully awakened the consciousness of the average citizens that government programs previously taken for granted are in danger and you are defending their interests. That message is having its impact.

Although fear of change is not always desirable as a target of rhetoric, there is definitely a positive change in attitude afoot here in New England about the importance of your Presidency.

For example, a local business weekly newspaper polled its readers recently and I was amazed that nearly 50% of persons perceiving themselves as Republicans said they supported you.

For example, since your Administration has eschewed the rhetoric of the red button issues on abortion, homosexuality, and gun control, the level of personal attacks on you in local talks shows has dropped dramatically. The ad hominem comments on Whitewater, Hillary, draft status, excetera, have nearly disappeared.

There is almost no enthusiasm afoot for any of the Republican candidates for President. Other than Dole, I doubt whether most locals even can list the names of the Republican candidates. Colin Powell's book tour seems to have gathered more attention than any position the Republicans have had on any issue. Governor Weld of Massachusetts has even received a lot of heat for "wasting his time" supporting Governor Pete Wilson's now defunct campaign for President.

Although no one seemed to have any idea of why you had the entire leadership of the Middle East at the White House making speeches -whose length made your 1988 speech to the Democratic Convention seem short, the occasion looked impressive and made folks think that maybe you are doing important things in foreign affairs.

Cheers rang out through the neighborhoods of Providence when we saw our flyers retaliating against Serbian slaughter of their neighbors. While the complexity of Bosnia-Serbia-Croatian slaughterhouse resembles, in some ways, the dilemma's that past Administration's had faced with the Cypriot-Turkish imbroglio years ago, and although the average citizen does not understand the complexities of that area, the difference today is the dismembered bodies of the innocent victims appearing in full color on CNN.

People are people everywhere, and they do not want that behavior tolerated. No one is ready to accept genocide as a fact of life in the world village of television. Remind the State Department that past customs of courtesies of the nation-state culture to the barbaric behavior of member states against their own people are not easily accepted in this modern era of individual relevance and world consciousness.

Unlike Vietnam where the government acted before there was public support, I think you may be surprised to find wide spread repulsion against Serbian atrocities and much support for firm leadership from you in that area. The Republican Isolationists and old Democratic Peaceniks have missed the boat on that issue.

2. YOUR PRESIDENCY NEEDS TO TAKE THE LEADERSHIP OFFENSIVE ON SOME KEY 'SIGNATURE' ISSUES.

Think about what your Presidency has stood forth in the context of the big picture.

What issues will be the "signature issues" of your Presidency ? When we think of Jefferson, we think of the Louisiana Purchase, Teddy Roosevelt - of the Panama Canal, Wilson - of the League of Nations, FDR - of the Social Security Act, Truman - of the Containment Policy and of the Atom Bomb, Kennedy - 1962 Atomic Peace Treaty, LBJ - of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Nixon -of recognizing China, Carter -and of Human Rights, Reagen -of tax reform and the fall of Communism, and when we think of Bush, we think of Kuwait. What signature issues will identify Your Administration?

Will those signature issues be determined by your reaction to events, or will the strength of your leadership make events react to you ?

I respectfully suggest that you have a greater capability than simply that of a President who was great on the political defensive and skilled in his reaction to world events. I am sure you that did not seek to be President on the basis that you could best maintain the status quo.

You said it in well when you commented that you wanted to develop "new ideas based on old values." A President is nevertheless a human being and he can not do everything simply because of the position he holds; and for that reason I suggest you focus on only few signature issues- issues which will have made a difference in the world long after you have left your position.

These signature issues should be issues whose basic principles are easily understood and accepted by average people and issues that can best developed from the pinnacle of power of The White House. These are issues that can be developed, not only by the traditional means of speeches to interested parties, but by through legislation, and through your solely exclusive use of the President's Constitutional Powers in foreign affairs, and through the President's unique position to attract the attention of the world media to important ideas. Here are three signature issues for your consideration.

- A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL:

I am sure you remember Carroll Quigley's prediction about the consequences of the End of the Cold War between the Nation States and its impact on underdeveloped states. World nations have become impotent in their response to terrorism and to the butchery of the leaders of some small states taken over by local gangsters because the national war machines of the Big Powers are ineffective at that level of wrongdoing. That is the level where public opinion can make a difference.

When you look about at who has committed the world's atrocities in the last thirty years, you read about Idi Amin's murder of tens of thousands of his own people, Haddafi's support of international terrorism from in Libya-like blowing up passenger planes, Sgt Doe murders of his opponents supporters in Liberia, Sadamm Hussain's slaughter of the Kurds, the Guatamalan Generals' slaying of the Mayan Indians, and the pseudo Serbian "generals" and "storekeepers," murderous cleansing of their ethnic rivals.

What we see are really local gangsters who have gained controlled of governmental machinery in underdeveloped countries without strong democratic roots, and who have, then, used the force of the military to murder their perceived opposition and ethnic or otherwise. It is a scenario that history has allowed to repeat much too often.

How do we respond to that level of international atrocities without becoming the world's policeman? Our power is useless if must hurt and kill the very people, we seek to protect in order to rid the world of a particular war criminal, by either economic sanctions, or worst, by bombing.

Traditional notions of respect for other nation states and the limitations of atomic and technological power have made the forces of democracy impotent in protecting the citizens of other countries from being slaughtered by gangsters wearing the costumes of state. We have protected the guilty parties, on the mistaken notion that deserve respect as alleged heads of state and as soldiers of state, when in fact they were no more legitimate than Hitler and his crew of butchers.

How do we address this problem? Can the force of International Law be strengthened?

I would suggest that a full funded staffed **Permanent International War Crimes Tribunal**, with a funded investigatory staff, with a strong public relations arm, could make a major difference, and I would urge to assume the role of a public advocacy for such a Court.

The temporary International War Crimes Tribunal for Serbian War Crimes, belatedly established by United Nations in 1992 at The Hague, as small as it is, has certainly been a

good beginning and has undercut the legitimacy of Serbian effort by its indictments of certain Serbian generals and leaders for genocide.

I agree with the article in the September issue of **THE AMERICAN LAWYER** that those war crimes trials, not the O.J. Simpson Trial, are the real trials of the Century.

You have seen the impact of the O.J trial on the consciousness of this country. Imagine the consciousness of the World on a War Crimes Trial that is televised world wide.

Think about what happens if a leader is indicted for the war crime of genocide.

His credibility is immediately undercut. What nation would want to say it is doing business with an indicted war criminal. Certainly, there would no invitation to the White House or no Congressman advocating that it is good for his state's business to sell a product manufactured in the Congressman's state for the use of an indicted war criminal.

In this cyberspace world where even Hussain watches CNN, do you not think an indicted criminal would lose his or her creditability -not only outside of their country, but within their country. If you trying to govern, how do you explain to your own people that an international court has indicted you for a war crime ?

An permanent international war crimes tribunal, with a substantial international investigative staff, and with the power of summons, subpoena, and warrants, supported by all members of the United Nations, will save literally save lives by placing responsibility for genocide upon the individuals who committed those horrendous acts, and not upon the hapless citizens of the country controlled by the war criminal who are sometimes bombed and starved by foreign powers under the notion that it is being done for the wrongful acts of their gangster leaders. Let's place the punishment for war crimes at the feet of the international war criminals perpetuating those crimes, not upon the enchained citizens of those countries governed by war criminals.

This is an notion of international justice whose time has come. There needs to be a permanent world forum where the rights of victims of genocide can be protected. We need some mechanism less than war to hold war criminals accountable. Your advocacy of that issue among the world community and within the United States could be a signature issue for your Administration for time immemorial. That is an issue where your affirmative leadership can make an historical difference. It is an issue which can easily be related to the average citizen.

Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, a former U.S. District Court Judge from Houston, the presiding judge for the War Crimes Tribunal of Bosnian Serb Dusko Tadic, said it best with her quote in **THE AMERICAN LAWYER**, at page 63:

“How can you tell the little kid stealing a bike on the street *that’s wrong* unless we tell these people who commit unspeakable atrocities that they are wrong.”

Your Administration is in an ideal position to push this idea to the forefront of national and international consciousness. You are a former State Attorney General. You understand criminal prosecutions. You are the Number One World Leader. You have the people to put the plan together. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is a former law clerk for the late Justice Robert Jackson, a Nuremberg Prosecutor, Senator Christopher Dodd’s father, - Senator Thomas Dodd, was a Nuremberg Prosecutor.

Ask Madeline Albright and Warren Christopher to prepare background papers on this issue.

Note the few dollars and the incredible delays in the feeble UN effort, to date, on the Bosnian situation. Do not you think that had we put a little more time and effort into that War Crimes Effort three years ago that we would not have 10,000 dead today.

Consider appointing a Presidential Commission to study the Issue and Hold Public Hearings. Consider inviting other international leaders, past and present to become involved. Maybe, Andre Trudeau, a lawyer, would assist. Gorbachev might be willing to participate. Perhaps Senator Pell, as a retiring former Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee would serve. John Major seems strong on the question. Ask the Pope and other world religious leaders to participate.

Suggest that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee explore the issue. Make a presentation on the notion to the United Nations.

I think you will be surprised at the support you will receive on that concept.

Do not worry about the old debates of the intricacies of international law questions of jurisdiction and sovereignty. World opinion will resolve those issues. What do you think?

- UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE ACCESS:

Please do not give up your advocacy for universal health care access. It is still a very serious problem among average Americans. The Republicans have put themselves in a box on the Medicare and Medicaid issues, and their defensive positions gives you an amazing opportunity for bold and surpassing leadership in an area where the Americans expect you to lead.

We had three teacher strikes here in Rhode Island and the number one issue was the attempt by overburdened municipalities to cut health care benefits in teacher contracts.

You must distinguish between the self interests of the health insurance, hospital, doctor, pharmacological complex, which sank your health plans last year, and the legitimate needs for all citizens for a sensible system of affordable health care finance.

The present system is simply unfair and too costly. It is unfair because there are some, like the elderly, and the very poor, who receive unchecked coverage for nearly everything, while the remainder of hard working Americans find the cost of health care exceeds the cost of housing, and has become more and more unreachable. More and more Americans are becoming uninsured and underinsured. You know the statistics better than I.

Compare your failure with the past Congress with your 1000 page + micro managed health proposal with the simplicity of the system your old friend from Tennessee implemented with a two page bill on the state level in Tennessee. There is a message there.

Reshape the playing field and the players will reshape the game.

May I suggest a very simple macro style proposal that even Republicans would be hard pressed to oppose using the obvious financing powers of the federal government with its concomitant impact of the natural forces of economics.

Consider this simple notion:

Create a new "Part C" to the existing Medicare, which would be a voluntary premium system of coverage that any citizen and/or employer can buy from the government for defined financial coverage of certain benefits, whose premium amount (tax rate) would be set on a pay as you go basis.

It is axiomatic that, in insurance, the greater the pool of participants the less the cost of underwriting and benefits. The risk is spread over the greatest number of persons by the government, and thus has to be cheaper. Only the government can reach the entire population for insurance coverage. Note that the government's existing voluntary Part B premium for elderly medical coverage -even without a subsidy, is still cheaper than anything that the proper sector can offer.

Consider offering a voluntary fixed financial benefits program as "Part C" Medicare, Medicare for the *Common* person. For example, consider these provisions:

(a) Three days in the Hospital and commitment medical services, at a price not to exceed Three Thousand (\$3,000) dollars;

(b) Catastrophic Coverage for Medicare style benefits beginning at fifteen thousand (\$15,000) dollars;

(c) Tax deductibility for a percentage of health care premiums, and IRA styled medical accounts for supplemental coverage with lifetimes amount sets to discourage unnecessary use.

There would be no cost to the Federal Budget for this proposal. The “premium” for Part C, like the premium for Part B, would be set by actuaries based on actual cost experience, except that there would be no subsidy. Build upon what is right with the Medicare system.

Because a fixed dollar coverage would be used for benefit coverage, the reimbursement inflation of the present system would be avoided.

The actuarial cost of catastrophic coverage on a national basis is infinitesimal. I remember in 1974 when I wrote a catastrophic coverage bill for the State of Rhode Island, a population of million, the cost for a \$5,000 ceiling was only 50 cents a person. The insurance companies, -no friends of yours, can not compete, with a fixed dollars first dollar coverage and a last dollar fixed triggered a national catastrophic plan financed through the federal government voluntary premium program.

This is one area where the private sector is not more efficient. Many existing private catastrophic plans milk the public -paying as little as 60 cents on the dollars in pure premium dollars toward the actual cost of benefits. A national program can pay as high as 95 cents on a dollar.

The impact of such a voluntary low premium fixed dollar coverage plan made possible by the U.S. government would have an incredible salutary impact on health care inflation.

The consumer would have real incentives for limiting the use of the health care system and would replace the ineffective and inefficient regulatory mechanism attempted in the past. Providers knowing the coverage benefit is fixed would have no incentive to be constantly increasing prices.

By allowing employers to buy into a new Part C Medicare for their employees, employers would be in effect telling private insurers that they would have to compete with government for their business, and thus, that would increase the downward pressure on cost of private insurance premiums, and further encourage managed care plans as alternatives.

Unionized employees will use their negotiating power to encourage employers to share the expense of the new Part C premium.

In fact, your new plan, instead of attempting to micromanage the national health system from Washington, would use national macro financial incentives to reduce health care expenses while at the same time expanding coverage.

If you allow states to buy the new Part C coverage as part of their Medicaid responsibility, they also could reduce costs and move us all to one similar system of coverage.

In effect, by changing the shape of the ball park in health care finance, you would accomplish by natural incentives the same goals you sought in your original plan.

You campaigned on health care coverage both before and after your election. I think it would be a major let down to the American people for you to abandon the issue in face of the fire of Republican opponents.

Health care is already become a signature issue for you. The question is whether that signature issue will be one of failure or one of success. Don't quit now. You have been on the right course. You simply need to refocus your sights and thoughts. Americans do not care about the details. They simply want a system that gives some security that so they will not become financially bankrupt by illness. That is the basic point to which your Administration must return. Put the Republican Congress's feet to the fire on the issue. Public support is there. The Medicare debacle gives you the opportunity to strike.

-AN ALASKAN -SIBERIAN TUNNEL

When Jefferson purchased half of the Mid West for \$15 million with the Louisiana Purchase, he was roundly criticized, when Teddy Roosevelt built the Panama Canal, Congress criticized him, and when Kennedy first talked of man on the moon, editorial writers belittled the notion. Time has proven those Presidential initiatives to have been right and invaluable to the development of our nation.

What would be a better time than to begin construction of the long talked about, but little accomplished notion, of a tunnel connecting Alaska to Siberia.

The Cold War is over. Siberia has some of the world's greatest unexplored natural resources. The technology is available to us to help develop those resources and the economy of both continents. The international climate is right. Britain has a tunnel now to France.

The cost of building a tunnel today is certainly cheaper than it will be in the future. The technology is available to do the construction. Simply avoiding the cost of oil tanker spills would justify cost of the tunnel. The tunnel could contain rail, road, and pipeline services.

To connect the continents of North America and Asia has undoubted historic significance.

Tax incentives, bonds, and other financial devices could be developed so that the project would have no impact on the budget. Businesses from Siberia, Canada, and even China, could be asked to participate in joint government and business venture.

I would suggest you direct the Secretaries of Transportation , Treasury, and the of State to develop a plan, with input from the private sector, to implement the tunnel.

The excitement generated by the idea would be overwhelming, and would be a great signature issue for your Administration, and it would be idea which has little negative down side.

What do you think ?

Sometimes in the day to day rush and jangle of daily events, it may be hard to gain perspective on the events swirling around you. I hopeful that my perspective from outside of Washington will help add to your overall perspective and stimulate your thinking..

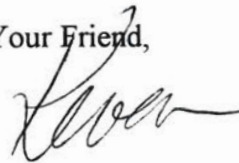
I am immensely proud of your accomplishments to date.

I have heard say that you might be in the area with Hillary for the launching of a Sub at Groton and, perhaps, for a wedding on Nantucket. If your schedule permits. I would love the opportunity to say hello again.

Nothing ever developed from Craig Smith's inquiries, and I have received nothing from your national campaign effort. In any case if there is anything I can do to be helpful, please do not hesitate to ask.

Thanks for listening. I will stay in touch.

Your Friend,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Keven', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Keven A. McKenna

11-18.95

Can a response
be sent?

B.

11-18

OK to send to

Scheduling?

OR Doriskind?

to JD WICK
to scheduling,
S.

East Palo Alto Teen Home, Inc.
2338 University Avenue
E. Palo Alto, CA 94303
415/324-8487
fax 415/329-8748

95 NOV 18 P7:43

November 6, 1995

Betty Currie
Secretary to the President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

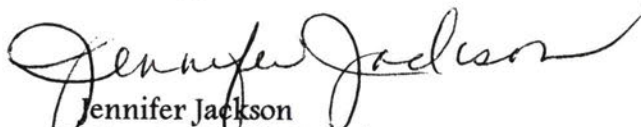
Dear Betty,

I met a dear friend of yours while garage sale shopping in Menlo Park, California, during a lengthy conversation with Mike Bozzo about the Teen Home where I am Director of Public Relations. This is a home for teens, teenage mothers, and their babies. One of the things we brought to Mike's attention was the fact that East Palo Alto had the dubious distinction as the murder capital of the world in 1992. We also discussed the positive images we were trying to bring to the youth of the community, thereby creating the Positive Image Awards Luncheon and Fundraiser. We have been fortunate to have as our keynote speakers, Terry McMillan, Dr. Maya Angelou and Susan L. Taylor respectively. I also wear another hat as Community resource Specialist for Packard Children's Hospital at Stanford.

Our new Packard Children's Health Van is a health clinic on wheels for children. It will travel to the neighborhoods listed to provide children's health services such as immunizations, physical examinations, treatments for childhood illnesses and hearing and visions testing. Physicians nurse practitioners and outreach workers from Lucile Salter Packard Children's Hospital at Stanford staff our mobile clinic. There is no charge to families for these services. I know Mrs. Clinton is a staunch supporter of children getting immunized and we have been providing this service to children and their families through the MOVE! Project since 1992.

The Teen Home and the Health Van are in our dear friend and fantastic Congresswoman, Anna Eshoo's district. We know President Clinton makes numerous trips to California and we are hoping one day he or Mrs. Clinton will include us in their itinerary and come to visit the Teen Home and the Cesar Chavez site of the Packard Health Van which are both located in East Palo Alto, California.

Sincerely,


Jennifer Jackson
Director, Public Relations

Agency honors diversity of families

BY THERESA C. VILORIA
Mercury News Staff Writer

Families come in different shapes and sizes and there is no such thing as a "normal" one, it's just about people learning, living and loving together.

In recognition of the diversity of families and the importance of family life to the Peninsula community, the Family Service Agency of San Mateo County honored 10 families on Nov. 22, during their celebration of National Family Week.

"This isn't a contest," said Dorothy Greene, spokeswoman for the agency. "We honor all the families whose names are given to us by community organizations."

Perseverance as a unit

San Mateo County community groups are invited to nominate families that they think should be recognized for their perseverance as a unit, for strengthening each other and the community through volunteer service, teamwork and friendship.

