

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12-29

TO: *George*

FROM: Staff Secretary

Fy 1,

Tell

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 12-29

TO: DICK MORRIS

FROM: Staff Secretary

A few thoughts on
~~State~~ of Union. As if
you don't have enough
already.

Mike Stern

To: Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union
Da: December 29, 1995

A few unsolicited thoughts about the structure of the State of the Union.

Message

Structure and content should be driven by the implicit messages we wish to send. I'd define them as follows: (i) **President as moderate alternative** between extremes of left and right; (ii) **President as leader**; (iii) **President on the side of ordinary Americans** rather than the wealthy or special interests; (iv) **President as healer** who can help us find common ground; (v) **President having the energy and vision** to lead this country toward a new century (as Dole cannot).

Incidentally, I don't think a speech of the kind Benjamin Barber suggests, explicitly constructed around the concept of leadership, is a good idea. It would sound forced. Best way for President to appear as a leader is to talk about what he has done rather than about leadership, and to speak in strong, declarative sentences.

Structure

I would organize the speech in three basic parts: (I) introduction, starting with a nod toward troops in Bosnia, laying out a roadmap of where the speech is going, and then pausing -- briefly -- to take stock of how much we've accomplished so far; (II) a second section built around the budget confrontation. We must address this early, with President articulating what he believes is at stake -- his conception of government's role vs. GOP (and distinguished from old-fashioned liberal); and (III) a third section on where we go from here -- domestically (preparing for new century [education, technology, etc.]; increasing wages/incomes; making our streets safer; community/values) and internationally.

I. Introduction --Nod to troops/roadmap/where we've come

Troops. I'd follow Jeremy Rosner's advice with a nod to our troops in Bosnia. His suggested language is excellent.

Roadmap. 'The past few months have been a difficult and confusing period of struggle over our budget. I want to discuss with you what that battle is/was really about, and then talk about where we're going from here both at home and abroad.' (It's a great help to the listener to say where you're going before you go there.)

Where we've come. 'But first, I want to take a brief look at where we've come. I arrived in Washington three years ago dedicated to reviving our economy and ushering in a new period of American renewal -- of economic growth, political reform, social progress and leadership around the world. We have much yet to do, but let us not lose sight of how far we have come. Economy strong with low interest rates, lowest combination of inflation and unemployment in past x years. American companies most competitive in the world. Strong in trade. Leader in technology. Federal government smallest in 30 years. Crime down. Real political reform, with last big step to reform campaign finance. America as leader and peacemaker on the world stage. A time of promise and a time of hope. No nation on earth is in better shape than the United States to meet the new century.'

II. The Budget Battle -- Role of Government

'For past several months, we have been engaged in struggle over the shape and nature of our national budget. I know it seems to many people watching from outside Washington like a confusing, perplexing debate over numbers and economic assumptions. But it is about much more than that. It is about real people. And about what we expect from our national government. Let's talk for a few moments about what's at stake in this budget fight.

Not about who wants balanced budget. 'First, let me tell you what the budget battle was/is *not* about. Not about one side wanting a balanced budget and the other opposing it. I came into office understanding how crucial it was to reduce the massive budget deficits I inherited from my predecessors. And we did that. Three straight declining budgets. *Lowest* budget deficit of any major industrial country. And last June, I put forward a plan to balance the budget using real numbers -- no smoke and mirrors. Numbers favored by the mainstream economists of Wall Street; even by the Wall Street Journal.

Not about who wants big government. 'Nor is the budget battle about one side wanting big government and the other opposing it. During my three years, the number of workers employed by the federal government has shrunk by nearly 200,000 workers. To a level smaller than Bush. Or Reagan. Or Carter. Ford. Nixon. Johnson. To smallest level since President Kennedy.

Different conceptions of role of government. 'What confrontation *was/is* about is fundamentally different conceptions of role of federal government. There are three basic models of what our government should do. On one side, the old-fashioned, liberal model that searches for a government program, managed in Washington, to fix every problem. On the other side, the minimal conception favored by many in the congressional majority, which believes government should handle national defense and then, for the most part, get out of the way. My view is different. I favor a middle way -- a government wise enough to understand the challenges confronting us, vigorous enough to address those challenges effectively, but smart enough to know its own limits.

Examples. [Then give examples from Medicare/Medicaid; education; technology; the environment; crime. In each case on the pattern of: "a government dedicated to maintaining Medicare and Medicaid for our elderly, our disabled and others in need, not one that wants to slash those programs; a government committed to helping young people get a college education through Direct Lending, not one that wants to eliminate government support for education; a government that demands clean air and safe drinking water, not one that wants to let companies that pollute off the hook; a government pledged to keep taxes down for our working families, not one that wants to raise taxes on families making just \$30,000 a year, while cutting them for families making over \$100,000, etc."]

'That is the kind of government I believe in. Not oversized. Not believing it has the answer for every problem. But understanding that this country can only make progress, meet its challenges, preserve God's green earth, and remain true to its historic mission of fairness and justice if our national government remains *engaged*. That is what I believe in and, as long as I remain President, that is what this government will do.'

III. Where Do We Go From Here

'What then are the challenges we must meet as we go forward from this day?'

Domestic

Prepare for challenges of new era. First, prepare our nation for the economic challenges of a new century and a new era. [Talk about education, technology, conditions for investment such as low interest rates.]

Work to increase incomes of ordinary Americans. 'Second, commit ourselves to tackling one of the central dilemmas of our time -- that the incomes of ordinary, working Americans are not keeping pace with our overall economic growth. This is a bipartisan problem that has persisted for 20 years through Republican and Democratic Administrations, caused not so much by government policy as by changes in the global economy and the nature of technology. But the bottom line is that average American workers -- the men and women who work the day shifts and the night shifts, who wear blue collars and white collars -- are not sharing as they should in this nation's wealth. Therefore, having put the nation's economic house in order during the past three years, I intend to rededicate myself to increasing the wages and incomes of ordinary Americans. [Use appropriate Reed proposals.]

'This is not an issue of labor vs. management or management vs. labor. We do best as a people and as a nation when each of us shares fairly in this nation's bounty. We are all in this together and must never forget that.'

Safety in our streets. Third, safe streets. [Any of Reed tough-on-crime proposals that work.] Press for 100,000 cops. Blast away on efforts to repeal assault weapons ban.

Community/Values. Fourth, an area beyond government programs but not beyond the scope of our national dialogue -- restoration of values and community.

Faith, discipline, hard work. First, reinvigorate the basic American values of faith, discipline [Taylor Branch's "favorite words"] and hard work. Opportunity and responsibility. Children learning that there's no something for nothing. Criticize Hollywood excess. Pro-marriage, anti-divorce (though I'd avoid calling on States to enact legislation, as Galston recommends). Making abortion rare. Fathers taking responsibility for children they bring into world. Child support enforcement. Welfare -- tough work requirements. But President couldn't sign bill that is too tough on kids and not tough enough on work. Perhaps pick up "challenge" theme from Reed memo.

Common Ground. Listen to one another. Dialogue. This nation's glory and greatness is its diversity. E Pluribus Unum. We must say no to the grisly murder of a black couple by white racists on a military base in North Carolina. We must also say no to the firebombing of a store in Harlem because the owner was white or Jewish. No to extremists on all sides. Yes to our vital center. To reason and tolerance. To understanding. To reaching out across races, ethnicities, religions, nationalities. A House Divided has never been able to stand. Let us pledge -- not through government, but through families, churches, synagogues and neighborhood organizations -- to finding common ground.

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A key section that should be strong and substantial, both because of Bosnia and as surest way to project leadership. Talk of this as a pivotal year for American leadership around the world. Bosnia, N. Korea, Haiti, Northern Ireland, Middle East. Emphasize successes, but also challenges ahead. Obviously need serious discussion of Bosnia. And position President on middle ground between isolationists and trying to solve all the world's problems. I agree with Rosner on bipartisan nod to Dole and McCain. I am in general agreement with Rosner's take on emphasizing the hard security challenges over the humanitarian, addressing the audience that we need to convince, not the one already with us.

V. **Conclusion.** Strong, upbeat, dynamic. And short.

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Fr: Todd Stern
Re: State of the Union
Da: December 29, 1995

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V. Conclusion. Strong, upbeat, dynamic. And short.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/27/95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
HELEN HOWELL

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Lake response re: Newsweek article on Bosnia.** 1) David Hackworth claims that today's mines are made mostly of plastic and metal detectors cannot locate them. *Lake response* -- Most of the 3 million mines in Bosnia are plastic, but they have metal components and are detectable by our highly-sensitive metal detectors and explosive-sniffing dogs. In addition, many tanks will have special plows and rollers to harmlessly explode the mines. 2) Hackworth claimed that U.S. Special Forces will be responsible for training Bosnian government troops. *Lake response* -- False. U.S. Special Forces will act as liaison officers and interpreters among the 25 national contingents and the top British, French and American division commanders.

(B) **Rivlin response on implications of Welfare Reform Conference Agreement for SSI childhood disability benefits.** Sections on SSI benefits for childhood disability (i) tighten eligibility for new applicants (which we support), and (ii) create two categories of disability, with 25% benefit cut for some 65% of the kids coming onto the rolls. A child under age six would be eligible for the full rate only if the need for personal care assistance is so great that, without such assistance, the child would require specialized care outside the home. Alice argues that "personal assistance" is just one of several costly needs of children with disabilities. Others include: specialized day care, home adaptations, and aids to facilitate communication and mobility. Examples of those who would get only 75% of full benefit rate: a 2-year-old boy with HIV, a 4-year-old girl with Down Syndrome and a congenital heart defect, a 12-year-old girl with Lupus, and a 14-year-old boy with Crohn's Disease. Alice says creating two categories makes no sense since low-income parents of all these kids incur special costs and have reduced work opportunities.