"I'm always struck by how many unsung heroes there are in the community," Greene said. "Ours is just a low-key event that celebrates the ordinary people around us who work together to overcome adversity and deserve the recognition."

One honoree, Kathy Mathis, continues to fight drug and alcohol dependency to keep her small family together. About three years ago, Mathis lost custody of her two children, Stacey who was 14 and David who was 3. She served time in jail for child abuse and is now recovering from drug and alcohol abuse.

Inspiration to other women

Her commitment to stay free of marijuana, cocaine and alcohol has been an inspiration to other women in the Hope House drug treatment program where Mathis is now the volunteer house manager. About six months ago, Mathis received joint custody of her son, now 6. They see each other during the day.

"Oh, we go to the park when it's sunny and we go to McDonald's," Mathis said, laughing. "We just made a Play-Doh snowman during my AA meeting." Mathis said she is also happy about beginning



Sheila George, center holding baby, of the East Palo Alto Teen Home has 'mothered' troubled young mothers and helped them make it on their own.

"I'm always struck by how many unsung heroes there are in the community. Ours is just a low-key event that celebrates the ordinary people around us who work together to overcome adversity and deserve the recognition."

— Dorothy Greene

to cultivate a relationship with her 17-year-old daughter.

"She doesn't want to come back to me and that's OK, I understand. But, Stacey is visiting me more now, and we are working on just being friends," she said.

"After 17 years of drug and alcohol abuse, I really didn't care — about anything," Mathis said. "Now I'm fighting for what I care about every day. I have my boxing gloves on and it's pretty over-

Teen Home was also recognized for commitment to her non-traditional grown home family.

"Oh, we do what normal people do," said George. "But the girls I work with haven't had what normal people do; that is why the Teen Home might seem different."

Since 1988, George has "mothered" troubled young mothers and helped them make it on their own. She has taken girls under her wing and so far, five have moved on from the security of George's home to succeed as moms with their own apartments and jobs.

The teen home was nominated to be recognized by one of the employees, Brooks, who came under George's wing about a year ago when she was pregnant. "Sheila took me in like I was her daughter," Brooks said. "I walked in and I knew in my heart that this was home. Sometimes I feel I get more out of being here than some of the girls. She's the mother I've always wanted."

Brooks said the teen home provides more than just a support system, really fosters a feeling of family.

"Sheila lets us know that we have the world in our hands. She treats us daughters and we treat each other like sisters. We're a family and we stick together."

George has three children of her own. The killing of one of her sons convinced her to start the teen home.

"Her son died in the community. Sheila was strong enough to realize the community was in need of her," Brooks said. "She opened the teen home to give to the community what she would have given to her son."

The county award didn't seem to press George much. "The joys and rewards I get come when one child comes out of this home succeeds on their own," she said. "That is how I receive true rewards."

whelming to know that I have my children back in my life. I know I love them like I should now."

Sheila George of the East Palo Alto



Kathy Mathis, with son David and daughter Stacey, has inspired other women.

WHO RECEIVED HONORS

The San Mateo County families honored by the Family Service Agency were:

- Jutta and Michael Abramson and family of Millbrae.
- Glenn and Peggy Crabtree and family of Foster City.
- John and Trudy Fjeisted and family of Redwood City.
- Sheila George and family at the East Palo Alto Teen Home.
- Jim and Linda Glover and family of Millbrae.
- Kathy Mathis and family of Redwood City.
- Isa and Colin McMaster of Menlo Park.
- Robert and Katharine Mobley and family of San Bruno.
- Michael and Sharon Spencer and family of San Bruno.
- Grete Sorensen and family of Daly City.



Courtesy East Palo Alto Teen Home

Residents of the Palo Alto Teen Home, their friends and staff members posed for a photo on the steps of the Capitol with Rep. Anna Eshoo, D-Palo Alto. Front row, from left: Maggie McDuffy, Ramonda Mustiful, Sheila George, Eshoo, Jennifer Jackson, Richard White and Larry Thompson. Middle row: Monique Collins, Larry Hadley, Shirmel Stamps, Given Hartley, LaTonia Percelle, Mia Noble, Mary Hadley and Kamau Smothers. Back row: Kimberly Rufus, Horace White, Jambri Johnson, Tequisha Williams, Anthony Monroe, Ron Williams, Brandy Harris and Ulysses Worthman.

Washington trip opens eyes

Six East Palo Alto teen mothers see the nation's capital for the first time

by Don Kazak

A weeklong trip to the nation's capital can be a revelation for anyone. For six young teen mothers from East Palo Alto, it was a whole new world.

The six, residents of the East Palo Alto Teen Home, recently visited Washington, D.C. They got a chance to see Congress in action, they got to meet Anna Eshoo, Dianne Feinstein and Ron Dellums, and they saw the Senate take a vote.

The young women, who are all black, also spent a couple of eye-opening days at Howard University, a noted predominately black college in Washington.

The six also came away with some new impressions about what is possible in their own lives. Sheila George, who started the Teen Home program last year, said some of them came home with definite changes. "There was a great transformation," she said.

One of the six, Tequisha Williams, 17, hadn't much thought about going to college.

"There was a great transformation."

—Sheila George

"I'm getting closer to graduation now," she said, "so I'm thinking about it more. I'd like to be a child psychologist."

That, says George, is a big change.

Another of the six, Shirmel Stamps, 18, said about seeing commencement at Howard: "Here, you barely see people

graduate from high school, and we were seeing them graduate from college."

Another, Brandy Harris, 15, added, "It was kind of breathtaking, seeing all the positive people."

"Everyone was looking real nice and there was no trouble. You only see that once every blue moon (here)."

—Monique Collins

"It seemed like everyone was motivated," said Shirmel.

That's in stark contrast to what the six say they find in their own city.

"People are just hanging out on the streets here," said Monique Collins, 17.

"They take school more seriously back East," offered Tequisha.

"Everyone's telling them to go to school," added Monique.

"There's no one here to tell us to do the right thing," said Brandy.

That's why some of the young women are thinking about going to college at black schools in the East. The difficulty with that, Monique said, is leaving friends and family. The benefit, say others, is being part of a success-oriented college campus, one with strong role models for young black students.

The six kept daily journals of their impressions during the trip. In hers, Monique wrote about visiting Howard:

"Everyone was looking real nice and there was no trouble. You only see that once every blue moon (here). It was really nice, a home away from home, but without the violence and ghetto clothes."

"We made sure they saw positive black role models at the same place at the same time," George said.

For the six, that was a revelation, too. More than 40 members of the House of Representatives are black. "I never would have thought there were that many," said Shirmel.

In addition to meeting several legislators, the group also ran into a group of visiting Kenyans, who greatly impressed them. "Seeing people from Kenya was seeing where my people came from," Brandy said. She added that visiting the Lincoln Memorial was also a special experience, because of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863.

The six, George said, may have come away from the trip with some ideas about their own lives, and, in some cases, a new

"It was kind of breathtaking, seeing all the positive people."

—Brandy Harris

determination.

Monique wrote in her journal: "If you have the gift and knowledge, don't let it go to waste. Because a mind is a bad thing to waste, and I'm not going to waste mine." ■

Inspiration through positive image



TERESA HURTEAU — MERCURY

Sheila George, director of the East Palo Alto Teen Home plays with Dashawn, 8 months, whose teen-age mother lives at the home.

Fund-raiser hopes to take kids to D.C.

SHEILA George is determined to take as many East Palo Alto teen-agers as she can on a field trip to Howard University in Washington D.C. And she figured the best way to get there was to honor local residents who have demonstrated the qualities she wants the kids to discover in the nation's capital.

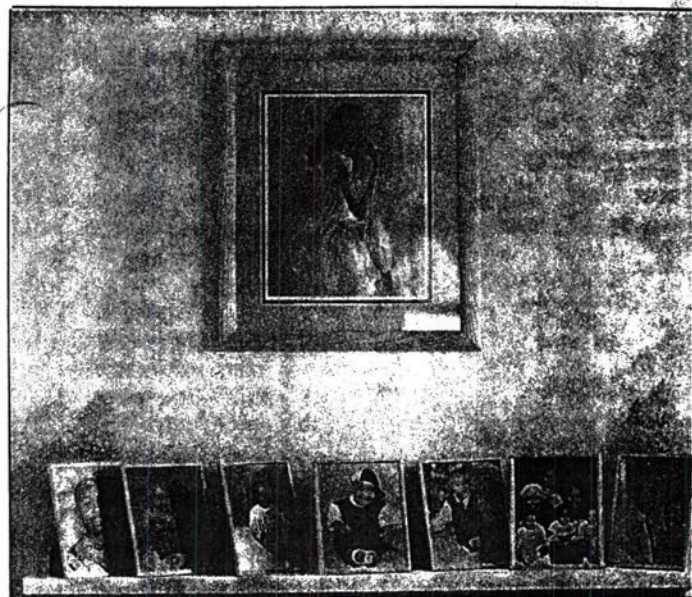
The East Palo Alto Teen Home, a transitional living program for teen-age mothers and their children that George opened last year, will sponsor Positive Image Awards on Sunday afternoon. The sponsors hope to hold the event annually. Beside the honor-



SUE HUTCHISON

ees, George expects the big draw to be the event's keynote speaker, Terry McMillan, author of the

See **HUTCHISON**, Page 5B



Photographs on the mantel at the East Palo Alto Teen Home include those of the children of the young women residing

Inspiring kids through positive images

■ HUTCHISON

from Page 1B

best-selling "Waiting to Exhale."

Six community residents will be honored at the 2 p.m. ceremony at the Stanford Barn.

Honorees are Lovie Lewis, Bread of Life's co-founder; David Lewis, a drug abuse counselor; Vicki Smothers, who runs a prenatal care program for African American women; Pathfinders, an East Palo Alto youth group that helps the homeless and elderly; Mercury News columnist Loretta Green and Reggie Bodden, a youth probation officer.

"We want to raise \$15,000-\$20,000. Enough to take these teen-agers to D.C. and hopefully get them turned on about (effecting) change and attending college," George said. "When I was in Washington for the inauguration, I was amazed by all the positive things going on. I want to share that with the kids."

Tickets for tomorrow's Positive



SUE HUTCHISON

Image Awards are \$25. For more information, call (415) 324-8487.

B

THURSDAY

APR. 1, 1993 PEN ★★

San Jose Mercury News



LORETTA GREEN

Palo Alto waits breathlessly for famed author

A LOT of people will be holding their breath for Sunday's appearance in Palo Alto of the author of "Waiting to Exhale."

In fact, once you have said, "Waiting to Exhale," "Disappearing Acts" and "Mama," you practically don't have to say, Terry McMillan.

Crowds and lines have greeted this talented writer all across the country. Mention "Exhale" and even the book cover flashes across the consciousness.

Four women, resplendent in vivid oranges, blues, reds, magentas and limes. Smart and sophisticated. Broad brims and tall pill-boxes. Mandarin collars and plunging V's. Straight, proud shoulders padded like Givenchy quarterbacks. Four women who appear oh so together.

Sistuh, as the book says.

But those who have read McMillan know the clothes are dressing over windows that would reveal broken marriages, boring dates, single parent crises, restlessness and bad sex.

McMillan appeared on the New York Times best-seller list and legions have said her characters speak for them. Others have said they do not.

People began holding "Waiting to Exhale" parties that turned into fun, but spirited and charged discussions of the merits and demerits of McMillan's women, their challenges, losses and triumphs.

THERE was attractive, educated, single, 36-year-old Savannah. There was Bernadine with the BMW, house, two kids and a husband who left for a young, white woman. There was successful Robin, a professional, recovering from a bad affair. And there was the religious cosmetologist, Gloria, who as a single mother struggles to manage her teenage son as his straight grows more crooked and his narrow widens to reveal worldly temptations.

At the height of the book's popularity some months ago, McMillan walked into Kepler's in Menlo Park and read excerpts to a standing-room crowd. I heard some women connect.

But there were few cheers from men. Once again, another black, female writer uses her talent to deliver a punch, they cried.

But the important thing about McMillan's appearance this week on the Peninsula is that she is giving her time free of charge to help young girls. She will be the speaker for the East Palo Alto Teen Home as it presents its first Positive Images Award to community members at 2 p.m. Sunday in the Vintage Room of the Stanford Barn in Palo Alto.

EXECUTIVE director Sheila George had been in the Kepler's crowd. She told McMillan how last year she started the home, which serves teen girls and even allows pregnant girls to keep their babies there and learn parenting skills. George insists the girls attend school or be employed. She says the author writes about life and that McMillan's words of encouragement at Kepler's helped her keep going.

"I can't imagine anyone who can't identify with Terry McMillan's books," George said. "If not yourself, then you know someone who has had such experiences."

Tickets are \$25 and are available at Kepler's in Menlo Park; the Teen Home, (415) 324-8487; and the Mercury News Palo Alto bureau.

The popular author's appearance supports a program that works to help girls grow up to be women of good self-esteem and strength. They have a chance to grow up to be women who might one day strike confident poses in reds and magentas and really have it all together.

Write to Loretta Green at 285 Hamilton Ave., Palo Alto, Calif. 94301; or phone (415) 940-4486.

Big turnout, big bucks for teen-agers' trip

THE FIRST annual Positive Image Awards banquet, held early this month to benefit the East Palo Alto Teen Home, was pronounced a stunning success by the teen home's director and founder, Sheila George. The standing-room-only crowd raised \$7,000 to help take a group of 12 East Palo Alto teen-agers to Washington, D.C., including a surprise donation of \$3,000 from the event's keynote speaker, best-selling author Terry McMillan.

"We were so excited by the turnout," George said. "I think this is going to become a very big annual event." Six community members were honored for their efforts to improve the quality of life in East Palo Alto.

After she attended the presidential inauguration in January, George was inspired to travel to Washington with high school students and some of the young single mothers who live at the teen home. "There are so many positive things going on there, and a lot of these kids need to know



SUE HUTCHISON

about the world outside of East Palo Alto," George said. "I think this will really open their eyes."

The group plans to leave for Washington on May 3, but George said she needs to raise another \$7,000 to pay for meals and hotel accommodations for the kids and five chaperones for a week. "The air fare alone is \$5,000," George said. "But I want to go next month so we can attend the graduation ceremonies at Howard University. I'm hoping this will (inspire) the kids to strive for college scholarships."

To make a donation, call the East Palo Alto Teen Home at

(415) 324-8487.

CHILDREN OF THE DROUGHT: Doug Short, manager of the Belmont County Water District, had a revelation early this year when he began talking to San Mateo County elementary school kids about water conservation.

"I was talking to 6- and 7-year-olds, and I realized that their entire lives have been spent during the drought years," Short said.

"They were potty-trained with a drought mentality. Many of them are still afraid to flush the toilet. They all say very soberly to me, 'We can't flush or there will be no water for the future.' It's pretty amazing."

Adults are anxious to interpret the recent winter rains as heralding the end of the drought, Short said, but second-graders are not so optimistic. "They say, 'Just because it rained, the drought's not over.' And I tell them, 'You're right! We just got a one-year reprieve,'" he said. "For the hill-sides to be green is really strange to them. The word 'flood' is not in their vocabulary. It's like they

"A lot of these kids need to know about the world outside of East Palo Alto. I think this will open their eyes."

— Sheila George,
East Palo Alto Teen Home founder

don't trust it."

But Short said the kids' water-siege mentality bodes well for the future. "These kids will grow up with a real water-conscious outlook that will be amazingly beneficial to California," he explained. "Their generation will probably never take water for granted."

SENIOR TO SENIOR: Early next month, the Senior Center of Palo Alto will begin a 12-week training session for its senior peer counseling program. The Senior Center is recruiting men and women over 60 who are interested in talking to other seniors about stress in their lives that has to do with aging.

"We've found that lots of seniors can relate more easily to someone whose life experiences are like their own; someone who was a World War II bride or lost a husband or has grown children they don't get to see often enough," said Mimi Goodrich, manager of social services at the senior center. "Most of what these people need is someone to listen to them."

For information about volunteering to be a senior counselor, call (415) 327-2811.

Write to Sue Hutchison at 2570 El Camino Real W., #216, Mountain View, Calif. 94040

B

TUESDAY

MARCH 22, 1994

San Jose Mercury News



LORETTA GREEN

Maya Angelou coins a phrase that hits a nerve

POET AND author Maya Angelou said something to the young people Friday in Palo Alto that nearly made me cry.

It did make her cry.

The statement seemed to travel up through her tall, commanding frame and explode out on a current of emotion.

"You've already been paid for," she said, and her eyes were intense and sought out the purchased. "And the payment was high."

Then the powerful keynoter's voice cracked and tears welled in her eyes and spilled over and caught in the sunken area above her cheeks.

A packed house at the "Positive Image Awards" benefit lunch at Hyatt Rikeys Friday pondered her meaning.

For just a moment, they had a chance to let their minds travel back to the people who had reached into their own pockets and paid their ransoms.

"Jesus Paid It All," people sing in church.

For some, Angelou's statement may have seemed biblical.

"Many thousands gone," black bards wrote about deaths on slave ships in the Atlantic's infamous "middle passage."

SO FOR some, Angelou's statement may have seemed historical.

"We aren't going to let any dog or water hose turn us around," declared Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. the night before an assassin killed him. "We aren't going to let any injunction turn us around. We are going on."

And the payment was high.

Think of Viola Liuzzo, a woman from Detroit, shot to death in Alabama trying to help people get their civil rights.

Think of the Hispanic, black, Asian or Caucasian mother down on her knees scrubbing someone else's kitchen to keep her child in college.

And the payment was high.

For some, Angelou's remark was painfully personal.

It was not a message just for the teen-age mothers in the audience who represented the East Palo Alto Teen Home that received Friday's luncheon proceeds.

It was for everyone to heed who had debts to repay.

I thought about Angelou's tears. Perhaps she was frustrated by cycles of poverty, the breakdown of family or the confusing changes in values and traditions.

OR PERHAPS they were tears of hope, joy and faith in the young people such as those who performed at the luncheon. There was a young poet, a singer and a cast of children from East Palo Alto's Shule Mandela whose dramatic portrayal of African-American history made us cheer.

Friday, I almost didn't go to hear Angelou. I had interviewed her several times over the decades. I had heard her.

But Friday she disproved that attitude just as she did last July speaking on the Peninsula for the Spring Foundation, or delivering poetry at Clinton's inauguration, or in the 1970s as she tossed salad in her then-Napa home and talked about her grandmother in Stamps, Ark., who "opened her apron and put me in it."

You have never "heard" Angelou — not everything. She has no production-line anger or humor and no carbon copy song and poem.

At lunch's end, some of us left with a stowaway. It was a phrase that hid in a corner of our minds and reminded us that we've "been paid for." Now there was work to do and there were promises to keep.

'Daybreak' — in East Palo Alto'



Poet Maya Angelou captivates a standing-room-only crowd of on 600 Friday at the Positive Image Awards at Palo Alto's Hyatt Rick

'Yes you can!' says Maya Angelou

BY DAVID W. CHEN
Mercury News Staff Writer

"When I get to be a composer, I'm going to write about daybreak," she chanted. "When I get to be a composer, I'm going to write about daybreak in Alabama and in Arkansas and in Syria . . . and in Bosnia. When I get to be a composer, I'm going to write about daybreak — in East Palo Alto."