(C) **Fact sheet on Republican record on drugs.** Via Leon. Argues that the drug issue is NOT a priority of the Republican Leadership. After not doing anything in the first year of this Congress, Dole and Gingrich have now formed the partisan Task Force on National Drug Policy to study the issue. Over one year after the Crime Bill was enacted, Dole has yet to appoint anyone to either of two national commissions

required by the Bill to examine crime and drug enforcement and prevention. The "Contract on America" says nothing about drugs. Republicans sent an appropriations bill to you that cuts funding for Federal law enforcement task forces of the FBI, DEA, and Treasury, and cuts the DEA, FBI, U.S. Marshals, drug prosecutors, Bureau of Prisons, and other drug fighting resources.

- cc: Memo to Reich
OK-Letter
Letter
- (D) **Panetta and Rivlin responses to Sec. Reich budget question.** Reich had asked why neither school-to-work apprenticeships nor the GI Bill were deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. Leon says this "has been fixed," and Rivlin explains that we are fighting hard for these programs. She reports that we are proposing: an additional \$153 million above the likely FY 96 appropriation of \$218 million for School-to-Work; and an additional \$1.1 billion for the GI Bill programs (17% of the entire \$6.6 billion add-back total) -- in addition to School-to-Work, Summer Jobs (+\$635 million), Dislocated Worker Assistance (+\$362 million), adult training grants to states (+\$117 million), and One-Stop Career Shopping (+\$29 million). In total, these increases would raise funding for GI Bill programs to \$4.1 billion or \$300 million below FY 95. We are continuing the priority of GI Bill programs reflected in your June balanced budget (except that financing for school-to-work and one-stop career shopping -- short term initiatives intended to be taken over by the states -- ends in 2001 under the June budget).

- agru
cc: Leon
v. Hunt
- (E) **Rick Allen memo on AmeriCorps.** Gallup poll -- 83% favor program, though . name recognition only 24%. Internal polls show Republican attacks raised name identification by 50% over the last year without reducing public approval. Press -- Editorials run 4 to 1 in our favor, but negative pieces are increasing as AmeriCorps is targeted more by Republican Leadership in Congress. Main charge: "a luxury we can't afford." In response, we stress cost-effectiveness (a \$1.60 to \$2.60 return on each federal dollar invested), and role of unpaid volunteers, as well as State and private sector support. Reauthorization -- required in FY 1996. Rick urges that you try to protect: the current education award (\$4,725;) floor on membership (25,000); a living allowance that ensures diversity; federal quality standards; and a national identity for AmeriCorps. Likely Republican lines of attack -- means-testing the education award and/or living allowance; restricting or eliminating the federal presence; capping per participant costs and increasing the match; tightening prohibitions against advocacy; reducing the number of members; and transferring the Senior Corps to HHS to eliminate the program's most potent constituency.

- cc: Leon
Memo to House
Scott
- (F) **Rasco response re medical coverage for people with HIV/AIDS.** There is no data distinguishing between those working and not working, but it is estimated that 15% of people with AIDS have private health insurance (often restricted, e.g., no coverage of prescription drugs), 30% have no insurance, 50% receive Medicaid benefits, and 5% are eligible for Medicare. Many of the uninsured and underinsured rely on public hospitals for inpatient care, and programs funded by the Ryan White CARE Act for outpatient care, drug purchase assistance, and/or help with COBRA premiums. However, states often exhaust their allotted CARE funds before the grant period ends.

12127/95

95 DEC 19

cc: Mr. [illegible]
 P: 1:15
 Job Done
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 drugs so

What task force would the American public rather have to fight drugs -- one made up of Al D'Amato and Bill Zeliff or one made up of DEA and FBI agents?

(K) **Letter to Rasco from father of son with AIDS.** You and Carol met Jay Minish, the son, a 16-year-old hemophiliac who is HIV-Positive, last year at World AIDS Day. Jay depends on Medicaid, and his father argues that if the Republicans are successful in making drastic cuts in Medicaid, his son, and thousands of others like him will lose their lifeline.

We have also received the following items:

- **Lake responses on PFLP case.** You asked Tony about the Nat Hentoff piece criticizing the government's efforts to deport 8 aliens because of their support for the PFLP. He notes that the Justice Department is still reviewing its appeal options.
- **Congressional letters.** *Sen. Kennedy on Medicare* -- Appreciates your prompt response to his budget letter and is pleased: "I believe characterizing Medicare savings as \$98 billion rather than \$124 billion is a fairer presentation of your proposal and reflects the value of needed new investments as one of our principal priorities in health care. Well done! We're winning this fight because our priorities are the American people's priorities." *Tillie Fowler* -- Thanks you for your condolences on the death of her father, Senator Culver Kidd of Georgia. *Rep. Bob Wise* -- Thanks you for attending the Nov. 20 Democratic Caucus, and for standing firm. Encloses cartoon drawn by his 8-year-old son of Gingrich whining on AF-1 and you telling him to be quiet. *Rep. James Walsh* -- Wrote to thank you for your recognition of the Congressional delegation on your recent trip to Ireland.