The hook was in; the theme laid out. The point, she said, was that the Langston Hughes poem "Daybreak in Alabama" should "remind us that we human beings are more alike than we are unlike."

And thus spake poet extraordinaire Maya Angelou, who weaved song, verse and personal stories into a provocative, witty and hypnotic address Friday at Palo Alto's Hyatt Ricken.

■ Renowned poet reaches out to East Palo Alto.

Angelou, whose star has soared since she delivered a poem at President Clinton's inauguration, was the keynote speaker at the second annual Positive Image Awards presented by East Palo Alto Teen Home, a transitional living program for teen-age mothers and their children.

Angelou's 25-minute talk — which opened with songs in French and Yiddish and ended in a spiritual recitation — was a subset of a daylong roster of activities designed to honor local community activists and to raise money to help young women help themselves.

She noted as much. Decked out in a tuxedo suit, Angelou, a Wake Forest University professor of American Studies, said she had originally thought she would be talking to a small crowd of pregnant teens, not a standing-room-only crowd of 600 at a \$1,000-a-plate function sponsored by the Mercury News.

But that was perfectly fine.

"The truth of the matter is," she said in her booming, contralto voice, "if we go straight ahead, we stand a chance of only being something to somebody else doing something."

Angelou was herself a good example. She recounted how she was raped at age 14 by her mother's boyfriend and how she

See **ANGELOU**, Page 2

Angelou reaches out to East P.A.

■ ANGELOU

from Page 1B

was a single teen-age mother.

And how was she able to turn out OK? "From time to time, somebody reached out and touched me and said, 'Yes you can!'"

Angelou's words could also apply to East Palo Alto Teen Home and its director, Sheila George, and public relations manager, Jennifer Jackson.

The non-profit organization awarded plaques to six local residents for their work: Mayor Sharifa Wilson; Evelyn Glasper, co-founder of United Mothers Against Drugs; Dee Uhila, who works with the MOVE! for Kids childhood immunization project; Wilbur Jackson, co-founder of the Midnight Basketball program; Kalamu Chache, who works with the Consortium for Young Women; and Stephen Smothers, who volunteers for Links to Positive People.

The group is also trying to raise more than \$20,000 to send 22 East Palo Alto students — many of whom have never ventured outside the Bay Area — to Atlanta this spring on a field trip. They are not quite there yet — though a surprise \$5,000 check from the Stanford School of Business certainly helps.

Last year, the group, which successfully recruited author Terry McMillan to speak at its Positive Image Awards, managed to send 16 East Palo Alto High School students to Washington, D.C.

Angelou threw in her own advice to the hundreds of students who attended Friday's luncheon.

"I encourage you to study; make use of this useful time. All knowledge is spendable currency, depending upon the market."

That sounded just fine to Jonee Jackson, a 15-year-old Menlo Oaks student.

IF YOU'RE INTERESTED

Those interested in donating to East Palo Alto Teen Home should call (415) 324-8487.



Sheila George leads 16 teens from East Palo Alto across the Capitol Mall on Monday during their weeklong visit to Washington, D.C. BIL INGRAM — KNIGHT-RIDDER NEWS SERV

Vision draws teen group to D.C.

■ Sixteen from East Palo Alto Teen Home explore new options.

BY BERT ROBINSON
Mercury News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — For much of the trip, they were just typical kids in the capital. When Rep. Anna Eshoo, D-Atherton, asked what they'd take home from Washington that would be with them always, 18-year-old Ulysses Wortham answered brightly:

"Souvenirs!"

But there were moments when the 16 teen-agers from East Palo Alto showed how special this opportunity was to them. For Kimberly Rufus, 19, the moment came when she talked to Howard University officials about their extensive child-care facilities.

Now that she knows there is a

place for her 5-month-old daughter, Dashawn, at the predominantly black college, "we are definitely going to come," she proclaimed. "When I see my people working hard at Howard, makes me feel like I can succeed."

It was in hopes of inspiring such ambition that Sheila George

See TEENS, Page 4

East P.A. teens explore capital

■ TEENS

from Page 1B

and the staff of the East Palo Alto Teen Home organized this weeklong trip to Washington, D.C., which ends today. George and close pal Jennifer Jackson had made their own trek east for Bill Clinton's inauguration and returned "so motivated I felt we just had to share it," George said.

So the two began raising money under the auspices of the East Palo Alto Teen Home, the transitional living program for teen-age mothers that George founded last year. Their tactics ranged from the mundane — a car wash — to the inspired — a luncheon honoring a half-dozen outstanding local residents that featured a keynote speech by best-selling author Terry McMillan.

Took financial risk

These efforts netted \$11,000. But facing an estimated tab of \$15,000 for the trip, George took a leaf from the book of black filmmaker Robert Townsend, who ran short of cash making his first feature film, "Hollywood Shuffle." She steeled her courage — and used her charge card.

The group that reaped the ben-



BILL INGRAM — KNIGHT-RIDDER NEWS SER

Ulysses Wortham videotapes Quisha Williams as the East Palo Alto teens visit the Capitol Mall in Washington.

efits of George's credit rating included several residents of the teen home. It also contained some high school and college students who appear well on their way to escaping poverty-stricken East Palo Alto.

None had previously toured Washington; Monique Collins considered herself lucky to have seen Stockton.

Their itinerary took them from the monuments to Eshoo's Capitol Hill office to Howard University's graduation Saturday.

The lesson Washington taught Brandy Harris, 15, was about the history of racism. At an American History Museum exhibit, "The Afro-American Migration, 1915-1940," she lingered long over an old restroom sign that read "For Colored Patrons Only."

"That makes me sick," she said. The teen's disgust turned to giggles moments later when she

wandered through an exhibit door without checking to see whether it had a similar label. "Hey, white girl," her companions hooted.

World beyond East P.A.

Maggie McDuffie studied the exhibits and laughed at the jokes too. But she had more she wanted to say about Washington and how it had awakened her to a world beyond East Palo Alto.

"I ain't as calm at home as I am here," said McDuffie, a resident of the Teen Home. "I think I could make a better self of myself if I tried to do more like I'm doing now. I could get out of my safety, and into some place better."

Having eavesdropped, George piped in after McDuffie had moved on. "You know, she's talking about my problems," she said. "I hear her say that, well, I can't tell you what it means."

East P.A. teen mothers short \$2,000 for trip

BY DAVID W. CHEN
Mercury News Staff Writer

It's that time of year again for East Palo Alto Teen Home, a transitional living program for teen mothers and their children.

Last year, the group sent 16 East Palo Alto high school students to Washington, D.C., on a field trip. This year, the group hopes to send 22 students to Atlanta to visit some of the nation's leading black colleges and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change.

Teen Home director Sheila George managed to swing the Washington trip by using her

Teen Home's director last year helped pay for their trip to Washington, D.C.

This year it'll be Atlanta.

charge card. To get to Atlanta on Saturday, she and colleague Jennifer Jackson may have to resort to the same tack, because they're still short about \$2,000.

"We'd like to show the kids that they have choices and they can broaden their horizons, to show them there's life outside of East Palo Alto," Jackson said. "We definitely don't want them

to be part of the statistics that have hounded East Palo Alto."

The high school students are mostly juniors and seniors in the Sequoia Union High School District. While many have never ventured outside the Bay Area, program officials say some students appear to have the potential to attend college and escape their poverty-stricken neighborhoods.

Teen Home has tried to raise money by doing everything from a carwash to a luncheon honoring several outstanding residents. Last year, best-selling author Terry McMillan delivered a keynote speech at the

luncheon; this year, it was renowned poet Maya Angelou.

Unfortunately, though, the efforts haven't always generated enough revenue. About \$17,800 is needed for transportation, food and lodging for weeklong Atlanta trip.

"We're just going to pray something works out for the kids," Jackson said.

IF YOU'RE INTERESTED

Those interested in donating to East Palo Alto Teen Home may call (415) 324-8487. Checks can be made out to East Palo Alto Teen Home, 2722 Gonzaga Ave., East Palo Alto, Calif., 94303.

~~INTERNAL~~ REVENUE SERVICE
DISTRICT DIRECTOR
2 CUPANIA CIRCLE
MONTEREY PARK, CA 91754

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

Date: **AUG 17 1992**

Employer Identification Number:

94-3154022

Contact Person:

MAMLATDARNA, CHITRA

Contact Telephone Number:

(213) 725-6619

EAST PALO ALTO TEEN HOME INC
C/O SHEILA F GEORGE

~~████████████████████~~
EAST PALO ALTO, CA 94303
2338 University Ave

Accounting Period Ending:

December 31

Foundation Status Classification:

170(b)(1)(A)(vi)

Advance Ruling Period Begins:

April 27, 1992

Advance Ruling Period Ends:

December 31, 1996

Addendum Applies:

NO

~~Dear~~ Applicant:

Based on information you supplied, and assuming your operations will be as stated in your application for recognition of exemption, we have determined you are exempt from federal income tax under section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code as an organization described in section 501(c)(3).

Because you are a newly created organization, we are not now making a final determination of your foundation status under section 509(a) of the Code. However, we have determined that you can reasonably expect to be a publicly supported organization described in sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(vi).

Accordingly, during an advance ruling period you will be treated as a publicly supported organization, and not as a private foundation. This advance ruling period begins and ends on the dates shown above.

Within 90 days after the end of your advance ruling period, you must send us the information needed to determine whether you have met the requirements of the applicable support test during the advance ruling period. If you establish that you have been a publicly supported organization, we will classify you as a section 509(a)(1) or 509(a)(2) organization as long as you continue to meet the requirements of the applicable support test. If you do not meet the public support requirements during the advance ruling period, we will classify you as a private foundation for future periods. Also, if we classify you as a private foundation, we will treat you as a private foundation from your beginning date for purposes of section 507(d) and 4940.

Grantors and contributors may rely on our determination that you are not a private foundation until 90 days after the end of your advance ruling period. If you send us the required information within the 90 days, grantors and contributors may continue to rely on the advance determination until we make a final determination of your foundation status.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95
VP

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1995

95 NOV 14 P5: 02

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: International Criminal Court

You noted a recent Herald Tribune editorial (Tab A) which questioned our commitment to the creation of an International Criminal Court (ICC) despite your positive statement last month at the Dodd center.

While the ICC initiative now focuses on genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, it began in the 1980s as a Caribbean initiative against drug traffickers. The Bush Administration was skeptical of the initiative. However, they adopted a "wait and see attitude" because of congressional support for a permanent court, notably from Senators Specter and Dodd.

At the beginning of your Administration, we struck a slightly more positive but still reserved tone toward the idea of a permanent court. The law enforcement community was particularly concerned about the broad scope of jurisdiction being proposed for an ICC and the impact that could have U.S. jurisdiction and prosecution. The Justice and Treasury Departments believe vesting the court with jurisdiction over drug offenses would overwhelm an international court and undercut our efforts to get countries to prosecute narcotics offenders aggressively. They also oppose giving the court jurisdiction over terrorism offenses, which they believe are too complex and rely too much on sensitive intelligence to be handled by an ICC.

Many countries, including most of our allies, have come to agree with these jurisdictional positions, and the primary focus at the U.N. now is on creation of a permanent court to address genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. This evolution led all agencies to support the positive statement you made at the Dodd Center, our first straightforward endorsement of an ICC.

Work will continue in 1996 on elaboration of an ICC draft treaty. We will participate actively and positively in the process. However, because of the number of issues that remain unresolved, we have resisted efforts to set a date for a diplomatic conference to conclude a treaty.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Notwithstanding your positive statement, we will receive some criticism from human rights groups, along the lines of the Herald Tribune editorial, on three issues:

- Pace. Human rights groups are frustrated at the time it is taking to negotiate a draft treaty. We will continue to consult with them to demonstrate that the pace reflects seriousness, not footdragging. Our press line will continue to emphasize that we support an ICC, but any permanent institution needs to be carefully and properly constructed. We do not want to end up with an impractical mechanism, or one which has no chance of securing Senate approval.
- Scope of jurisdiction. There has been little criticism of our opposition to giving an ICC jurisdiction over drug offenses. However, some (e.g., the Herald Tribune) have suggested that an ICC could handle the Pan Am 103 case. DOJ strongly opposes turning such a complicated prosecution over to an ICC, and most of our allies now agree the ICC should not have jurisdiction over terrorism.
- Security Council trigger. Your statement endorsed a court which operates "with the support of the U.N. Security Council." Our negotiating position has been that the UNSC should approve the referral of situations to the ICC. This position has been essential to Defense Department support for ICC jurisdiction over war crimes, as it provides protection to U.S. military from unfounded charges.

The Security Council trigger has drawn fire from the human rights community, which sees it as politicization of the Court. Our response remains that a UNSC role is appropriate because of its primary responsibility for maintenance of peace and security, and actually serves to protect the court from politicization by other States (e.g., a rejectionist Arab state might seek to refer "Israeli war crimes" to an ICC in order to disrupt the peace process). However, many countries also oppose the UNSC trigger. This could become a sticking point in the negotiations.

We will find appropriate opportunities to reinforce your support for the Court. The most pragmatic way will be through active, positive engagement in the negotiations and through careful briefings of the human rights community and congressional supporters. We also can make more frequent public statements of support, but must be careful not to undercut our own negotiating leverage. Our statements need to emphasize that while we support a court, it needs to be properly structured; and while we want to proceed, we intend to take the time to get it right.

Tony/Use THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 we must discuss this 11-7-95

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

A UN Criminal Court

The work of dictators, torturers and death squad assassins depends on impunity. They know no one in their own countries can touch them, and while they may be aware of international laws against genocide, war crimes and the atrocities known as crimes against humanity, they also know that these laws are just words.

But that may change. With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations reopened debate on an idea kicking around since the Nuremberg tribunals 50 years ago. The idea is to set up a permanent international criminal court, as a counterpart to the World Court, that deals with disputes between nations. The UN's Sixth Committee, which handles legal affairs, is now considering whether to relegate the court to what is essentially the oblivion of permanent debate or set up a diplomatic conference to write a draft that nations can agree on.

American leadership is needed to establish the court. President Bill Clinton finally provided at least a part of it last month, giving the administration's first endorsement of the court. But his aides, worried that nations might raise politically motivated complaints against American soldiers abroad, have consistently defied other Western democracies and pushed for a version controlled by the Security Council, an approach that would politicize and essentially gut the court.

Washington's fear of political prosecutions is overblown. The United States is seeking to weaken a court whose pow-

ers have already been circumscribed by drafters aware the court will be able to try their own citizens. In its current conception, it is a weaker body than the ad hoc tribunal for Yugoslavia, which must fight to keep its indictments from being bargained away in a Bosnia peace settlement. The court would take jurisdiction only once a defendant's own national courts proved unwilling or unable to try a case. Various mechanisms allow states to shield their citizens from prosecution, although the United Nations can slap sanctions on countries that harbor fugitives.

Despite its limits, the court would still be useful in many situations. When America and Britain sought the extradition of two Libyans suspected of the Pan Am 103 bombing, Libya said it would turn them over only to an international forum, and no one could call Libya's bluff. Governments might surrender indicted citizens whom they have the will but not the power to put on trial, such as the Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot in Cambodia. The threat of sanctions may wear out a fugitive's welcome in a foreign haven, or even at home. No accused criminal will be able to travel without risking arrest.

The realities of power politics ensure the court will never offer perfect enforcement of international law. But it is a necessary first step if law is ever to triumph over the impunity of the powerful. It deserves the leadership of the Clinton administration and every nation's support.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

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11-20-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1995

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE OF ADVISORS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

November 8, 1995

95 NOV 14 P12:28

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Big vision - we need to discuss it in terms of their interests
Leon/ER/CR
strategy

The significant accomplishments in American biomedical research and our innovations in medical care are widely respected throughout the country and, indeed, the world. These achievements have occurred primarily at our Nation's academic health centers. Since World War II, the Federal government has played a vital role in the support of academic health centers and has done so on a bipartisan basis.

Your Administration's 1994 health care reform plan acknowledged the important contribution to our quality of life made by academic health centers and provided a mechanism to mitigate the loss of significant revenue that these institutions are now experiencing. In the absence of comprehensive health care reform, academic health centers are beginning to show signs of serious stress. Although they represent only six percent of the Nation's non-Federal acute care hospitals, these institutions provide more than half of the care for the indigent and uninsured populations. The prospect of sharp reductions in Medicare, Medicaid, and Disproportionate Share (DSH) expenditures, coupled with the erosion of clinical revenues resulting from the emergence of managed care, could have a devastating impact on the Nation's capacity to support medical research and education and the system that provides medical care to its most vulnerable citizens.

Academic health centers develop the biomedical knowledge and clinical techniques needed for new and improved treatments, train the Nation's physicians and provide unique patient care resources. In the long term, biomedical research conducted in these centers offers our citizens the best potential to enhance their quality of life and control medical expenditures with cost-effective methods for disease prevention and management.

Historically, the Federal government has assumed responsibility for a majority of the support for fundamental biomedical research and graduate medical education as a public investment that contributes broadly to the health of Americans. In 1995, the Federal investment in academic health centers for biomedical research and education was about one percent of total health care expenditures. Measured by any standard, this very modest rate of investment in an area of extraordinarily rapid advancement in knowledge and technology has had a remarkable yield. In addition, the Federal government provides, through the Medicaid and DSH programs, significant support for low-income patient care delivered in academic health centers.

Clinical revenues derived from medical practice programs conducted by the faculty of academic health centers have been another very significant source of funds for these programs of research, education and indigent care. Current changes in the health care system, including Medicare and Medicaid reform, driven by Federal and State fiscal concerns and the emergence of managed care, also threaten to eliminate this critical support for biomedical research and medical education.

We recognize the need to slow the rate of growth in health care costs and endorse efforts to address this need. Both public and private elements of the health care system need to be carefully examined and restructured to enhance medical efficacy and cost-effectiveness. However, it is also essential that in this process, the crucial public benefits that are contributed uniquely by academic health centers be recognized, and that their continued strength remain an important priority in the ongoing health care debate.

A panel of your Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST) examined these issues and reached the following conclusions:

- **Sharing the Responsibility** -- The education of competent physicians and scientists, and the production of new biomedical knowledge and technologies, represent vital public necessities. To date, only the Federal government has supported these functions explicitly through the Graduate Medical Education (GME) mechanisms of the Medicare program. With a few notable exceptions, other payers do not contribute to this support. We affirm the principle that responsibility for supporting the missions of academic health centers and their contributions to the well-being of society should be broadly shared by all who benefit.
- **Care for the Indigent and Uninsured** -- Historically, academic health centers have provided care for a disproportionate share of the indigent and uninsured populations and have received a Medicare payment adjustment for this service. It is likely that this responsibility can only increase in the developing private and public medical care marketplaces. With the trend toward managed care, others are even less likely to provide this service because of its resource-intensive nature.
- **Current Debate** -- A satisfactory disposition of these critically important and complex issues is unlikely to emerge from the heat of the current public debate, with its intense and narrow focus on budgetary concerns.