↓
United Airlines Pilots Master Executive Council Letter. Via Harold. The December 14 letter from Chairman Harlow Osteboe states that the UA division of the Air Line Pilots Association rejected the request that UA employees call the WH switchboard to support the jet fuel tax exemption. He notes, however, that the exemption is a "vital issue" for UA and its employees.

↓
Gary Bracken, Willbros USA, Inc. VP, letter re: ANWR. Via Mack. Bracken urges you to approve opening up ANWR to leasing. He argues that doing so will generate jobs, increase domestic production of oil and reduce import oil dependence, and generate Federal revenues that can be used to help balance the budget.

↓
Father Paul Tipton letter. The President of the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU) thanks you for including him in the Rabin Delegation. He also enclosed his personal account of the trip published in the 12/95 AJCU newsletter.

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D: Did answer my speech
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-27-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 DEC 19 11:16

December 19, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CAROL H. RASCO

Subject: Medicaid

I have never sent you a letter I have personally received, but I felt this one merited special attention. I felt a real kinship with this father as he wrote of his dear son Jay whom you and I met last year in the Oval Office on World AIDS Day. His son like Hamp depends on Medicaid, and yet many people do not see our children as medicaid beneficiaries....and many people do not realize our children would not have a very fulfilling life without it...true Hamp would still be alive unlike Jay perhaps, but Hamp wouldn't have any insurance nor his group home which in some senses would be no life of any quality.

I have sent Dan Minish an immediate fax reply as I wanted him to know how much we appreciate his support and have encouraged him to continue to speak out forcefully.

Thank you.

cc: Jeremy Ben-Ami
Patsy Fleming
Jeff Levi

I should reply too



File Solutions, Inc.

December 13, 1995

Mrs. Carol Rasco
Domestic Policy Advisor
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Rasco:

A year ago this month my son Jay and I were invited guests at The White House for World AIDS Day. As you may remember, Jay, a 16-year old hemophiliac who is HIV-Positive, told President Clinton about the problem involving the extension of his COBRA health insurance benefits because the Social Security Administration would not classify him as disabled. You and I also talked about this matter, and through your intervention we were able to break through the red tape and receive his deserved disability designation within a matter of days. Consequently, Jay's insurance coverage did not expire on January 31st and was extended to December 31st of this year.

Since that time, I applied for Medicaid benefits for Jay so that he would have coverage when the COBRA benefits expire later this month. During the application process I was told to not be optimistic, that since Jay did not require nursing home care it would be doubtful that he would be approved. However, in August I was notified that Jay had indeed been approved for Medicaid benefits. To say that this was another blessing from God, just as was our totally unexpected visit to The White House last year, would be an understatement! When COBRA expires December 31st, Jay's approximately \$150,000 per year in medical treatment expenses will continue to be covered. I wanted to take this opportunity to share this information with you.

Another reason for my writing is to express my concerns with the concerted efforts by the Republican controlled Congress to dramatically cut Medicaid funding. After hearing President Clinton's words on this year's observance of World AIDS day, it is obvious that our feelings on this subject are very much aligned. If the Republicans are successful in making drastic cuts in Medicaid, where will that leave people like my son? With there being no relief in sight in changing the insurance industry's position on "pre-existing conditions" and "lifetime maximums" Jay, and the thousands of people like him, are caught very much between the proverbial rock and a hard place. Not only does it seem that Congress is intent on ignoring President Clinton's vitally needed health insurance reforms, but they are moving headlong into exacerbating the already serious situation with their efforts to water down Medicaid. Medicaid was to be a literal lifesaver for the Minish family, but now....

Mrs. Rasco, Jay Minish is just one person among thousands, probably millions, who is affected by this situation, but he has a voice on this matter, and so do I. Simply stated, if there is anything that we can do, whether it be write, speak out, whatever, please call on us. Not to overstate, but this could very well be a life or death situation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Dan Minish". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "D" and "M".

Dan Minish



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/27/95

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20590

December 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO: The President
FROM: Federico Peña *Federico Peña*
SUBJECT: Highlights of Trip to Asia

Good trip!

I recently returned from a productive trip to Asia that included visits to Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Macau, Japan, and the Philippines. The goal of the 17-day mission was to advance the Administration's efforts to help American businesses be more successful in the rapidly growing markets of Asia and to enhance our transport relations with those economies. I was pleased to be accompanied by over two dozen U.S. business executives.

As the first Cabinet official to lead a trade and investment mission to Vietnam since normalization, I witnessed the signing of a \$12 million agreement between Vietnam's Transportation Ministry and a U.S. firm for port dredging equipment.

In Indonesia, I witnessed the establishment of a joint venture agreement for airport navigation equipment between a U.S. firm and its two Indonesian partners.

Two other business ventures were finalized in Malaysia. One is a joint venture for railway consulting services to design, construct, and manage a strategic rail system linking Kuala Lumpur's airport to the center of that city. The other is an engineering contract which will provide management support services to the new Kuala Lumpur International Airport. These new partnerships represent a major transfer of technology to Malaysia, and are symbolic of the high degree of economic cooperation enjoyed between our two countries.