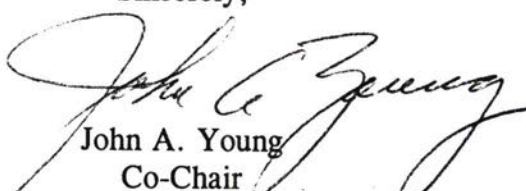
President William J. Clinton
November 8, 1995
Page 3

To support and sustain the Nation's academic health centers in the immediate future and over the longer term, PCAST therefore respectfully suggests that you consider the following recommendations:

- **Expert Commission** -- We recommend that an expert commission, credible to the President, the Congress and the public, be established to develop and recommend specific policies to address the preservation of the research and educational capacity of the Nation's academic health centers, and the supply, composition and support of the future health care work force. The commission should carefully consider the implementation of an equitable mechanism to achieve these objectives. The commission should also determine the most effective way to allocate training funds in furthering the goals of a rational workforce policy to ensure that the numbers and competencies of health care professionals are responsive to the Nation's needs. We believe that such an approach can best ensure the future vitality of our biomedical research enterprise and the highest quality of our Nation's medical care.
- **Graduate Medical Education (GME)** -- In the interim, in revising the Medicare program, the Administration should continue to resist disproportionate decreases in the GME accounts. Further, the funds for GME that are currently melded into the premiums paid to all Medicare managed care providers (the Average Adjusted Per Capita Cost formula) should be redirected to accomplish their intended objectives. This may entail developing a process that provides these payments directly to caregivers and institutions that are involved in graduate medical education.
- **Disproportionate Share** -- If academic health centers are to continue their role of disproportionately caring for the indigent and uninsured populations, then appropriate resources must be provided. This will almost certainly remain a responsibility of the government.

PCAST believes that the academic health centers are a national resource that, together with our research universities, must be sustained for the good of the Nation. We hope that you will find these recommendations helpful.

Sincerely,


John A. Young
Co-Chair
President's Committee of Advisors
on Science and Technology

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11-20-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1995

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Boyd - 1/8/96



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

95 NOV 14 A10:30

November 9, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Katie McGinty

SUBJECT: Superfund and Dry Cleaners

You forwarded a Newsweek column to me in which the author describes how her mother was "taken to the cleaners" by the costs of cleaning up a small commercial property. The mother had leased commercial space to a dry cleaner, and the dry cleaner's disposal of toxics at the site resulted in an expensive cleanup action by the State of Oregon and a legal and financial nightmare for the author's mother.

As is the case with many "Superfund horror stories," this case does not involve an actual federal Superfund site at all but a site being cleaned up under Oregon's comparable law (which has just been revised in a bill passed by a Republican legislature and signed by Governor Kitzhaber). There is, therefore, nothing we can do directly to correct the situation -- it is out of our jurisdiction.

For federal sites, your Superfund bill from last year (which we continue to advocate) had a number of provisions that would have ensured that individuals and small businesses like those described in the column (as well the dry cleaners to which Taylor Branch's accompanying memorandum refers) are either not liable or are able to settle out quickly -- before incurring significant attorneys' fees. EPA has implemented a number those proposals administratively. For example, EPA has aggressively pursued "ability to pay" and "de minimis" settlements with small parties, and is beginning nominal or "one dollar" settlements with the very smallest waste contributors at Superfund sites.

In the course of our continuing work on Superfund reauthorization, we have had discussions with Members of Congress and their staffs on possible mechanisms to provide across-the-board relief to dry cleaners, as well as to the lessors (like the elderly woman described in the column) who own shopping centers and malls with dry cleaners as tenants. Jim Sasser was very interested in developing a solution to this problem last year. A few major obstacles have recurred, however:

- In order to fix the problem in a way that goes beyond last year's Administration bill, a federal law would have to preempt state laws (like Oregon's) that are the typically the source of stories like this one. Such proposals would engender strong opposition from states, who have been important allies of ours in the continuing

debate about Superfund. Furthermore, a number of states already have enacted financing schemes providing relief to dry cleaners, and it would be inappropriate to preempt those schemes.

- Even if the states were to accept preemption, an alternate financing scheme would have to be developed for the cleanup of these sites -- at the very moment when Congress is proposing to terminate funding for sites that we consider far more serious.

- Finally, the two major trade associations representing dry cleaners have been divided as to whether they would endorse proposals that might involve support of a fee-based fund, or support federal relief that requires that states create an alternative cleanup financing scheme. Without such a scheme, however, the site owners or lessors will complain that they will be the only ones left on the hook; states will complain that they have no means to clean up these sites. Tennessee, among others, has adopted an alternate cleanup program for dry cleaner sites, suggesting that this may be an issue best addressed at the state level.

Nonetheless, it may be productive to renew discussions with the two trade associations and the lessor groups. Depending on how you would like to proceed, I can direct my staff to initiate those discussions.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am forwarding the following recent items:

- (A) **Griffin note on Sen. Robb's reg. reform proposal.** Response to your note on Nov. 2 story in *Washington Post*. Sen. Dole has failed three times to get cloture and is still three votes short. Dems have tried twice to negotiate. In August, a group including Daschle, Rockefeller, Bumpers, Pryor, Levin and Kerry (MA) presented a package which the GOP largely rejected. Then Robb got going, first with a modification of Dole that gained no real Democratic support, more recently with a proposal calling on Democrats to agree to a debate on reg. reform by a date certain, early next year. He proposes that Democrats draft a new bill that would have credibility with business but not roll back existing environmental, health and safety protections. So far, Dole is continuing to insist that he'll seek as many cloture votes as it takes to bring his bill up before adjournment. Daschle is confident Dole won't get 60 votes.
- (B) **Reich memo on corporate tax relief and Tyson comment.** Sec. Reich proposes linking a reduction in the Alternative Minimum Tax for corporations to 6 criteria of corporate responsibility -- devoting 2% of payroll to employee training; health benefits; child care; operating profit sharing or stock ownership plan; limiting top salaries to 50 times the lowest salary; refraining from layoffs in times of net profit. Laura will have NEC analyze Bob's ideas and will refer any promising ones to Bruce Reed. She cautions, however, first, that the administrative and compliance costs of Bob's proposals would probably be high and, second, that they would likely encourage firms to shift compensation from take-home pay toward fringe benefits.
- (C) **Lake memo on International Criminal Court.** Responds to your note on a recent *International Herald Tribune* story. We are working on draft treaty. We oppose broad jurisdiction covering narcotics and terrorism since DOJ/Treasury believe these matters are too complex and sensitive for an ICC. Focus at U.N. is now on a court to address genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. We will be criticized by human rights groups on three issues: slow pace -- we must explain the need for care in creation of a new, permanent institution; jurisdiction -- some suggest ICC could handle cases like Pan Am 103, but DOJ strongly disagrees; Security Council trigger -- we support requiring that cases be referred by the UNSC. Some see this as

politicization, but we argue this trigger is necessary to protect against groundless, political charges (e.g., vs. U.S. military, or for "Israeli war crimes"). Tony says we will find appropriate opportunities to reinforce your support for the Court.

(D) **Stiglitz memo on household debt.** Household debt has grown rapidly this year, which could lead to decreased spending as consumers face paying off their debt. So far, households are managing without much strain -- delinquency rates on home mortgages, consumer loans and credit card loans are up a bit, but well below peaks of 1980s and early '90s. However, the following developments warrant monitoring: debt service as a percentage of income is up sharply; personal bankruptcy filings rose in the first half of this year, after going down for three years; 1994 mortgages are delinquent at 1.5 times the rate of 1993 mortgages; OCC believes banks have lowered their standards for making consumer loans; banks appear to have lowered their lending standards in the intensely competitive credit card business -- the credit available to consumers on bank-issued credit cards is way up this year.

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Boyd - showed

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 NOV 13 P7:04

November 7, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK QUINN
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

RE: DOJ and Supreme Court Involvement in AIDS Cases

A recent New York Times op-ed (attached) criticizes the Supreme Court for failing to review several cases involving legal issues associated with AIDS. You asked whether the Department of Justice had been involved in any of them and, more generally, whether the Administration should take a more active role in urging the Court to hear AIDS-related cases.

The editorial refers to six cases. The Department of Justice did not participate in any of the three cases that arose in this Administration. Of the three cases that arose in the Bush Administration, the Department of Justice participated in two, in both instances urging the Court not to accept review.

Your DOJ has nevertheless been very involved in AIDS-related litigation. For example, the Civil Rights Division has brought suit and, in many instances, favorably settled complaints involving failure to provide medical or other services to AIDS patients. The Department is currently investigating a number of cases alleging discrimination on the basis of HIV status, including discrimination by day care providers, funeral homes, and nursing facilities. (These and other cases are summarized in the attached overview.)

As for the Supreme Court, a follow up letter to the editor (also attached) correctly points out that the fact that AIDS is an issue does not itself provide a sufficient basis for granting review. Nonetheless, given the number of important AIDS-related cases currently pending in the lower courts, it would not be surprising if one were to make its way to the Court in the near future. We will encourage DOJ to participate in any such case in which we can appropriately be helpful and will keep you advised.



Jack Quinn

Should we say or
do more on this?

Did not actually
open, urging the
Court to take or refuse
the case?

R

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-30-95

Supreme Court Doesn't Slight AIDS Cases

To the Editor:

Re "The High Court's Fear of AIDS" (Op-Ed, Oct. 26): Prof. Michael L. Closen cites the Supreme Court's failure to review certain AIDS-related cases, concluding that this Court doesn't seem to have noticed the 40,000 people who die each year of AIDS, and warning "the Justices to get their heads out of the sand and confront AIDS."

But by Mr. Closen's standard, many other medical maladies have been excluded by the hard-hearted Justices of the high court: cancer, heart disease, fetal alcohol syndrome, diabetes and drug addiction.

Cancer kills more than half a million people a year — 10 times the number who die of AIDS. Yet just last

spring the high court declined to review a case in which the lower courts dismissed a mother's claim against a health maintenance organization that denied coverage for a so-called experimental treatment to combat a rare form of cancer afflicting her young son, Ryan. Ryan later died.

Ruthless indifference? No. The Supreme Court is not the Surgeon General. The Court is not licensed to educate the public about the "myths and prejudices about H.I.V. and AIDS" as Mr. Closen claims. Its duty is to operate on the legally hard cases — where the lower courts are in conflict or are likely to conflict on difficult legal principles.

Without such conflict, the lower courts are able to resolve cases, even

AIDS and cancer cases, without redundant pronouncements from on high. That explains Ryan's case, where the facts were agonizing, but the underlying legal principles of Federal pre-emption law were clear.

Indeed, while Mr. Closen complains that the Court has failed to review six AIDS cases since 1989, the Court has not accepted a case such as Ryan's involving cancer treatment since 10 years before that, in 1979. In that case, it considered whether a cancer drug, Laetrile, could be released for sale to terminally ill cancer patients without delay or preapproval from the Food and Drug Administration.

Justice Thurgood Marshall concluded that Laetrile required preapproval of the F.D.A. as required by Congress, and that the courts, even the Supreme Court, are not privileged to invent policy exceptions to a Federal statute.

As many people die each year of prostate cancer as AIDS. You have reported that prostate cancer death rates have been rising and are especially high among American blacks (news article, Oct. 18). Does the high court's failure to review prostate cancer cases show a racist apathy?

Each year, the justices are flooded with more than 6,000 petitions for review and are able to accept for argument and decision fewer than 2 percent. The Court's denial of a handful of AIDS cases falls far short of showing that the Justices "fear" AIDS or labor with heads in the sand.

Even were the Court to accept Mr. Closen's invitation to warn the public of the danger of AIDS, the AIDS problem would not go away, as he suggests — no more than the abortion issue has vanished since the Court's decision, more than 20 years ago in *Roe v. Wade*.

JEFFREY A. MEYER

Stony Creek, Conn., Oct. 27, 1995.
The writer, an assistant United States attorney, is a former law clerk to Justice Harry A. Blackmun.

The High Court's Fear of AIDS

By Michael L. Closen

CHICAGO

About 40,000 people die annually of AIDS in the United States, but the Supreme Court doesn't seem to have noticed. Since 1989, the Court has been presented with six cases involving issues central to the AIDS epidemic, and it has refused to consider all six.

Each of the cases presented significant Federal questions. They have involved the constitutionality of mandatory H.I.V. testing of employees at a residential mental health facility; whether testing prison inmates is a civil rights violation; whether a company's reducing the health care benefits of an employee with AIDS violated Federal law, and whether barring an infected medical assistant from participating in surgery violated the Federal Rehabilitation Act.

They also involved the constitutionality of an Illinois law that makes it a felony for anyone knowingly H.I.V. positive to engage in "intimate contact" with another person, and the propriety of a Federal class-action suit on behalf of thousands of hemophiliacs who allegedly contracted H.I.V. from transfusions.

These issues did not go away when the Supreme Court chose to ignore them. Just as in the 1980's, when President Ronald Reagan refused to talk about the AIDS epidemic, Federal inaction is promoting ignorance about the disease and increasing the suffering of the afflicted.

AIDS is more than a medical condition — It has become an economic, social, political and legal quagmire. In the same way that the Warren

Court helped shift the nation's view of race, this Court could have helped overturn some of the myths and prejudices about H.I.V. and AIDS.

The Court did decide to review one AIDS-related case, which was filed against the American Red Cross by a patient who allegedly received an H.I.V.-infected blood transfusion. But the case turned solely on procedural grounds, so the Court did not address any substantive issues about H.I.V..

True, the Supreme Court's jurisdiction is largely discretionary and no law binds it to hearing a case

It refuses to hear cases involving H.I.V.

involving AIDS. In recent years, it has cut its caseload largely to those cases involving issues about which the lower courts, especially the Federal circuit courts, have been divided. There was no such rift between the lower courts on the six AIDS-related cases the Court refused to hear.

But the Court's rules expressly provide for circumstances in which "an important question of Federal law" should be settled. In other words, cases of great national interest ought to be heard. If the AIDS epidemic presents one of the most important challenges of our time, and if there are numerous Federal statutory and constitutional questions associated with H.I.V., shouldn't the Court hear one of them?

The failure to do so represents a retreat from the Supreme Court's long history of noble leadership. If earlier Courts had narrowed their jurisdiction to cases involving only

conflicts among the lower courts, numerous landmark cases would never have been considered.

There was no real division of judicial opinion on school segregation when a courageous Court decided *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954.

There was no conflict in the lower courts on the question of enforcing a subpoena for Presidential communications when the Court took up *United States v. Nixon* in 1974. The Court decided to review the case because of the "public importance of the issues and the need for their prompt resolution."

Just what has the Supreme Court done with its time since 1989? Has it been so burdened with other cases of great national consequence that it has not had time to consider AIDS? Hardly. Under its discretionary authority, it accepted a substantial number of cases arising out of relatively obscure aspects of state law and Federal statutes such as the bankruptcy code and the tax code. If such arcane matters are important enough to merit Supreme Court review, why not an AIDS-related case?

It is time for the Justices to get their heads out of the sand and confront AIDS. □

Michael L. Closen is a professor at the John Marshall Law School.

HIV/AIDS-RELATED ACTIVITY BY THE
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE'S CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION

SUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania -- The City of Philadelphia entered into an agreement with the Justice Department resolving a complaint alleging that emergency medical technicians (EMT's) of the Philadelphia Fire Department had refused to assist an individual when they learned that he had HIV. In addition to compensating the complainant, the City agreed to conduct mandatory training of the Fire Department's 2,300 EMT's and firefighters regarding universal precautions to prevent the transmission of AIDS and to publicize a written nondiscrimination policy.

Drs. David, Schulman, and Weinstein, East Hartford, Connecticut -- The Justice Department settled a complaint against a dental practice in East Hartford, Connecticut, alleging that the dentists refused to treat an individual because he had AIDS. Under the agreement, the dentists paid \$29,000 in compensatory damages and civil penalties. They also agreed to implement and publicize a policy of nondiscrimination on the basis of HIV and AIDS.

Marshall County, Mississippi -- A settlement agreement resolved two complaints involving the discharge of volunteer firefighters for HIV-related reasons. The County agreed to compensate the complainants and to reinstate each as volunteer firefighters. In addition, the County agreed to conduct training for all volunteer firefighters on universal precautions to prevent the transmission of HIV during firefighting activities, to issue a nondiscrimination policy, and to adopt grievance procedures for reviewing claims of discrimination.

Lancaster, California -- The Department settled a complaint against a funeral home that refused to provide funeral services to persons who had died from AIDS-related complications. After being contacted by the Department, the owner has agreed to provide funeral services to persons who have died from AIDS-related complications, and to undergo training concerning the efficacy of universal precautions.

LITIGATION

United States and Taylor Home of Charlotte, Inc. v. City of Charlotte, North Carolina -- This suit was brought by the Department of Justice under the Fair Housing Act to challenge Charlotte's revocation of a building permit for a group home for AIDS patients. The group home intervened, raising related claims under the ADA and the Rehabilitation Act.

United States v. Jack H. Castle, D.D.S., Inc. d/b/a/ Castle Dental Center -- In the first AIDS-related settlement with a dental service under the ADA, a Houston dental office will pay \$100,000 in damages and penalties for refusing to treat a patient who revealed that he was HIV-positive. The defendants will also provide full and equal services to persons with HIV or AIDS, train their staff in nondiscriminatory treatment of persons with HIV or AIDS, and send periodic reports to the Department so that compliance with the order can be monitored.

United States v. Drew B. Morvant, D.D.S. and Drew B. Morvant A Professional Dental Corporation -- The United States District Court in the Eastern District of Louisiana ruled on March 23, 1995 that Dr. Morvant's policy of referring persons with HIV or AIDS to another dentist, on the basis of the patient's HIV positive status alone, violated the ADA. An ensuing consent order requires Dr. Morvant will to pay \$120,000 in compensatory damages; to provide routine dental care to persons with HIV or AIDS; to post a policy of non-discrimination on the basis of disability, including HIV and AIDS; and to communicate that policy to his employees. Dr. Morvant and his staff must also undergo at least 12 hours of training concerning dental treatment of persons of with HIV or AIDS.

Abbott v. Bragdon -- On April 24, 1995, the U.S. District Court in Maine granted the United States leave to intervene as a party to defend the constitutionality of the ADA and to participate as amicus curiae in this case. The plaintiff has alleged that defendant, Dr. Bragdon, violated the ADA by refusing to provide her routine dental care on the basis of her HIV-positive status. Trial is scheduled for December 4, 1995.

United States v. Bekins Van Lines Co. et al. -- On October 25, 1995, the Department filed a lawsuit against Bekins Van Lines, a moving company that allegedly refused to provide moving services in Philadelphia to two former residents because a neighbor, who was present at the moving site, was infected with the AIDS virus. The suit seeks a court order prohibiting Bekins from discriminating against persons with disabilities or their associates. The suit also seeks penalties, and damages for the residents and their neighbor.

PENDING INVESTIGATIONS

The Department is investigating a number of cases alleging discrimination on the basis of HIV status, including discrimination by day care providers, health care givers, funeral home providers, and state and local governments. The Department is cooperating with the Department of Health and Human Services in its investigation of nursing homes that refuse to accept patients with HIV/AIDS. The Department has also cooperated with the Centers for Disease Control in HIV/AIDS investigations.

implemented some proposals -- "ability to pay", "de minimis" settlements -- administratively. Federal solution for dry cleaners is possible, but faces problems: (i) would have to preempt state laws; (ii) an alternate financing scheme for cleanup would have to be developed (e.g., fee-based); (iii) not clear that the trade associations would support such proposals. Katie thinks it might be productive to renew discussions with these associations and other interested parties and seeks your guidance on whether to try to do that.

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- To Bowles.

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Boyle - showed

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RONALD H. BROWN *RB*

SUBJECT: UPDATE ON RECENT COMMERCIAL SUCCESSES IN THE AEROSPACE
INDUSTRY AND OUR ADVOCACY PROGRAM

Pursuant to my conversation with Erskine Bowles, the following is (1) more detail on the recent triumph by Boeing in Singapore, (2) information on other recent successes in the aerospace sector, and (3) an update on our advocacy program.

Boeing/Singapore Airlines

Today's \$12.7 billion success in Singapore added to the \$16.7 billion in the other successes discussed below equals almost \$30 billion in U.S. aerospace sales abroad. Indeed, the U.S. exports in connection with each of these sales are substantial, as are the more than 400,000 U.S. jobs supported (according to our general rule of thumb that \$1 billion in exports supports about 17,000 person-years).

Earlier today in Singapore, Singapore Airlines (SIA) announced one of the largest airplane purchases by a single firm in history with an order of 77 new Boeing 777-200B passenger planes at a cost of \$12.7 billion, which will support over 200,000 jobs. Boeing beat the European airplane manufacturer Airbus Industrie in the race to win the "firm order" for 34 aircraft to be delivered over the next nine years and an "option" for another 43 aircraft. Six of the firm orders for aircraft and 10 of the options are intended for Singapore Aircraft Leasing Enterprise (SALE), the leasing associate of SIA.

This procurement is particularly timely in view of your visit to Osaka, Japan for the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings this weekend. This procurement is a major win for Singapore and the U.S. The planes will help Singapore deploy new aircraft to replace old aircraft in its thriving Asian airline. Building the planes and parts in the U.S. is likely to support over one hundred thousand jobs in the U.S.--either creating new jobs or retaining existing jobs. The Commerce Department has been monitoring this project closely for months. We have been counselling Boeing representatives in Seattle, working with the Transportation Department on certain issues, and working with U.S. Ambassador Timothy Chorba in Singapore, especially in the last few weeks.

Other Aerospace Successes

The Boeing deal in Singapore is only one of many recent export successes in the aerospace industry. Other commercial successes in which we have been involved since our advocacy

95 NOV 14 P6: 06

Handwritten notes:
This is great.
I've cleared
it with the
Treasury
of our long
history
of success

program has been established in November 1993 include the following: the final contract signing last month by McDonnell Douglas and Boeing for the \$6 billion Saudia Airlines procurement, South Africa Airways selection of Boeing to supply \$1.3 billion in airplanes for its fleet modernization project, Taiwan's procurement of \$560 million in Boeing airplanes for the fleet modernization of China Airlines, Air India's purchase of two Boeing 747-400 airplanes for about \$330 million, McDonnell Douglas's signing of the \$1.6 billion Trunk Aircraft Project in China, and Lockheed Martin's Atlas IIA Launch Service for \$100 million in Japan. Each of these deals supports thousands of jobs, and collectively over 150,000 jobs, in the U.S.

In addition, the Commerce Department, working with other U.S. Government agencies in the Trade Promotion Coordinating Committee (TPCC), has helped a number of aerospace companies win contracts for procurements by foreign ministries of defense. These procurements include the following: Sikorsky's \$150 million marine helicopter procurement in Turkey and its \$12 million helicopter procurement in Japan, McDonnell Douglas's attack helicopters sales in the Netherlands for \$900 million and in the United Kingdom for \$3 billion and its sale of \$80 million in F-18 fighters in Malaysia, Hughes's and Raytheon's sales of \$50 million and \$80 million of Amraam missiles in Sweden, Rockwell's \$50 million in Avionics subsystems for MIG 29s in Malaysia, Lockheed Martin's \$1.2 billion sale of F-16s in Singapore, Rockwell's and Allied Signal's \$200 million sale of L-39 aircraft upgrade in the Czech Republic, Boeing's sale of \$600 million in Chinook helicopters in the United Kingdom, and Sikorsky's and Lockheed-Martin's sale of \$460 million in Blackhawk Helicopters in Kuwait.

Our Advocacy Program

These deals demonstrate clearly that the Administration working in partnership with the private sector has been exceptionally effective in helping companies win contracts in the global marketplace, while creating economic prosperity and jobs in the U.S. In fact, since we established our advocacy program in November 1993, we have helped companies sign business agreements for over 120 projects valued at over \$57 billion in the Big Emerging Markets of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Europe, and other growing markets around the world. These projects benefit small and mid-sized businesses both as subcontractors on the big projects and directly with about \$3 billion worth of advocacy projects having gone directly to small businesses in the last 18 months.

In addition to following up on each of these deals to make sure that the benefits to the U.S. are secured, our Advocacy Center at the Commerce Department is tracking over 400 other projects around the world where U.S. companies have asked us for

our support. These 400 projects are collectively valued in excess of \$150 billion (with about \$75 billion in U.S. export value) and fall primarily within the following sectors: energy, transportation infrastructure, telecommunications, environment and aerospace. Among these 400 projects, we expect that major decisions may be made on about 60 projects valued at about \$20 billion (half of which is U.S. export content) within the next six months or so.

However, I feel that we have only scratched the surface. As we move into 1996, we intend to dramatically strengthen and expand our advocacy program at the Commerce Department. We expect to double the size of our Advocacy Center, update our computer systems for managing our database of projects, improve our on-line reporting system, expand participation of other USG agencies in the daily operations of the Center, explore ways we can closely coordinate our USG financing support for these major deals, and increase our sophistication in effective means to further the interests of U.S. companies abroad.

We would, of course, be pleased to have you visit the Department of Commerce's Advocacy Center and provide any further briefing you would find useful. Indeed, we could build an event around your visit announcing recent successes and the program's expansion. We will be in touch with your schedulers on this proposal.

As Chairman of the TPCC, I will continue to work with the other 18 member-agencies to develop new strategies, which help U.S. exporters win their battles in the global marketplace.

implemented some proposals -- "ability to pay", "de minimis" settlements -- administratively. Federal solution for dry cleaners is possible, but faces problems: (i) would have to preempt state laws; (ii) an alternate financing scheme for cleanup would have to be developed (e.g., fee-based); (iii) not clear that the trade associations would support such proposals. Katie thinks it might be productive to renew discussions with these associations and other interested parties and seeks your guidance on whether to try to do that.

Quinn note on DOJ involvement in AIDS cases. Responds to your question on a recent NYT op-ed. Though DOJ has not participated in any of the 3 AIDS-related Supreme Court cases arising in this Administration, Jack says DOJ has been involved at lower levels -- settling complaints re failure to provide medical or other services to AIDS patients and investigating allegations of discrimination. Jack will encourage DOJ to participate in any new AIDS-related cases that go to the Supreme Court.

(H) Ron Brown memo on successes of Commerce Advocacy program. Touts recent \$12.7 billion Boeing sale to Singapore Airlines, bringing aerospace total to near \$30 billion. Civilian successes: Boeing and McDonnell Douglas in Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Taiwan, India and China; Lockheed Martin in Japan. Defense-related: Sikorsky (Turkey, Japan), McDonnell (Netherlands, UK, Malaysia), Hughes and Raytheon (Sweden), Rockwell (Malaysia), Lockheed (Singapore), Rockwell/Allied Signal (Czech Republic), Boeing (UK), Sikorsky/Lockheed (Kuwait). He suggests that you visit the Advocacy Center, which is currently tracking some 400 projects in sectors like energy, infrastructure, telecommunications and the environment. I have sent copies of his memo to Stephanie and Ann.

(I) Washington Post article on racial tensions. Via Harold. Based on interviews with ordinary people. Underscores increasing racial tensions and diverging black/white views. E.g., whites see breakup of black family as main cause of black economic and social problems; blacks see this as only one factor together with discrimination, lack of opportunities, and sense that whites don't want blacks to get ahead.

(J) Foglietta Dear Colleague supporting you on CR. From Pat.

(K) USA TODAY Clip on high school drug testing. From Rahm. Quotes Lee Brown saying testing is a good tool, though no panacea.

copy to Jolley

Boaty - 1/20/96

Agree
uncertain
have been
called
7/2/95
do let me know
if you
Pete Brach

OU
Pat
XAX
Gordon
Jim

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

95 NOV 16 P2:30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ~~PR~~ESIDENT

FROM: PATRICK J. GRIFFIN *PG*

SUBJECT: Letter from Representative Foglietta

Attached for your information is a Dear Colleague letter written by Representative Foglietta supporting your position on the Continuing Resolution.

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

November 16, 1995

☐ 341 CANNON BLDG.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-3801
(202) 225-4731
☐ WILLIAM J. GREEN BUILDING
SIXTH AND ARCH STREETS
ROOM 10402
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19106-1638
(215) 925-6840
ANTHONY GREEN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT-COUNSEL

How the CR Hurts Cities, Seniors, Most Vulnerable Americans

Dear Colleague:

As Chairman of the Congressional Urban Caucus, I am deeply concerned that the pending continuing resolution is hurtful to the people who live in cities and the most vulnerable people in America. I applaud President Clinton for putting the focus on the implications of the previous CR for senior citizens in raising out-of-pocket costs for Medicare. President Clinton is also right to veto the pending CR because it takes us on the road towards severe cuts and establishes a dangerous precedent for resolving the budget process on a long term basis.

All of us are committed to balancing the budget. Throughout the year, I have joined with my Urban Caucus colleagues to make the case that the budget cutting process has been skewed against cities, against senior citizens, against children, against veterans, against the environment and against America's most vulnerable people. In this short term CR and over the next seven years, the Majority would:

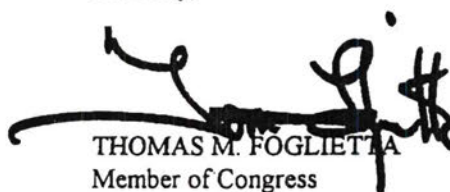
- Increase taxes on poor working class families--people who are trying to stay off welfare--through drastic cuts in the Earned Income Tax Credit;
- Cut taxes for the richest Americans and its wealthiest companies;
- Make no real effort to cut gold-plated subsidies for corporations and agribusiness, when many of us have suggested meaningful ways to cut the budget by getting rid of corporate and farm welfare;
- Increase defense funding by billions more than requested by the Pentagon;
- While cutting subsidies for senior citizens who need help to keep warm in the winter and for children to get a meal in school.

The contradictions and the unfairness of the budget cutting is found in the unprecedented funding formula of the pending CR and the President is right to veto it.

- It would hurt senior citizens because it would begin to make deep cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, and would cut the energy assistance program for seniors by 30%, or \$396 million;
- It would hurt children because it would cut the Healthy Start infant mortality prevention program from \$100 million to \$60 million;
- It would hurt veterans by cutting aid for their medical care by \$500 million;
- It would hurt people who live in cities because it would cut HUD's assisted housing program by \$5.48 billion, and by cutting HUD's homeless programs by \$444 million;
- It would hurt school children by cutting Title I education funding for disadvantaged communities by \$1.1 billion, or 17%;
- It would keep young people from going to college by making school lending much more expensive and kill the national service program with a \$571 million cut to \$6 million.
- It would jeopardize the environment by cutting the Superfund program by \$427 million and the safe drinking water revolving loan fund, which would be eliminated, by 40%, by \$280 million.

This CR establishes a dangerous precedent as we begin genuine negotiations to resolve the long term budget crisis. I support President Clinton in his decision to veto the anti-city, anti-senior citizen, anti-children, anti-veteran continuing resolution.

Sincerely,


THOMAS M. FOGLIETTA
Member of Congress

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

November 17, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

*Write / think he showed
on our record a way
Then bad budget
CBO /OMB diff
As you
disagree*

Leon

Some are holding us Freshmen Members of the Republican House Caucus responsible for the actions of the last several days. Permit us to share our perspective on this important issue.

It is unfortunate that 800,000 non-essential federal employees were furloughed. But we believe very strongly that it would be a tragedy of historic proportions if we were to back down now on our commitment to balance the federal budget in seven years. Twelve months ago, the voters of this nation sent a powerful message that we needed to change the way Washington does business. They wanted to put the federal government on a diet, and they wanted us to balance THEIR budget.

There is a misguided belief that the current debate surrounding the balanced budget issue is about politics. Balancing the federal budget, Mr. President, is about principle. This is not about the re-election of the Freshmen Class, it's about preserving the future of our country. In fact, we believe it goes deeper than that. What is at stake here is preserving the basic concept of self-government. If we cannot balance our budget when we are the sole surviving super-power, when we're at peace in the world, when we have a relatively strong economy with low unemployment, then when will we?

We want to resolve this. The American people want us to work together. We have been granted an historic opportunity. Our children would not hold us harmless if we squandered it. This is a moment of truth. This is when "We The People" show whether we have the courage and moral character to stop stealing from our children and grandchildren. Future generations are counting on us to show some leadership and courage. Let us agree on the destination. We can then have a healthy debate about the road map.

Respectfully,

Roger Wicker *Sen Myrick*
Sen Santorum *Rep Latta*
Mark Foley *Andrew Seastrand*

Charles F. Bass
Steve Chabot
Joe Garbely
Dick Cheney
Zach Wamp
~~Sam Mendenhall~~
Joe Ewing
Mac Thornberry
O. Watts, Jr.
Steve Largent
Les Combs
Dwight Denny
Bill Clinton
Dick Cheney
Tom Sawyer
D. B. Sorenson
Glenn Thompson
Ed L. O'Byrne

Matthew
~~Frank D'Amico~~
~~Robert K. Rife~~
Rick Warren
Rick Warren
Zygmunt
Daniel M. McIntosh
Jack McCall
Gene Zorn
Jim Bunn
Sam
Julie Norman
Tom Davis
Mike Forbes
George F. Kettering
W. H. H. H.
David R. H. H.
O. H. H. H.

E. C. Stouffer

Sammy Brown

Walter Jones

Darby Chandler

Paul May

W. H. Hutton

Age 15

Joe Fickmonil

Don A. Nielsen

Don

Jim Longley

Tom A. Blum

Dave Wild

Phil English

Linda A. Smith

Brian P. Bilkley

Mark Sargent

Tom O'Leary

Bill Martini

Fax Cover Page

SUBJECT:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

POTUS:

I was so glad we are able to connect last night. The idea of compassion as you said is hard defend when there is a real program that can be cut. The great GOP line is "could we be uncaring, is such a thing possible?"

Ciara is here with me and sends her love.

TO GS/Gene Sperry/ABaer
my college roommate
signing CP

To: President Bill Clinton

From : Thomas H. Campbell

For Information Call: 1-804-973-6552

At:

Pages: 3

My Fax Number : 1-804-973-1229

Dear Mr President-

As promised some thoughts on the cutting of public money where it touches private need. These anecdotes come from our lives and those of some other families raising handicapped children-Mike and Debbie Dayton now in Eugene, Oregon, and their daughter Nicole who is severely affected by C.P. ,and Jackie Bailey and her daughter Krystal , who has Spina Bifida.

ADOPTION- The First Lady has written in support of adoption, and the Republicans say they are as well, however raising a child with special needs can be a daunting and expensive task. If adoption of these children is to be encouraged, families must be able to get some help . We get a stipend to cover those "unknown" expenses, but at \$35,000 for a modified van, or \$50,000 to add a first floor bedroom/bathroom it goes quickly. How much more expensive is foster care or an institution for these children??

SCHOOL- The needs of handicapped kids are so specific that meeting them can indeed be very expensive. A bright child mainstreamed into a college prep course might only need some help in note-taking and writing to be very successful. The temptation to make an aide a general gofer for the whole school can be tremendous and cheat the one who needs the help. This is probably the biggest area of tension between parent and school and Ciara, Nicole and Krystal have all had their share of experience. Who is served if a bright students' academic program is downgraded so that a light workload and low expectation eliminate the need for an aide?

School transportation is another expensive item, but does the wheelchair ramp on an old bus serve anyone if it is broken down because the life has been wrung out of it? After the 3rd breakdown in our driveway a certain junker was only replaced after I threatened legal action.

MEDICAL EQUIPMENT-Krystal Bailey drags her feet when she uses her crutches, and grinds a pair of shoes to uselessness in a matter of days. Shoes are not medical equipment eligible for reimbursement, but at \$20-40 a pair shoes are a significant part of Jackie's budget. Will Krystal have to wear junk because SSI won't give her mother any cash ?

The tight-fisted California Medi-Cal reimbursement policy, which will only get worse, has driven most small providers/repair shops out of business. Now repairs mean a long wait for pick-up and a long wait for repair at some central facility. A week or so without a wheelchair is a long time.

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION- Jackie worked part-time as a cook ,and it took a long ride on a Long Beach city bus to get there. How much longer and more expensive will that ride be?

EDUCATION-Debbie Dayton is a wonderful success story from the California Community college system. She quit a low end job and with incredible drive and focus

went back to school to get the nursing degree that was the key to a new life. She had tremendous family support, but every book became a major investment, a night out an impossibility. Significantly higher tuition might have been a stopper.

FAMILY SUPPORT-Ciara and Krystal were at a wonderful Camp that gave them an opportunity to meet other children like themselves, but as importantly gave the parents at least a week when they could be free. That respite from a "total-time" job was invaluable. It was a 10 day camp at first, then cut to 7 several years ago during an early cut back. Can a non-essential (on paper) yet invaluable facility like that survive?

TAXES-we get an expense deduction for money spent adapting the house for Ciara, and I believe the Daytons get an extra child credit in Oregon, but for those working hard and making the minimum, the loss of a tax credit would be a real blow.

Mr. President, some of us make a comfortable living and have good insurance, we know how to deal with the system and make it respond, and yet we would not be immune from the effects of the cutbacks the GOP wants to make. When the block grant money makes it to the states, what hope does the person at the margin have against the police chief who wants a new fleet of cars, or the contractor who would build a new road. The state legislatures will have to make some very tough calls, and if the operative assumption is that the poor are their own fault and the handicapped just shirking, it will be very easy to look the other way. Thanks for reading this, we look forward to seeing you and Hillary and Chelsea soon. In friendship-Tom.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

facsimile
TRANSMITTAL

to: Betty
fax #: 456-6703
re: Senator Lieberman's Remarks
date: November 16, 1995
pages: 9, including this cover sheet.

I have attached Senator Lieberman's speech to the Democratic Leadership Council from Monday, November 13 as well as his remarks introducing President Clinton.

Please let me know if you need additional information.