I am also pleased to report that substantial progress was made in improving aviation relations with a number of the countries I visited. U.S. passenger and all-cargo airlines are already generating more revenue from Pacific routes than Atlantic routes, and predictions are that air traffic in the Pacific will continue to grow at a faster rate than all other regions in the world. It is, therefore, important that a solid foundation be laid that will allow the most efficient and cooperative aviation environment. In Hong Kong I signed, and in Macau I witnessed the signing of, Memoranda affirming recently negotiated aviation agreements. These two agreements, which are currently being reviewed by China, will provide important opportunities for U.S. carriers to maintain and expand their Asian networks. In the Philippines, I signed a protocol to the U.S.-Philippine civil aviation agreement which significantly expands U.S. carrier opportunities. In particular, Federal Express obtained the opportunity to set up an all-cargo hub at Subic Bay. In addition, major progress was made in developing the basic framework for a new bilateral aviation agreement between Thailand and the United States, with formal negotiations soon to

commence. Finally, in Japan I met with my new Japanese counterpart and underscored the importance of aviation liberalization and the U.S. commitment to seek an aviation cargo agreement with Japan by March 1996.

Throughout the mission, I had the opportunity to discuss economic opportunities with U.S. business persons, to include them in meetings with key government officials, and to address both U.S. and Asian business executives at a number of events. I took those opportunities to advance your goals to improve trade relations and foster more productive links for U.S. firms in those countries.

One of the significant highlights of the trip was my participation in the APEC Ministerial meeting in Osaka, Japan, during which I reported on the successful APEC Transportation Ministerial I hosted here in Washington in June. I am sure you will be pleased with the APEC Action Agenda, which establishes a solid blueprint for achieving the goals of free trade and investment liberalization in the Asia Pacific region by the year 2020. Transportation is a lifeline for all economic activity in the region, and I am pleased that the transportation portion of the APEC Action Agenda deals aggressively with both transportation infrastructure and services.

My meetings with both government and industry officials throughout the trip were collegial and productive. Our industry representatives appreciated the opportunity to launch or, in some cases, finalize business deals. I was pleased to sign three civil aviation agreements and to lay the groundwork for improving other civil aviation agreements. Overall, the results of the trade mission were positive and will, I believe, enhance the U.S. relationship with the economies of the Asia-Pacific region.

required by the Bill to examine crime and drug enforcement and prevention. The "Contract on America" says nothing about drugs. Republicans sent an appropriations bill to you that cuts funding for Federal law enforcement task forces of the FBI, DEA, and Treasury, and cuts the DEA, FBI, U.S. Marshals, drug prosecutors, Bureau of Prisons, and other drug fighting resources.

- cc: Memo to Rye
De-Lite
Wet
- (D) **Panetta and Rivlin responses to Sec. Reich budget question.** Reich had asked why neither school-to-work apprenticeships nor the GI Bill were deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. Leon says this "has been fixed," and Rivlin explains that we are fighting hard for these programs. She reports that we are proposing: an additional \$153 million above the likely FY 96 appropriation of \$218 million for School-to-Work; and an additional \$1.1 billion for the GI Bill programs (17% of the entire \$6.6 billion add-back total) -- in addition to School-to-Work, Summer Jobs (+\$635 million), Dislocated Worker Assistance (+\$362 million), adult training grants to states (+\$117 million), and One-Stop Career Shopping (+\$29 million). In total, these increases would raise funding for GI Bill programs to \$4.1 billion or \$300 million below FY 95. We are continuing the priority of GI Bill programs reflected in your June balanced budget (except that financing for school-to-work and one-stop career shopping -- short term initiatives intended to be taken over by the states -- ends in 2001 under the June budget).

- ag
cc: Leon
v. Lunt
- (E) **Rick Allen memo on AmeriCorps.** Gallup poll -- 83% favor program, though name recognition only 24%. Internal polls show Republican attacks raised name identification by 50% over the last year without reducing public approval. Press -- Editorials run 4 to 1 in our favor, but negative pieces are increasing as AmeriCorps is targeted more by Republican Leadership in Congress. Main charge: "a luxury we can't afford." In response, we stress cost-effectiveness (a \$1.60 to \$2.60 return on each federal dollar invested), and role of unpaid volunteers, as well as State and private sector support. Reauthorization -- required in FY 1996. Rick urges that you try to protect: the current education award (\$4,725;) floor on membership (25,000); a living allowance that ensures diversity; federal quality standards; and a national identity for AmeriCorps. Likely Republican lines of attack -- means-testing the education award and/or living allowance; restricting or eliminating the federal presence; capping per participant costs and increasing the match; tightening prohibitions against advocacy; reducing the number of members; and transferring the Senior Corps to HHS to eliminate the program's most potent constituency.