Jim Kennedy

Handwritten notes and signatures:
A large green 'X' is drawn over the text.
The word "copy" is written vertically across the 'X'.
There are several initials and signatures around the 'X', including "JR" and "JR" at the bottom.

From the desk of...

James E. Kennedy
Communications Director
Senator Joe Lieberman
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20020

202-224-4041 (w) / 202-583-5697 (h)
Fax 202-228-4150

Opening Remarks Of Senator Joe Lieberman
Democratic Leadership Council
1995 Annual Conference
November 13, 1995

Let me begin my welcome to you with a name from last week's news --
Colin Powell. Remember him?

I know a lot of Republicans and Democrats breathed a sigh of relief when General Powell announced he would not run for President. His name will fade from the front pages. But we make a mistake if we forget what he represented. Many Americans are disappointed in his decision not to run, because there remains in this country a powerful yearning for something more than traditional politics and policies of the Republican and Democratic parties. There is a yearning for a new kind of politics -- a Third Way.

Frankly, I had hoped that General Powell would follow his policy pronouncements of the last few months to their logical conclusion and join the Democratic Leadership Council. Because we, my friends, are the Third Way that most Americans want today.

Our Third Way rejects both the old Democratic notion that government can and should solve all our problems and the new Republican notion that government can and should do little or nothing to solve our problems. The Third Way substitutes in their place the principle of mutual responsibility. That government does best when it helps people solve their own problems.

The current stalemate over the federal budget illuminates, in harsh klieg lights, the dilemma of modern American governance. It is politics and posturing run wild, and it is totally unnecessary. Most Capitol Hill observers can tell you now the outlines of the eventual budget agreement. So why do the Republicans attach unreasonable amendments which they know the President will veto to reasonable measures which would give both sides time to negotiate a good balanced budget agreement?

Inside the Beltway many Democrats and Republicans act as if this budget battle is a political Armageddon with high principles at stake.

But out there in the real world, it looks very different. Out there, it is a picture of politics as usual, of Washington at its worst. It is another reason why America wants a Third Way.

We know that times are tough, that people are worried about their future in a world where wages are stagnating and jobs are lost...

- where the values America was built on seem constantly under attack
- where one third of the babies are born to women who are not married
- and one-half of the people are afraid to go out for a walk in their neighborhoods at night
- where parents cannot comfortably sit down to watch television with their children anymore, for fear their values will be insulted, their parenthood undermined
- and where children must walk through metal detectors to go to school.

The DLC hears the cries for help from America's middle class families who for too long felt the Democratic Party turned away from them. We know the strength of these mainstream Americans and their values, and know they will pull us through these tough times, as they have at every time of challenge before, if we give them a government that builds on their strengths, and reflects and respects their values...

- their faith in God
- their willingness to work
- their commitment to family and community and country
- their fairness and tolerance.

For ten years now, we in the DLC have acted on our faith that ideas can change history. We have turned our ideas into position papers and into legislation that have helped elected officials create programs that have made America better than it otherwise would be.

We have a President who carried our principles and policies from the chairmanship of the DLC to the 1992 campaign to the White House, where he has transformed a remarkable number of them into reality.

We have Congressmen and Senators and Governors and Mayors and State Legislators -- all moving our ideas and programs forward.

In the past year alone, the DLC and the Progressive Policy Institute:

- o proposed a work-first welfare system which became the basis of the Senate Democratic plan, much of which was adopted in the Senate welfare reform bill.

- o proposed a comprehensive national program to combat the epidemic of teenage pregnancy which is at the foundation of many of our country's crises, and much of that program was included in Senate-passed legislation.

- o proposed a GI bill for job training, offered a principled and progressive response to the inequities in current affirmative action programs, fashioned a sensible "cut and invest" budget plan that combined fiscal discipline with wise investment in education and the economy, and wrote a Medicare reform proposal that truly saves Medicare through substantial, long term reforms.

The DLC/Third Way is a policy program eager for advocates. In our democracy, that means candidates...Democratic candidates. And that is where we hope you in this room, and countless others throughout America, will join our movement.

You are the next generation of leadership. Your presence here today is testimony to the growing appeal of the DLC program.

The fact is that this is, by far, the biggest, most successful annual conference the DLC has ever had. We have set a record, with more than 1,500 registered participants...

-- 110 state legislators

-- more than 200 other elected officials from around the country

-- more than 200 students

-- and men and women from 48 states and 2 commonwealths.

In fact, if you live outside the Washington Beltway, please stand up....

I have seen the future of the Democratic Party and it is right here in this room.

Joining all of us today are 13 radio talk show hosts, most of them nationally syndicated, communicating to millions of listeners across the country the fact that the DLC is on the march. I urge you to stop by their stations, outside this hall, and let them know why you are part of the DLC movement.

And for the first time in DLC history, our conference is traveling along the information superhighway at the speed of light. All four of the major "on-line" services -- Microsoft Network, America Online, Compuserve and Prodigy - are here, and in a little while I'll be sitting at a computer terminal talking with people around the country and the world about the DLC.

Yes, our DLC Third Way has come a long way. But let us be honest with one another. We still have a long way to go. Public opinion polls tell us that our policies and programs appeal to a majority of the American people and a majority of grass-roots Democrats. But it is less clear that they appeal to a majority of Democrats in Congress, or a majority of Democratic party activists.

Until we can say that is so, our Party will be endangered and our work will not be done.

Even now, here in Washington, we are in a struggle with others in our Party who are fighting to defend the status quo, while we are working to help the President fulfill his promise -- our promise -- to end welfare as we know it.

And we are battling others in our Party who view the current federal budget debate as an occasion to score political points instead of an opportunity to help the President create common ground on which a constructive balanced budget can be achieved.

While it is true that many Americans worry that Congressional Republicans are going too far, it is also true that they believe Republicans were at least headed in the right direction, have at least have embraced the concept of "change," and that too many Democrats have not.

I said at the outset of my chairmanship last March that we are on a long march.

Our eyes are focused not on the next election, but on the next generation. Our goal is a revolution in party politics and government policies and that goal will not be realized overnight.

But a long march begins with individual steps, and that is the hard work we continue today. We want you to have the very best ideas we can offer, ideas around which you can not only assemble electoral majorities but also better govern our cities, states and nation.

The ideas we discuss today and tomorrow -- welfare reform, health care, trade, environmental protection, the economy, crime, education, race relations, and many more -- are not the end products of special interest accommodation. They are not focus group driven sound bites designed for short term spikes in public opinion polls. They are fresh, new common sense ideas, designed for long term progress for America.

Take them and make them the basis for a renaissance for our Party and our country.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

November 18, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: Impact of The Republican Conference Agreement

Please find attached a preliminary analysis of the impact of the Republican's conference agreement on education, the environment, children, Medicare and Medicaid, and working families. As the details of their plan are combed and more staff is available, I am sure that we will find more objectionable provisions. We will continue to compile this information and update the attached document, put together with the help of Joe Minarik (OMB), Larry Haas (OMB), Chris Jennings (DPC), Michael Barr (Treasury), and Jon Orszag (soon to be on my staff).

See off turn - Ed, Telen, Res,
- GUN
- I in pro line

See off part - Med/ Med Su
- Foa.

What about R+D?
J. Young & Kube end
Dys - ATF - other stuff
affecting Ecology

THE IMPACT OF THE REPUBLICAN BUDGET CUTS

Impact of Republican Cuts on Education:

- **Denies Head Start to 180,000 children nationwide in 2002.** The successful Head Start program helped 750,000 preschool children in 1995.
- **Denies 650,000 children basic and advanced skills in 1996.** The Republican budget cuts Title I by \$679 million over seven years denying Title I funding for 650,000 students in our poorest communities nationwide.
- **Cuts Safe and Drug Free Schools by 59%, denying more than 23 million students services that keep drugs and violence away from children, their schools, and their communities.** The Republican budget walks away from the Safe and Drug Free School state grants program, the only federal program solely dedicated to combating alcohol and drug abuse, and violent behavior in our nation's schools.
- **Eliminates Goals 2000, denying improved teaching and learning for as many as 12 million school children in America in 2002.** Under the Republican cuts, 12 million children would be denied improved education by 2002, compared to the President's balanced budget.
- **Eliminates the AmeriCorps National Service program, denying 50,000 young people the opportunity to serve their communities in 1996.**
- **Cuts Pell Grants, denying 360,000 students college scholarships.** Under the Republican budget, funding for Pell Grants would be slashed. This would deny an estimated 360,000 students from receiving college scholarships.
- **Cuts off direct lending opportunities for 1,300 institutions with 5.7 million students.** Under the Republican budget, the direct lending would be virtually eliminated because they cap the program at 10 percent of all student loans. In order to do this, they use a "smoke and mirrors" scoring gimmick--not applied to any other entitlement program--to pretend to save \$5 billion.
 - **Eliminates repayment options for students with college loans.** The Republicans drop the option for income-contingent repayment, thus denying relief to graduates who accept low-paying jobs.
- **Eliminates summer job opportunities for nearly 4 million youths over the next seven years.** The Republican cuts will prevent millions of youths from participating in meaningful summer job experiences that help prepare them to be active contributors in the workforce and the community. The Republican plan completely eliminates this program, cutting approximately 600,000 job opportunities in 1996 and nearly 4 million summer jobs by 2002.

Impact of Republican Cuts on Environment:

- **Leaves Americans exposed to hazardous waste.** The Republican budget cuts threaten EPA's efforts to protect the health of Americans living near more than 200 hazardous waste sites nationwide. Spending on toxic waste cleanups will be reduced by 30% in 1996, \$421 million below the President's balanced budget in 1996.
- **Nationally, five million children under the age of four live within four miles of a Superfund hazardous waste site.**
- **Cuts environmental enforcement by 19%, crippling efforts to enforce laws against polluters.** The Republican budget cuts \$310 million from environmental enforcement
- **Pollutes the air that Americans living near oil refineries breathe.** These refineries emit more than 78,000 tons of toxic air pollution each year, putting Americans in the surrounding communities at risk of serious health problems, including cancer and respiratory illnesses such as asthma. The Republican budget halts the President's effort to protect the health and safety of children living near these refineries.
- **Jeopardizes the water that we drink.** Republicans are cutting low-interest loans to cities and towns for drinking water treatment facilities by \$225 million in 1996. This cut will take away the funds needed by states to upgrade facilities to ensure that local drinking water has been treated to eliminate contaminants.
- **Reduces new funding to keep water clean by 30% compared with the President's balanced budget.** The Republican cuts will eliminate protections that keep sewage away from waters where we live and play.
- **Opens our natural resources to oil and gas development.** The Republican budget opens the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas development. The Republicans assume that the lease proceeds will raise \$1.3 billion for the Federal government. But, this is based on a 50-50 split with the State of Alaska, overriding the Alaska Statehood Act that would normally require 90 percent of the lease proceeds to be paid to the State.

Impact of Republican Cuts on Children:



- **Denies some 160,000 disabled children SSI cash benefits in 2002.** The Republican budget slashes \$9 billion from SSI benefits jeopardizing the ability of an estimated 160,000 disabled children to continue to live at home with their families.
- **Eliminates home energy assistance for about 6 million children in America.** The House Republican budget completely eliminates this \$1.3 billion program that helps

low-income families with their home heating and cooling bills, leaving families with the tough choice of staying warm in the winter or having enough money to eat.

- **Eliminates Medicaid coverage for as many as 3.8 million children nationwide in 2002.** Currently, more than 20% of children rely on Medicaid for their basic health needs. Medicaid pays for immunizations, regular check-ups, and intensive care in case of emergencies for about 18 million children in America.
- **Jeopardizes immunizations for children.** The Republican budget repeals the Vaccines for Children program, putting at risk at least \$1.5 billion over seven years that would otherwise provide vaccinations for children.
- **Cuts nutrition assistance for 14.1 million children in America in 2002.** The Republican budget cuts food stamp benefits by \$33 to \$36 billion over seven years. And slashes the school lunch program by \$6 billion.

Impact of Republican Cuts on Medicare and Medicaid:

MEDICARE:

- **Cuts Medicare by \$270 billion.** The Republican budget cuts Medicare by an unprecedented \$270 billion--three times anything ever enacted by *any* Republican or Democratic President. Moreover, if Republicans moderated their unnecessary and excessive \$245 billion tax cut, they could easily reduce their Medicare cuts.
- **Limits Medicare growth far below private sector as measured by CBO.** The \$270 billion Medicare cut would limit spending per Medicare beneficiary to a rate that is an incredible 25 percent below what the Congressional Budget Office itself projects the *private* insurance per person growth rate will be over the next seven years.
- **Increases Direct and Indirect Costs on Beneficiaries.** The Republicans are advocating doubling premiums by 2002. They also would allow doctors and other providers to overcharge beneficiaries in their new managed care plans.
 - These provisions, coupled with the fact that their funding for low-income Medicare premium, deductible and copayment protections are less than 50 percent of what they would be under current law, will place a huge financial burden on seniors and people with disabilities.
- **Cuts and Structural Changes Will Cost-Shift Billions of Dollars.** The excessively deep cuts, combined with many ill-advised structural changes to the Medicare program the Republicans advocate, will result in massive cost-shifting. Lewin-VHI, an independent research firm, has concluded that the Republicans' Medicare and Medicaid

Conservative
How much will this cost?

cuts will lead doctors and hospitals to raise their fees on patients by at least \$90 billion. This cost-shifting will increase the cost of private health insurance and effectively reduce wage increases by 2.7%, and as much as 10% for lower-wage workers.

- **Cuts Threaten Quality and Access.** As the Americans Hospital Association, the Catholic Health Association, the National Association of Public Hospitals, and over 40 State Hospital Associations said on Friday, the Republican cuts would "jeopardize the ability of hospitals and health systems to deliver quality care, not just to those who rely on Medicare and Medicaid, but to all Americans."
- **Encourages "Cherry Picking" That Will Harm Medicare Beneficiaries and the Program.** The new Republican version of Medicare includes the establishment of plans that will "cherry pick" healthy and wealthy beneficiaries at the expense of beneficiaries who cannot afford these plans. This is because the healthy and wealthy will be the only ones who can afford the risk of signing up for plans with extremely high deductibles (Medical Savings Accounts --MSAs) or the cost of being in a plan that allows doctors to charge any amount they wish for their fees. In fact, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that the new MSAs will cost the Medicare program between \$2 and \$4 billion.

Stunt
convent
Medicaid

MEDICAID:

- **Repeals the Medicaid Program and Replaces It With a Block Grant.** The Republicans completely eliminate Medicaid's guarantee of coverage for Americans who are sick, elderly, poor, blind or disabled in other ways. They replace this critical safety net with an underfunded block grant, which on average cuts Federal support to States by 28 percent, and removes the guaranteed health and financial protection that the Medicaid program provides to the States and to their citizens.
- **Cuts in Medicaid Are Unprecedented and Excessive.** The Republican budget cuts support for Medicaid by an unprecedented \$163 billion--over ten times anything ever enacted by *any* Republican or Democratic President.
- **Cuts Will Cause Millions of Americans To Lose Coverage.** The reduction in Federal support to States would force Governors to drop coverage for nearly 8 million Americans in 2002 alone, including:
 - 3.8 million children;
 - 1.3 million people with disabilities; and
 - 850,000 elderly.

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- **Hurts Rural Americans and Puts Them in Harms Way.** States count on Medicaid to provide health coverage for residents who live in rural areas. The Republican cut would force States to eliminate coverage for about 1.9 million rural residents.
- **Threatens Nursing Home Coverage.** Today, 68% of all nursing home residents rely on Medicaid to pay bills that average \$38,000 a year. Under the Republican Reconciliation bill, as many as 330,000 residents could lose coverage by 2002.
- **Repeals Federal Enforcement of Nursing Home Standards.** The Republican proposal repeals Federal nursing home standards signed into law by Ronald Reagan and threatens to turn back the clock on nursing home quality. States would be relied on to define and enforce nursing home standards under the Republican proposal -- without any Federal review and enforcement. States could turn over their standard setting and enforcement responsibilities to private organizations with no Federal review.
- **Allows Liens to be Placed on Family Homes and Farms.** Under current law, no State can place a lien on family property if the recipient is still alive. The Republican proposal would allow States to place liens on any recipient's family home, farm or other property, except for people who qualify for the spacial impoverishment protections. A State could, therefore, place a lien on a widowed nursing home resident while they are recuperating from an illness such as a stroke.
- **Weakens Spousal Impoverishment Protections.** By repealing the right of individuals to sue States who are not providing spousal impoverishment protections, the guarantee of this benefit--which was signed into law by Ronald Reagan--is undermined. Moreover, there is no way for the Federal Government to know if these protections are being provided.
- **Eliminates Income and Asset Protections.** The Republican proposal repeals all current Federal laws that protect a minimum level of income and assets (such as the family home or farm) that are used in the determination of Medicaid eligibility. As a result, the reconciliation bill allows States to eliminate these protections altogether *or* to significantly diminish them.

More

Impact of Republican Cuts on Working Families:

- **According to Joint Tax Committee's own numbers, 51 percent of taxpayers have incomes under \$30,000, and as a group, they would have a net tax increase under the Republican plan.**
- **Cuts the Earned Income Tax Credit by \$32.5 billion over seven years, raising taxes on 12.6 million working families (with 14.5 million children) by an average of \$332 next year.**

- For the 4.2 million low-income families with two or more children, the Republican budget would raise their taxes by an average of \$534 in 1996.
- One provision in the Republican bill--counting untaxed Social Security benefits toward the phase-out of the EITC--would increase annual taxes on a million families by an average of \$859.
- **Eliminates the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit.** This tax provision has helped build homes, stabilize neighborhoods, and create jobs. Over the years, the low-income housing credit has helped more than 800,000 low-income families afford decent homes.
- **Weakens our nation's retirement security by allowing companies to take well over \$15 billion out of pension funds.** This would effect an estimated 3.7 million workers in 5,000 companies. And would take America back to the 1980s, when corporate raiders routinely looted pension plans to pay for corporate buyouts.

Tax Breaks for the Well-Off:

- **Provides more than \$24 billion in estate tax relief to 250,000 wealthy families over the next ten years.** The Republicans propose to increase the effective estate tax exemption from \$600,000 to \$750,000 and then index this level for inflation.
- **Each of the very rich families that would benefit from this proposal would get an average estate tax cut of nearly \$100,000!**
- **Proposes to cut capital gains taxes--disproportionately benefitting the rich--by \$36 billion over the next seven years.**
- **Real costs of the Republican tax cuts won't be felt until 2002 or later.** The bill indexes capital gains, which would cut taxes for rich Americans, but the provision is made effective at the end of the budget window so the revenue losses don't show up. While the seven-year cost of the capital gains tax cut is \$36 billion, the ten-year cost is \$66 billion.
- **Made capital gains provision retroactive.** This provision costs \$13 billion--~~more than one-third of the total cost of the capital gains cut.~~ And all it does is give a huge windfall to those who have already realized capital gains. This wouldn't increase investment. It would provide no economic benefits whatsoever.
- **Eliminates most of the corporate Alternative Minimum Tax (AMT) costing the Treasury \$16 billion.** The AMT ensures that profitable corporations have to pay at least *some* tax.