- cc: Leon
Memo to Name
Scott
- (F) **Rasco response re medical coverage for people with HIV/AIDS.** There is no data distinguishing between those working and not working, but it is estimated that 15% of people with AIDS have private health insurance (often restricted, e.g., no coverage of prescription drugs), 30% have no insurance, 50% receive Medicaid benefits, and 5% are eligible for Medicare. Many of the uninsured and underinsured rely on public hospitals for inpatient care, and programs funded by the Ryan White CARE Act for outpatient care, drug purchase assistance, and/or help with COBRA premiums. However, states often exhaust their allotted CARE funds before the grant period ends.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 14, 1995 DEC 15 P12:16

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Carol H. Rasco, Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
Patricia S. Fleming, Director, Office of National AIDS Policy

SUBJECT: Coverage of medical care for people with HIV/AIDS.

We understand that during the taping of the radio address last week, you asked a question regarding how working people with AIDS get health care coverage. While there are no data that distinguish between those working and not working, it is estimated that 15 percent of people with AIDS have private health insurance and roughly 30 percent have no insurance at all. Those with private insurance may have restrictions on their coverage (e.g., no prescription drug coverage) that limit their access to adequate care.

Government programs are the primary source of health care coverage for people living with HIV/AIDS overall. As you know, nearly 50 percent of people living with AIDS receive Medicaid benefits. Another five percent are eligible for Medicare.

Many of those who are not on Medicaid or Medicare and are uninsured or underinsured rely on clinics and programs funded by the Ryan White CARE Act to receive outpatient care. In addition to supporting outpatient clinics, Ryan White funds AIDS drug purchase assistance programs in all the states, which pay for prescription drugs not covered by a third party payer. The demand on these programs is so great that several states have exhausted their funds for the program months before the end of the current grant period. Some states also use CARE Act funds to help those with private coverage meet their COBRA premiums, thus reducing the demand on Medicaid.

In addition, many people with AIDS, because they lack third party coverage, depend on public hospitals for inpatient care. A report by the National Public Health and Hospital Institute found that hospitals -- both private and public -- lose an average of \$92,000 a year on care of AIDS patients, with public hospitals incurring much higher costs.

required by the Bill to examine crime and drug enforcement and prevention. The "Contract on America" says nothing about drugs. Republicans sent an appropriations bill to you that cuts funding for Federal law enforcement task forces of the FBI, DEA, and Treasury, and cuts the DEA, FBI, U.S. Marshals, drug prosecutors, Bureau of Prisons, and other drug fighting resources.

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cc: Means
to Reich

cc: Leon
Wright

cc: Leon
Wright

cc: Leon
Means
to Scoville
Scott

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 5, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95
DEC 13 4:08

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICK ALLEN

SUBJECT: STATUS REPORT

Attached to this, my last report before returning to the private sector, are the following:

1. Another national poll confirms broad support for AmeriCorps: Gallup released a poll in September that provided the fifth national confirmation of the overwhelming support for AmeriCorps (83% positives; a majority calling for expansion and only 7% calling for reduction or elimination). This poll (commissioned by the McCormick Foundation) is consistent but not as favorable as our internal polls (including Gallup's) have been. We have found that clearly indicating what AmeriCorps Members do (teaching and tutoring; helping community policing; disaster relief, etc.) pushes approval above 90%. Among other findings, this poll puts AmeriCorps' name recognition at 24% (our internal polls have us in the low 30s) -- either way, the initiative has a long way to go before it becomes a cultural icon on the level of the Peace Corps. The good news is that the relentless Republican attacks raised AmeriCorps' name identification by 50% (per internal polls) over this last year, without reducing public approval. The poll suggests that criticisms on philosophical grounds don't resonate (the Republicans' polls must agree, given their focus on cost and impact, rather than "government-paid volunteerism").
2. Press Coverage: A sampling of recent print press coverage is grouped as follows:
 - One article and a number of editorials from battleground and other important states and a summary of editorial coverage since the September, 1994 Launch.
 - Four articles of interest: One about a Member who used his AmeriCorps CPR training to save a man sliced by a boat propeller; another showing AmeriCorps helping cops on the beat; a the third reiterating Notre Dame's strong support of AmeriCorps; and the fourth from a leading banking industry spokesperson, recommending that banks invest in local AmeriCorps programs to meet their CRA obligations. Your long-time supporter, New Hampshire's Chris Gallagher, Sr. (on our Board) has been spearheading this effort.
 - A fairly typical negative editorial. Although program or Member-profile reportage has been almost uniformly positive, and editorials run about 4 to 1 in our favor (with the bulk of negatives being the same piece run throughout a chain of papers), the number of negative pieces has climbed as AmeriCorps has become a more frequent target of the Republican Congressional leadership. The attachment has the attack de jour: AmeriCorps is a "luxury we can't afford". Our response has included the following:
 - A. Three independent cost/benefit studies show that AmeriCorps is a cost-effective investment, returning at least \$1.60 to \$2.60 in measurable benefits for each federal dollar invested. Tight budgets require smart investments like AmeriCorps.
 - B. As leaders in both parties try to reduce the role of government, greater citizen involvement will be needed. AmeriCorps shows the way by increasing the number and effectiveness of unpaid volunteers and by creating alumni with life-long commitments to serving their communities.

- C. Similarly, AmeriCorps is a proven model of New Federalism -- that's why Republican Governors have been so supportive. Initiatives that reduce the federal presence and increase state and local authority and responsibility should be emphasized, not eliminated.
- D. AmeriCorps provides a proven vehicle for increased private sector support of community initiatives and organizations.

3. Reauthorization: What must be preserved to keep AmeriCorps your legacy? It is possible that the appropriations battles will overlap with the reauthorization process (all parts of national service must be reauthorized during FY 1996). Your control over the latter is less than over the former, since Congress can end national service merely through inaction, without harming other programs they favor.

We are taking the following approach:

- Working with Senate Chair Kassebaum and staff to begin Committee consideration this month, and aiming to fashion a Chair's mark before the Presidential primaries begin.
- Conducting our own outreach to develop field support.
- Attempting to negotiate modifications (such as increasing the required private sector match) with key Senate Republicans (including lead critic Chuck Grassley).

I think it is critical for you to determine at the earliest possible point what you want to keep sacrosanct about AmeriCorps (at least until it is clear that a specific change provides the margin of needed Congressional votes). I would encourage you to call for a briefing from Harris and Eli as soon as possible -- your guidance is necessary because there are few common assumptions either internally or on the Hill. I would think the minimum list should include:

1. The existence of a meaningful education award (I think any retreat from the current \$4725 should be considered only as a last resort).
2. An absolute floor on the number of Members (perhaps the current 25,000), with the resulting funding implications.
3. A living allowance sufficient to ensure diversity of Members.
4. A federal entity to set standards and ensure quality; perhaps also to select some minimum level of programs (currently, one-third of AmeriCorps programs are nationally selected).
5. A national identity for AmeriCorps.

I anticipate the following major lines of attack from Republicans:

1. Means-testing the AmeriCorps education award and/or the living allowance;
2. Restricting or eliminating the federal presence (clearly, stopping federal agencies from sponsoring AmeriCorps programs, and perhaps ending any national grant selection or converting all of AmeriCorps into a block-grant);
3. Capping per participant costs (either federal share or total) and increasing the match;
4. Tightening prohibitions against advocacy;
5. Pushing AmeriCorps into irrelevancy (eg., by drastically reducing the number of Members or by stopping national identity);
6. Transferring the Senior Corps (RSVP, Senior Companions and Foster Grandparents) to HHS, to eliminate the most politically potent constituency for service and the Corporation.

I am deeply grateful to have had the chance to serve in your Administration for nearly three years, and am committed to doing whatever I can to advance your interests while in private life.

(G)

The Polling Report: "American Racial Paradoxes." Via Harold. Article identifies three paradoxes illustrated by survey data: 1) African Americans believe that racial discrimination is worsening while whites believe it is lessening; 2) as the Black middle class has grown, its members have become disillusioned with the U.S. and the American dream; and 3) as Black poverty has deepened, poor African Americans have continued to believe in the U.S. and the American dream. The author argues that paradox #1 explains surprising responses to the OJ verdict and the Million Man March, as well as the odd pattern of support for potential Presidential candidates -- over twice as many whites as Blacks (54% to 25%) endorsed Colin Powell for president, whereas close to twice as many Blacks as whites (68% to 37%) endorsed you. She argues that what whites liked about Powell is what caused Blacks to mistrust him -- whites saw Powell as a Black leader who understood them almost as well as he understood his apparent natural constituency, while Blacks saw him as an African American on the verge of leaving his own community for another.

(H)

Pena memo on trip to Asia. Trip with 24+ business execs to help American businesses in growing Asian markets, enhance our transport relations with those economies, and participate in the APEC meeting in Osaka. 1) Witnessed a number of business deals: a \$12 million agreement by Vietnam for dredging equipment from a U.S. firm; a joint venture for airport navigation equipment by a U.S. firm and two Indonesian partners; and, in Malaysia, a joint venture for consulting services on a rail system linking Kuala Lumpur's airport to the city center, and an engineering contract for support services to the new airport. 2) In Hong Kong and Macau, memoranda were signed affirming recently negotiated aviation agreements. In the Philippines, a protocol was signed expanding U.S. carrier opportunities (e.g., Federal Express got an all-cargo hub at Subic Bay). In Thailand, progress was made developing the framework for a new bilateral aviation agreement. And, in Japan, a commitment was made to seek an aviation cargo agreement by 3/96. 3) At the Osaka APEC meeting, Pena reported on the June, APEC Transportation meeting he hosted.

(I)

Response re U.S. efforts to help contain viral equine encephalitis (VEE) outbreak in Columbia. You asked about a recent NY Times article on VEE, a disease which is deadly for horses and mules, and transmittable to people (via insects) though less than 1% of those infected die. Lake reports that the spread of the disease has slowed markedly, and USG assistance was instrumental in efforts to quell the outbreak. Army virologists processed specimens and made the initial diagnosis. CDC epidemiologists advised the Colombian government on their efforts to control the disease's spread, DOD shipped 400,000 doses of VEE vaccine to Columbia, and CDC is collaborating on follow-up studies to ascertain the effects VEE infection has on pregnant mothers and their unborn children.