- **Includes numerous provisions that benefit special interests.** These giveaways total more than \$3.4 billion over seven years. For example:
 - Airlines granted an additional two-year exemption from the 4.3 cent per gallon fuel tax. This relief is estimated to cost \$863 million.
 - Special depreciation rules for certain retail motor fuel outlet stores. This provision is retroactive and is estimated to cost \$118 million.
 - Real estate industry received favorable treatment of leasehold improvements, costing \$114 million.
 - Special three-year write-offs for intrastate operating rights of motor carries. This provision costs \$37 million.
 - Treatment of certain newspaper carriers as independents contractors, rather than as employees. This provision would benefit certain newspaper companies. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Majority Leader Dole is a supporter of this tax break.

THE WHITE HOUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
WASHINGTON 11-20-95

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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NOVEMBER 17, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CABINET WEEKLY REPORTS
NOVEMBER 13-19

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **Mexican Economy Update:** The Mexican peso recovered some ground by mid-week following its precipitous drop last week. Sharply higher interest rates and exchange market intervention on Thursday and Tuesday turned the market around, but the markets remain volatile. Mexico announced its 1996 budget on Tuesday, which, as expected, provides for continued fiscal balance and small incentives to support hiring and investment. GDP for the third quarter will be announced at the end of the week. Although the announcement will highlight a sharply negative change from a year ago, output is expected to show a pickup from the second quarter. There was a significant growth of jobs in October following two months of smaller increases.
- **Washington, D.C. Finance Update:** This past week, there was a dispute between the Mayor, the Authority and the new CFO regarding the powers of the CFO and his decision-making authority. The Authority has withheld from the District \$50 million from a prior Treasury loan until the District submits a vendor payment plan outlining priorities for payment. The Authority has said that it believes the Mayor should set payment priorities based upon a clearly articulated set of guidelines.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Senator Lautenberg's Patent And Trademark Legislation:** Senator Lautenberg has asked the Department, and by extension the Administration, to support an intellectual property bill which would privatize the Patent and Trademark Office (PTO). Bruce Lehman, Assistant Secretary and

Commissioner of PTO, is having exploratory discussions with representatives of Senator Lautenberg's office.

- **Impact of Shutdown:** This week **Economic Development Administration (EDA)** telephone lines have been flooded by grantees who question when they will receive payments. EDA's portfolio of grantees who are awaiting disbursements totals over \$1 Billion. Questions will arise concerning the Prompt Payment Act, which provides for payment of interest to accounts that are more than thirty (30) days past due.

The **Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA)** has received many calls regarding Regional Minority Business Development Centers that have either closed (e.g., New York and Los Angeles); are operating on minimal funding (eight are now in this situation); or that cannot maximize efficiency due to slow funding and the current fiscal crisis.

All Economic and Statistical data releases from the **Census Bureau and the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA)** are postponed. Also, the Current Population Survey, which is the basis for the Bureau of Labor Statistics employment report, is delayed, placing the timely release of the November employment report at great risk. A new schedule of release dates will be produced when the shutdown ends.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Senate Hearing:** The Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Immigration is scheduled to mark up a comprehensive legal immigration bill on Wednesday, November 29. From the Labor Department's perspective, this bill contains dramatic changes to the employment-based immigrant and nonimmigrant programs we administer and enforce. The bill also contains changes to existing law that will affect the State Department, the Health and Human Services Department, and the Justice Department (Immigration and Naturalization Services).

The last mark up, scheduled for November 15, was postponed because of the government shutdown. It is not possible to determine whether a further postponement will occur if the shutdown continues through November 29.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **Modification of Aviation Security Measures:** The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has determined that the present threat situation requires a lower level of aviation security than the level of security countermeasures that

have been in effect since October 1. Accordingly, the following modifications to the countermeasures are planned to be effective this week pending completion of discussions with the White House:

Elimination of the restriction on parking and unattended vehicles at airports.

Slight modification of air carrier measures. Passengers will continue to be required to show identification and answer questions about their bags' contents. The criteria used to determine passengers subject to bag match will be modified.

The FAA has given careful consideration to modification of current measures. Should the threat again increase, some measures, such as parking restrictions, may have to be reinstated. With this in mind, the FAA will continue to work with the aviation industry to make the measures more efficient and less disruptive should they again be needed.

- **American Airlines McDonnell Douglas MD-80 Accident, Windsor Locks, CT.** On November 12, an American Airlines MD-80 jet struck trees while on approach to Bradley International Airport. One passenger was slightly injured during the evacuation. The air traffic control tower at the airport had been evacuated 53 minutes before the accident because of high winds. Air traffic services had been provided the flight by Boston Air Route Traffic Control Center and the Bradley Terminal Radar Approach Control. Because the tower was closed, the crew was advised to land at the pilot's discretion. The accident investigation is being conducted by the National Transportation Safety Board, the Federal Aviation Administration, American Airlines, McDonnell Douglas, and unions representing the pilots and air traffic controllers.
- **Agency Work On Presidential Initiatives, NAFTA.** Secretary Pena is tentatively planning visits to six southern border points of entry on December 3-6 to assess preparations for the opening of the border to commercial trucking operations on December 18. He will conduct these visits with other senior-level officials from federal agencies with operations at the border, state officials, and, for at least one port-of-entry, with his Mexican counterpart, Secretary Carlos Ruiz Sacristan.
- **National Highway System (NHS).** As reported in The Washington Post, House and Senate conferees have agreed on new NHS legislation. Issues regarding scenic highways and Amtrak have been resolved. The legislation would allow

states to decide whether to allow billboards on parts of scenic highways by removing the word "scenic" from designation on parts of the highway. The states would not be allowed greater flexibility to use highway money for Amtrak passenger train service. The legislation also contains significant safety rule changes. All federal speed limits would be eliminated in favor of state laws, states would no longer be penalized for failure to pass motorcycle helmet laws, and federal safety regulations of smaller commercial trucks--those under 26,000 pounds--would be eased. The bill also ends all metric signage requirements and ends penalties for state failure to use a certain amount of old tire rubber in highway paving systems.

- **Senate Commerce Committee Markup:** On November 9, the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee marked up pending legislation and nominations. Among the bills they considered was S. 1239, the Air Traffic Management System Performance Improvement Act. Secretary Peña issued the following statement upon Senate Commerce Committee approval of the McCain/Ford Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) reform bill: "Today's markup of the McCain/Ford FAA reform legislation demonstrates that Congress is serious about taking the right steps to remedy the personnel, procurement and financing problems that face our nation's air traffic control system. This is the only legislation being considered by Congress which fully addresses these three fundamental issues, and gives the FAA the ability to meet the demands of the additional one million commercial airline passengers flying every day ten years from now. Secretary Peña is delighted that this legislation is continuing full speed ahead, enabling the FAA to maintain the safest, most efficient air traffic control system in the world." The Committee also reported the nominations of Nancy McFadden (General Counsel), Charles Hunnicut (Asst. Secretary for Aviation and International Affairs) and Gail McDonald (Administrator, Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation). It has not been determined when floor action on their nominations will occur.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **FY 96 Appropriations for HUD-VA-Independent Agencies in Conference:** The markup of the VA-HUD appropriations bill began this morning and continues. HUD is pleased with most program funding levels and Congress's decision to eliminate harmful riders that would have raised rents on residents and bar HUD from enforcing insurance redlining violations.

However, HUD has serious concerns regarding the following:

- the potential zeroing out of the Economic Development Initiative--the Department's prime economic development program. HUD seeks \$200 million for this program;
- the severe funding reduction in HUD's staffing account--apparently set at \$40 million below the President's request--crippling HUD's staffing, staff training, and relocation needs as we move to a reinvented agency;
- insufficient capital funding for the Department to dramatically reform public housing through demolition and site revitalization;
- the transfer of HUD's office of Fair Housing and Equal Employment to the Department of Justice;
- the elimination of federal preferences in the tenant-based Section 8 program; and
- the arbitrary micromanagement provision requiring HUD to eliminate one Assistant Secretary provision, and capping Schedule C employees at 77.
- **Nation of Islam Asks Federal Court to Halt HUD Decision on Terminating Security Contract:** On November 15th, a security firm associated with the Nation of Islam (NOI) asked a federal court in Maryland to reverse HUD's decision to terminate their contract with the Housing Authority of Baltimore (HABC) to provide security services in the City's public housing developments.

On November 9th, HUD called for the immediate termination of the Nation of Islam Security Agency (NOISA) contract due to the housing authority's violation of federal procurement regulations during the bidding process of the security contract.

Secretary Cisneros taped an interview with NBC Dateline this afternoon, November 17th, to discuss this matter.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **Newborn AIDS Prevention Pilot Program to be Announced on World AIDS Day.** On December 1, the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) will announce the establishment of pilot programs in Delaware, Florida, New York and Rhode Island to reduce the transmission of the AIDS virus (HIV) to newborns. Medicaid eligible pregnant women will be provided with Public Health Service (PHS) information on HIV transmission, testing, and the use of drug therapy to prevent the transmission of HIV from mother to child. Bruce

Vladeck, Administrator of HCFA, will announce the initiative at a press conference, along with a senior PHS representative, who will announce the release of the informational materials.

- **Department Continues Waiver Amendment Negotiations with Oregon:** The Department will continue discussions with Oregon concerning two proposed amendments to the State's current 1115 demonstration program, the Oregon Health Plan. The State seeks to collect premiums from "new" enrollees (those not categorically eligible), but terms for an appropriate exception procedure for hardship cases remain unresolved. Additionally, we are awaiting data from the State before making a decision on whether to permit the State to "raise the line" thereby reducing covered procedures.
- **Discussions Continue with New York State on Medicaid Demonstration Process:** The State of New York continues to press for a rapid decision on its 1115 demonstration proposal. The State is still hopeful that it will be able to enroll the State-only, home relief recipient population in the demonstration by January 1, 1996. On November 13, Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) officials had a telephone discussion with the Commissioner of Health for the State of New York, and her principal consultant to discuss the ongoing process of waiver negotiations and the effects of the government shutdown on our analytic efforts. We are awaiting data from New York necessary for budget neutrality calculations.
- **New Aids Drug:** Today FDA announced accelerated approval for the drug lamivudine, or 3TC, for use in combination with AZT (zidovudine) in treating AIDS and HIV infection. AZT and 3TC are members of the nucleoside analogue class of drug compounds, and both interfere with the replication of HIV.
- **Child Support Enforcement:** The Report to Congress on Child Support Enforcement will show record collections in FY 1994 and FY 1995. Collections are up 40 percent since 1992, but \$24 billion more could still be collected.
- **Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report on Children and Airbags.** CDC will issue an abbreviated Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report: One article will reiterate warnings that have already received press coverage concerning the safety of children in cars with airbags -- this article is intended to reach audiences prior to Thanksgiving travels. If a second article is published, it will concern HIV-positive drug using men who continue to engage in unprotected sex.

- **Medical Use of Marijuana:** This issue seems likely to surface again in the coming months, because (according to reporters calling here) there is a signature drive underway in California to put the issue on the ballot for next year. We have had some press inquiries in the last week -- a San Francisco TV station and the attached, "Day and Date," a San Francisco-based syndicated TV program. Our basic position is that no special benefit has been shown; that we are open to sound findings on the question; but that no good research proposals are before us. The Federation of American Scientists has a petition to Congress and me asking that we "facilitate and expedite" research.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

- **Closure's Effect on Hunting:** The unfortunate coincidence of government closure with the start of the hunting season in many parts of the country has caused additional concern for some refuge and park managers. The Department is following a middle course on deciding what areas must be closed to guard against violation of the Anti-Deficiency Act. The general rule is as follows: if lands/hunts are not "managed" now or, if they are managed (or jointly managed) by the states, they will continue to be available for hunters; if they are intensively managed by the federal government, then they have been shutdown. Of the 272 wildlife refuges, approximately 200 have hunting. Approximately 30% of those will be closed under the above policy. The park areas that have hunting are all under joint state jurisdiction so they will be open. BLM lands do not generally have managed hunting programs or they are managed by the states, so hunters will be able to access them.
- **Interior Appropriations Bill:** The vote Wednesday to recommit the Department of the Interior Appropriations bill, 230-199, was rather dramatic. The "moderate" Republicans who were not satisfied with ongoing attempts to craft an acceptable mining reform provision on the budget reconciliation bill voted with most Democrats to send the bill back to conference committee. There are no present plans to bring it back up.
- **Park Concessions:** Interior has received signals from Republican members in both Houses of Congress that they are interested in working out an acceptable reform on concessions in the National Park System. The Senate bill, sponsored by Senator Bennett, is much closer to real reform than the House-drafted bill, which is really just another giveaway to concessionaires.
- **Indian Gaming:** Congressman Barney Frank has requested a

meeting at the White House to protect the Department's handling of an Indian gaming compact involving the Wampanoag Indian Tribe in his district. The Wampanoaga desire to open a casino in New Bedford and have signed on to a compact to facilitate the casino. Interior returned the compact to the state since it requires approval by the state legislature before approval. The compact also calls for a \$90 million payment to the state by the tribe in exchange for a grant of "partial exclusivity." The Indian Gaming statute prevents a state from exacting any payment/tax from a tribe on gaming revenues. However, Interior has approved other voluntary payments from a tribe to a state for "total exclusivity" within the state on gaming. The Massachusetts compact is a far cry from total exclusivity since other casino(s) and dog tracks with slots machines are contemplated. Interior sees this payment as being very problematic for the tribe and a possible violation of their trust responsibility to approve it. Congressman Frank sees the payment as a crucial part of the deal, without which it will not be approved by the state.

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Benny*

- **Upcoming Secretary Travel:** Secretary Babbitt will address the League of Conservation Voters meeting in New York on November 21. If the government is still shutdown, he will pay for the trip personally in order to keep the commitment and his speech will fall within appearance guidelines.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- **Fraud Efforts Continue:** Secretary Glickman held a news conference in Los Angeles, California on Thursday to announce the removal of 681 Los Angeles area food stamp retailers' eligibility to redeem food stamps in the USDA Food Stamp Program.
- **Administration Praises Quincy Library Group, Pledges Additional Funds:** Yesterday, Secretary Glickman joined Deputy Secretary Richard Rominger and USDA Under Secretary for Natural Resources and Environment Jim Lyons in Sacramento, California in supporting the collaborative resource management approach of a group of northern Californians known as the Quincy Library Group (QLG). To demonstrate its support, the Department pledged \$4.7 million to improve forest health and reduce forest lands fire risk.
- **Interior Appropriations Bill Rejected:** On November 15, the House voted to reject the conference report on H.R. 1977, the Interior Appropriations Act of 1966. If agreement is not reached, the Forest Service will have to shutdown its operations by November 27.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **Hearing on Media Analysis Service Hired By The Department of Energy:** Secretary O'Leary testified today for five hours at a joint hearing before the Oversight and Investigations and Energy and Power Subcommittees of the House Commerce Committee about the recent story of the Department's hiring of a media analysis service called CARMA. The committee may call an additional hearing on the Secretary's travel.
- **Major Privatization Initiative at the Hanford Site:** On Monday, November 20, the Department will release a draft request for proposals (RFP) for a contract to construct and operate a facility for the treatment of contaminated liquid wastes stored at a tank farm at the Hanford Site in Washington. This privatization initiative will allow the waste to be transferred from their current liquid form to a safer more stable solid form for storage. At an annual cost of about \$600 million, the treatment of this waste is the single most costly project in the DOE complex. The Department expects that with such a competition project, a private firm will yield a 30 percent cost savings.

The Department hopes to award the contract by fall 1996. This privatization initiative will serve as a model of this Administration's efforts to increase the efficiency and cost effectiveness of the Federal Government.

- **Trip to South Africa with Vice President Gore:** Secretary O'Leary will travel to South Africa with Vice President Gore on November 29. This is the first meeting of the U.S. and South Africa Binational Commission. Secretary O'Leary chairs the Energy Committee of the Commission. After taking part in the Commission meeting, she will travel to a township near Capetown to meet with investors that we have lined up to participate in a fast track project in Guguletu. This project is a feasibility study with U.S. laboratories and private sector firms to determine investment opportunities in this township.
- **Western Area Power Administration Negotiated Rate Methodology:** The Deputy Secretary of Energy has approved, on an interim basis, the rate methodology for the Western Area Power Administration's Boulder Canyon Project, subject to final approval by the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. The interim rate methodology is the result of successful negotiations between the Western Area Power Administration, the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation, and the Boulder Canyon Project contractors.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

- **Bombing In Riyadh:** USIS Riyadh, which had planned to furlough some employees during the shutdown, has remained at full staff to handle media inquiries following the bombing of the US-run military training office and the deaths of five Americans.
- **Nigeria Denies Entry To American Professors On USIA Program:** Professors Robert Holmes and Henry Elonge of Clark Atlanta University arrived at the Lagos international airport on November 11 and were denied entry by the Nigerian State Security Officers. No official reason was given except a statement by the officer refusing entry that "this is our country, this is our policy." Holmes and Elonge were to conduct a program with environmental organizations, an especially sensitive area after the Ken Saro-Wiwa execution. This is the first incident of this type involving project participants and, according to the USIS post, "it is too early to determine if it was a one-time event or the beginning of a new policy of the government of Nigeria."
- **Japanese Public Opinion Moderation:** USIA supplied The White House, Department of Defense and the Embassy in Tokyo with an update on Japanese public opinion on the security alliance. A USIA-sponsored flash telephone poll taken immediately after Secretary Perry's visit to Japan, showed highly critical Japanese public opinion beginning to moderate. While most see the incident as damaging to the alliance, seven-in-ten Japanese say the U.S.-Japan security alliance is still needed and should be maintained. Moreover, although the public also wants an expects reductions in US bases in Japan, a majority (56%) think that the US forces in Japan are important for their country's security.
- **Exchanges/AU Pair:** Although the 179 International Visitors and Citizen Exchange program participants now in-country will continue their programs, their appointments at USG offices in Washington and across the country have been canceled. Processing of all grant applications from American citizens and institutions has been suspended for both academic and professional programs. No US Speakers will be sent abroad during the shutdown unless funds have been authorized. In addition, 1400 Au Pairs are unable to have visas processed and enter the US until USIA receives authorization for FY96.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

- **Government Shutdown:** The Department is executing DoD's part

of the plan for the government shutdown. Approximately 258,000 of DoD's 830,000 civilians employees worldwide have already been furloughed.

All 1.6 million active duty military personnel continue to report for duty and were paid Nov. 15. If the shutdown continues to the December 1 pay date, they will not be paid at that time. They eventually will be paid when the funds are appropriated.

162,000 Reservists (of 952,000) will not drill during the shutdown and will not be paid.

- **Egypt:** The Department is currently engaged in a very large joint military exercise in Egypt. The purpose of the exercise is to promote interoperability between the U.S. and Egypt and to conduct coalition warfare operations and training. In addition to the Egyptian military, French, UK, UAE and Italian forces are participating. Training will end this Friday, with all troops redeployed by early December.
- **Haiti:** Mob violence, roadblocks, and street demonstrations throughout Haiti have occurred over the last several days. The general deterioration of stability does not bode well for the presidential election, only slightly more than a month away. A member of U.S. Force Haiti was injured while helping to break up some roadblocks. UNMH was placed on Threat-condition Three due to the increase in demonstrations in Port-au-Prince. USFORHAITI requested deployment of nonlethal munitions due to potential unrest during upcoming elections and these should arrive in Haiti the first week in December.
- **Cuba:** 6,081 Cuban migrants remain in camps at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station. However, the migrant population has been reduced to a level that permits military dependents to return to the base in December and January, restoring some semblance of normal life for our people stationed there.
- **POW/MIA Search:** 141 DoD personnel (including the crew of the salvage ship *USS Brunswick*) deployed to Cambodia to conduct investigation and recovery operations from the 1975 SS Mayaguez incident site. Some remains have been recovered from a USAF Chinook helicopter crash site. Redeployment is scheduled for Friday, December 1.
- **SecDef/CJCS:** Secretary Perry will travel to Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Denmark, Macedonia, and Austria, November 18-25. He will meet with Foreign Affairs and Defense Ministers. On Thanksgiving Day, he will visit and share a dinner with U.S. soldiers performing peacekeeping duties in Macedonia. He will also travel to Brussels to attend the

DPC/NPG Defense Ministerials from November 26-December 1. GEN Shalikashvili will also attend the Brussels meeting and then will go on to Stuttgart for meetings with the EUCOM staff.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- **Middle East Peace Process:** Dennis Ross will be leading a small team to Israel over the weekend for consultations with Peres and his peace process advisors. The focus of the discussions will be a review of all of the negotiations, with a particular emphasis on how to move forward on the Israeli-Syrian track. Israel will be Ross' only stop.
- **Singapore Buys Boeing:** In one of the largest commercial aircraft deals ever, Singapore International Airlines announced on November 14 that it will purchase 77 Boeing 777 aircrafts at an estimated \$12.7 billion, beating out Airbus for the deal. SIA placed orders for 34 planes and options for 43 more, with deliveries set for 1997-2004. Rolls Royce will provide engines for 61 planes, but Pratt and Whitney are still in the running to outfit the others. SIA tried to link the sale to additional landing rights in the U.S., an effort we deflected without damaging Boeing's position.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- **Intelligence and Defense Budget Decisions:** At the end of last week, Deputy Secretary of Defense John White and Director Deutch met to discuss programmatic and funding options for US intelligence in FY97 and the outyears. They agreed to a number of initiatives to improve information systems management; bolster processing, analysis, and human source intelligence; and deal with some specialized Defense collection needs. Deputy Secretary White and Director Deutch are now ready to issue unified budgetary guidance to all National and Defense intelligence organizations to help ensure the most effective and coordinated use of US intelligence resources.
- **Decisions on a National Imagery and Mapping Agency:** On Tuesday, Secretary of Defense Perry, General Shalikashvili, and Director Deutch reached full agreement on the creation of a new National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA). This single move will mark the most significant organizational change the Intelligence community has seen in years. They also agreed to send a joint letter to the appropriate Congressional committees in order to begin consultation with Congress. Their goal is to begin provisional NIMA operations by May 1996 and have the Agency fully

operational.

UNITED NATIONS

- **Government Shutdown:** With the General Assembly still in session and a number of critical issues coming up in the Security Council, USUN is being treated as an excepted post. My speaking tour to Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Diego and Phoenix to discuss the NATO Implementation Force in Bosnia has been postponed. Speaking events for my deputies and staff have also been postponed or cancelled.
- **Nigeria:** The UN intends to seek UN condemnation of the Nigerian government's brutal execution of writer Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other members of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People. Our initiative is complicated by the presence of Nigeria on the Council. The UN is now working with interested nations to determine the most effective approach to take.
- **Western Sahara:** Ambassador Rick Inderfurth left yesterday on a humanitarian mission to Morocco. As part of the repatriation program, he and the Argentine Ambassador to the UN will escort 200 former prisoners of war from a camp in the Algerian desert where they have been interned for almost twenty years to Morocco. The UN sees this as a significant breakthrough in the normalization process in Western Sahara.
- **General Assembly:** The GA elected five new members of the Security Council last week -- South Korea, Chile, Poland, Egypt and Guinea-Bissau. They will take their seats on January 1, replacing Oman, Argentina, The Czech Republic, Rwanda and Nigeria.
- **Security Council Reform:** Ambassador Rick Inderfurth endorsed the candidacies of Japan and Germany for permanent membership to the Security Council in a speech before the General Assembly on November 14. Although a majority of the membership supports Council expansion, the devil is in the details and we do not predict any significant progress on it in the near future.

cc: The Vice President
Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Erskine Bowles
George Stephanopoulos
Alexis Herman
Carol Rasco
Maggie Williams
Michael McCurry
Doug Sosnik
Marcia Hale
Donald Baer
Ron Klain



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-20-95

Kathleen A. McGinty
Chair

95 NOV 18 P12:41

November 17, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY

CC: LEON PANETTA

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

VA/HUD APPROPRIATIONS (EPA, CEQ)

The conference report for VA/HUD appropriations remains unacceptable from an environmental point of view. It cuts EPA's overall budget 23 percent from your request, enforcement 27 percent, drinking water funds 45 percent, funds to keep raw sewage off beaches 30 percent, and Superfund 25 percent. It also maintains the 50 percent cut to CEQ.

As expected, most of the objectionable riders have been removed. The wetlands rider, and several less objectionable riders, are still in the bill. Also, report language may attempt to "back door" some of the other riders.

Unfortunately, it is likely that Sherwood Boehlert will feel that he has done everything he can to improve the bill and will support it -- taking Republican moderates with him. Although he has told environmentalists that he would probably still vote to uphold a veto, this makes it vitally important that we keep Democrats to maintain a veto-proof margin.

INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS (DOI, DOE, USFS)

As you know, the House voted for the second time to reject the Interior appropriations bill. The motion to recommit calls on conferees to reinstate the mining patent moratorium and also to reject language increasing logging in Alaska's Tongass. This was a second stinging rebuke to the GOP leadership (Gingrich personally lobbied members to vote against the motion to recommit). It is also worth noting that the first motion to recommit did not include instructions to strip the Tongass language. In other words, Democrats and the environmental lobby raised the stakes and still won a second time. The bill still includes cuts for Indian programs and energy conservation, and objectionable policy riders on NW salmon recovery, endangered species habitat, and the California Desert.

RECONCILIATION

The reconciliation package still includes the Arctic Refuge language, sham mining reform, the Ward Valley land transfer with no environmental conditions, loopholes for oil and gas royalty collection, and unwise water projects. For National Parks, the bill changes concessions policies to protect vender monopolies and make it easier for them to gauge tourists -- without returning more money to the Parks.

Attached: Sierra Club and NRDC press releases praising your vetoes.

NOV-16-'95 17:08 ID:SIERRA CLUB SF TEL NO:415/760350 #844 P02

SIERRA CLUB



NEWS RELEASE

730 Polk Street San Francisco, CA 94109 (415) 923-5526

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
NOVEMBER 16, 1995

CONTACT: Roni Lieberman (202) 675-7903
Daniel Silverman (415) 923-5526

SIERRA CLUB STATEMENT ON RECENT PRESIDENTIAL VETOES

Leading Environmental Protection Group Praises President Clinton's Actions; Urges Him to Stand Up to Anti-Environmentalists

Washington DC -- Carl Pope, Executive Director of the Sierra Club today issued the following statement:

"In refusing to sign the debt extension bill, and the Continuing Resolution, President Clinton has protected the right of everyone in this country to a safe, healthy environment.

The environmental implications of these budget bills are profound. The radicals in Congress are using the budget bills as a Trojan horse to hide all manner of anti-environmental legislation.

Included in the debt extension bill was a radical risk assessment proposal that would have mired all of our public health and environmental protection programs in endless rounds of analysis and red tape. This risk assessment bill is so controversial that it has been stalled in the Senate for months. Senator Dole has failed on three attempts to muster the necessary 60 votes to cut off debate and force a vote on it.

The Continuing Resolution, would have drastically cut funding for the Environmental Protection Agency, leaving that agency unable to enforce laws that ensure our water is safe to drink, our air is fit to breathe and the public is protected from toxic chemicals.

President Clinton stood up to the extremists in Congress this week, and in doing so held off the sneak attack on our environment. But this is only the beginning. In the next several weeks Congress will be completing action on the 1996 appropriations bills and on the budget reconciliation. Unless these bills are stripped of their anti-environmental provisions, and funding to critical public health and environmental protection programs is restored, President Clinton should veto them again and again."



Natural Resources
Defense Council

News Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 13, 1995

Contact: Greg Wetstone
David Hawkins
Diane Dulken
(202) 783-7800

NRDC DECRIES LATEST STEALTH ATTACK BY CONGRESS Applauds Clinton for Vetoing Special Interest Budget "Footnotes"

The Natural Resources Defense Council denounced Congress's latest stealth attack on the environment -- a 112-page "regulatory reform" bill attached to debt ceiling legislation. NRDC praised President Clinton for vetoing the tainted bill, and urged him to uphold the veto as many times as it takes to omit this and all of the anti-environmental riders that Congress has proposed.

"Senator Dole's original 'regulatory reform' legislation couldn't pass the Senate, so now they're trying to sneak it in as a footnote to this major budget bill," said Greg Wetstone, NRDC Legislative Director. "Congress must be in denial. When will they get the message that Americans do not want their environmental laws rolled back."

The so-called "regulatory reform" amendment, adopted in identical form by both chambers on Thursday, would kill the government's ability to protect the public from threats to health, safety, and the environment by 1) creating impossible risk-assessment and cost-benefit tests applicable to all important new safeguards, and 2) requiring the government to divert taxpayer dollars to top priority review of all petitions, no matter how frivolous, to change or repeal existing safeguards.

The amendment's extreme "risk assessment" requirements would prevent timely action to stop operations at unsafe food processing plants, prevent recalls of tainted foods and drugs, bring toxic waste dump cleanups to a halt, delaying them for years while additional complex risk assessments are prepared. Existing health assessment, such as reports on the hazards of second-hand tobacco smoke, could be suppressed by industry lawsuits.

All existing health, safety, and environmental laws would be overridden by language that would prohibit issuance of new safeguards to address current health, safety, and environmental threats unless the agency proved the rule passed harsh cost tests. Industry economists would be able to take charge of conducting the cost/benefit analyses.

All existing health, safety, and environment standards would also be threatened by a provision that allows industry petitions to repeal such rules, demands that agencies act within 18 months and allows immediate lawsuits to challenge any agency that refuses to repeal a rule.

-- over --

-- page two, NRDC release

Any failures to follow the detailed procedural steps spelled out in the amendment would increase industry's opportunities to overturn needed health, safety, and environmental rules in court.

"President Clinton has already promised to veto this bill because of this and other flaws. We thank him for his solid commitment, and we call on him to veto the bill as many times as it takes to get rid of this outrageous 'rider,'" said Greg Wetstone.

NRDC is keeping a running list of over 60 anti-environmental budget riders found in all of the major budget bills. A copy is available upon request.

#####

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 11-20

TO:

R. L. H. 
Dennis

FROM: Staff Secretary

Please let me
know if this is OK.
We need to get it
out today.



DRAFT

Dear Representative 1~:

Thank you for your letter regarding the bill to disapprove of amendments to the Federal Sentencing Guidelines relating to the lowering of crack sentences. As you know, I signed this bill on October 30, 1995.

You are correct in emphasizing the importance of fairness in the criminal justice system. African Americans have indeed been subjected too often to treatment that has been less than just. I am committed to ensuring that federal law enforcement under my Administration adheres to the principle of equal protection under the law. However, I believe that tough penalties are warranted for crack distribution because of the devastating impact crack has had on communities across America, especially inner-city communities.

Current federal law does require a substantial disparity between sentences for crack as compared to equal amounts of powder cocaine, and for that reason I stated, upon signing the bill, that some adjustment to the current sentencing scheme is warranted. The legislation I signed directs the United States Sentencing Commission to submit new recommendations to Congress. Consequently, I anticipate that the disparity will be reduced.

Moreover, the crime bill that we proposed and that was enacted last year created a safety valve that allows judges to ignore the mandatory minimum penalties for crack cocaine if the defendant doesn't have a significant criminal history, did not use violence or cause serious injury or death, was not a leader or organizer and cooperated with the government in connection with the others.

What we need is a sentencing scheme that is tough but fair. I want to assure you that I am willing and ready to work with you, the Commission, and the Department of Justice to address this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable 2~
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

cc w/incoming
Bob Nash
Marsha Scott

Shondae

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1995

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
345 North Rockingham Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90049-2635

Dear Stanley:

Thanks so much for your fax of November 14 and for your recommendation that Ma Jaya Sati Bhagavati be appointed as a delegate to the White House Conference on HIV/AIDS. I'm grateful for your insight, as always, and have shared your letter with Bob Nash, Director of Presidential Personnel.

Thanks, too, for what you said about the budget issues. We're continuing to hang tough -- we won't allow the best interests of the American people to be compromised.

Please give Betty my best. Hillary and I hope to see you both soon.

Sincerely,

Rui



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

*Maurice
cc: Dr. Scott
B. Nash*

November 14, 1995

President Bill Clinton

via fax

Dear Bill:

Apparently you are holding a White House Conference on HIV and AIDS on December 6. Our daughter, Karen Sperling, who is something of a Mother Earth kind of person, that is, tending to ill people especially those with AIDS, is urging that her good friend, Ma Jaya Sati Bhagavati be invited to that meeting. Ma is a most impressive person whom Betty and I have met and is something of a teacher of Karen's but more importantly a most impressive Mother Earth type herself, almost far beyond the aspirations of our daughter.

Several months ago we visited with her while she was staying in Los Angeles and it was a most inspiring occasion. Betty and I do not normally cotton to touchy-feeling approaches to life but in a very tiny wooden frame house there were at least one hundred lost souls, almost all with HIV or AIDS. This is a Jewish woman--of all things--of about 55, and her Brooklynese--even worse than mine--created an almost dynamic effect with these people of all colors and races involved.

In any event, I am enclosing her curriculum vitae and hope that you will be able to arrange for an invitation to the December 6 conference. I was struck with her intelligence and her analytical abilities and especially the effectiveness.

With warm respect,

SKS/kc
clinton.n14
enclosure

P.S. I grow increasingly respectful of the way you are handling this budget problem. I had dinner last night with Jack Nelson of the *LA Times* who told me what I have always suspected, that is, that Gingrich and Dole hate each other. No surprise there.

P.P.S. Ma's address, C/O Richard Rosencrantz, 11155 Roseland Road, Unit 16, Sebastian, FL 32958. 407-388-0699 phone and fax.

NOV 13-95 MON 23:38

7236021

3 pages

To: Stan - 476 9853
From: Karen 476 4697

MA JAYA SATI BHAGAVATI
CURRICULUM VITAE

BORN: 5/26/40, Brooklyn, NY

EDUCATION: Mostly self-taught.

FOUNDED:
Kashi Ashram, in 1976. Interfaith community of which she is the Spiritual Director.

The River School, in 1979. Non-sectarian private school, pre-kindergarten through high school, characterized by the quality of its education, the excellence of its reputation and the success of its graduates.

The River Fund, in 1990. Volunteer-based organization helping people in need, especially people with AIDS, abused children and hospice patients. River Fund volunteers serve in Florida, California, Chicago and New York City.

HONORS:

Nominated for the Jefferson Award in 1992 for Extraordinary Public Service

Commended for her community service work in 1992 by the White House Office of National Service

Selected as a Major Presenter to the Parliament of the World's Religions, August 1993, Chicago (attended by 8000 delegates)

Chosen as a member of the select three day Assembly of 1994 Woman of Peace Award (given by the Parliament of the World's Religions, Chicago, IL, USA)

Asked to serve in 1994 on Board of Directors, Project Response (comprehensive AIDS care program in Brevard County, FL)

Received the LA Art Core Award in October, 1994, for her achievements as an artist and her work serving people in need

Asked to serve as a Trustee of the Parliament of the World's Religions, June, 1995. Member of the Parliament's International Initiative Committee

WRITINGS

- a) Books:
Sharing Moments, by the Orphaless Foundation.
The River, by Ganga Press

b) Booklets:

Hidden Under the Breast of the Mother, Ganga Press
If Heaven Would Only Close Its Doors, Ganga Press
Breathe and Dance with the Gods, Ganga Press
Nine Meditations, Ganga Press

c) Articles written by her: Numerous commentaries, question and answer columns and articles on many topics including service, caregiving, spirituality, working with people with AIDS, death and dying - in a variety of magazines, including the following: CONSCIOUS CHOICE (Chicago); THE MONTHLY ASPECTARIAN (Chicago); NEWLIFE (New York City); NETWORKER MAGAZINE (Jupiter, FL); FOUNTAIN MAGAZINE (Fort Lauderdale); COMMUNITY VOICE (West Palm Beach); HORIZON MAGAZINE (Melbourne, FL); OMEGA NEW AGE DIRECTORY (Phoenix); ARTZONA NETWORKING NEWS (Scottsdale); JOURNAL OF EMERGENCE (Sedona, AZ); AWARENESS JOURNAL (Tucson, AZ); NEW TIMES (Seattle, WA); COMMON GROUND (Seattle); CONNEXIONS (Seattle)

d) Major recent articles about her: Tantra (1994); Visions Art Quarterly (Summer, 1994); Shambhalla Sun (March, 1995); YOGA JOURNAL (Upcoming - March/April, 1996)

MAJOR LECTURES:

- a) Parliament of the World's Religions, October, 1993
 "Conquering Life and Death with Abundance"
- b) Harvard University Divinity School, March, 1994, "Death and Dying"
- c) University of North Carolina Medical School, April, 1994,
 "Serving People with AIDS or the HIV Virus"

d) Addressed annual Communal Studies Association Conferences: New Harmony, Indiana, 10/93; Estero, Florida, 10/95

EXHIBITIONS OF HER PAINTINGS:

Ma Jaya has had 14 national or international gallery shows since 1990 (eight of which were one-woman shows), including the following:

Straus Gallery; New York, New York	11/90
Villanova University; Villanova, Pennsylvania	6/91
Espace Cardin; Paris, France	12/91
University of New Orleans, Newman Center; New Orleans, Louisiana	4/92
Laurina Arte Galleria (Sponsored by State Ministry of Culture and Art); Rome, Italy	April/May/93
Sacred Art Exhibition, Parliament of the World's Religions, Chicago, IL	8/28-9/4/93
LA Art Core, Los Angeles, California	10/94
Copeland/Rutherford Gallery, Santa Fe, NM	6/95

(For more information about Ma Jaya, contact Richard Rosenkranz, Media Chairman, Parliament of World Religions at 407-388-0699.)



Stanley K. Sheinbaum

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 14 November

TO:

Nancy Heinrich

FIRM:

FROM:

COMMENTS:

For The President

OF PAGES (including cover sheet)

4

DESTINATION FAX #

*If you experience any problems with this transmittal
please call us at 310-472-9541
Fax: # 310-476-9853*