(J)

Letter from Rep. Sam Farr on Bosnia. On visiting Sarajevo: "Never in my lifetime did I expect to see what the pictures showed of WWII, but it's all there in Sarajevo...I know you will take heat from your critics -- but you'd take heat for an even longer period of time from your conscience if you did nothing. I am proud of your courage and so are the people of Bosnia."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1995 95 DEC 19 A8:08

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT:

USG Efforts to Assist in the Containment of the
Equine Encephalitis Outbreak in ColombiaBackground

A recent outbreak of Viral Equine Encephalitis (VEE) in Colombia was covered in an October 26, 1995, New York Times article (Tab A), which you noted.

Epizootic VEE has emerged repeatedly in Latin America for the last 50 years, it is very transmittable and kills a high percentage of infected horses and mules but less than one percent of infected people.

The accepted and most effective practice to prevent VEE outbreaks is to immunize equines. The current outbreak took hold last April in Venezuela because the herds were not immunized. In August, it spread west to Colombia when the virus was carried by mosquitoes to similarly nonimmunized Colombian horses. Efforts to increase surveillance and immunization seem to have cordoned the outbreak. Although it has yet to be officially declared, the spread of the outbreak has slowed markedly and may have ended.

U.S. Assistance

USG assistance has been robust and instrumental to efforts to quell this outbreak. U.S. Army virologists processed specimens and made the initial diagnosis. Centers for Disease Control (CDC) epidemiologists, contracted by the Government of Colombia, have advised the governments in their efforts to surveil and control the disease's spread. The Department of Defense has just shipped 400,000 doses of VEE vaccine to the Government of Colombia on a reimbursable basis, and the CDC is supplying collaboration and financing for follow-up studies to ascertain the effects VEE infection has on pregnant mothers and their unborn children.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Infectious Disease -- A Global Health Threat

This epidemic follows a pattern of recent outbreaks of new and reemerging infectious diseases, including Ebola in Zaire, plague in India, Hanta virus in the Southwestern United States and the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. The National Science and Technology Council has reviewed the existing national and international mechanisms for prevention, surveillance and response to infectious disease. In addition, the NSC is specifically assessing the U.S.'s ability to prevent viruses borne outside, from penetrating our borders. Based on the recommendations of these two reports, the Office of Science and Technology Policy will be forwarding a PDD, which includes suggestions from both reports.

Attachment

Tab A New York Times Article

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-21-95
11-1-95

MSC

Can we help on this?

PC

Can we help on this?

PLEASE STAFF ~~Fulton~~
~~Armstrong~~

R.P. EDDY

by DIANA JEAN SCHERER
RIOHACHA, Colombia — With the rain, over the mountains, came the plague.

First, it struck the horses and the donkeys, leaving them dazed and then wild, spinning dizzy before falling dead to the ground. A few weeks later, whole villages were besieged by soaring fevers, aching muscles, vomiting and diarrhea. Some shook with convulsions, furiously whipping and kicking the air, and gnawing their lips. They cursed the people who loved them. They sank into comas, and they died.

The strange, cyclical epidemic of Venezuelan equine encephalitis, called the "mad plague" by people here, is striking Colombia and Venezuela, 24 years after an outbreak of the disease spread as far south as Peru and as far north as Texas.

Estimates of the death toll range from dozens to hundreds.

The viral disease is spread by mosquitoes that breed in the mangrove swamps and salt flats swollen by heavy rains. Horses and mules amplify the virus, which the insects then deposit in people.

Public health workers say the outbreak could have been prevented had animal vaccines been used in time and had a human vaccine licensed in Russia been considered.

In hospitals, at least 25 patients have died of the disease in Colombia and 8 in Venezuela. But doctors scouring the remote villages of the nomadic Wayuu Indians, who have been the epidemic's principal victims, say the number of deaths is far higher. They estimate that 45,000 people have been stricken in Colombia

Continued on Page A10, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

bia and at least 10,000 in Venezuela. Given the disease's incidence of fatality, that would amount to 270 dead in Colombia and 60 in Venezuela.

Among the Wayuu, an isolated tribe whose name means "the people" and "the language," the plague is an inexplicable act of nature before which their own shamans are powerless.

"It comes with the rain," said Miguel Uriana, a fisherman, who watched over his 5-year-old son, Jairo Ipuana, with his wife in the hospital here. Asked if the rain caused the disease, Mr. Uriana, perched on his son's sickbed, looked side to side in bewilderment.

"It's the same thing," he said. "It's part of the rain."

That suggests a fatalism that public health workers reject. The virus has been the target of more than 40 years of research pioneered by the United States and Soviet biological warfare programs — work that has provided animal vaccines that are commonly used, and a human vaccine licensed in Russia that scientists there say they could have produced to fight the epidemic.

"This is something that is totally preventable, 100 percent," said Victor Cardenas, an epidemiologist from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta hired by the Colombian Government, who is tracking the disease's origin and path. "If there had been a regular, ongoing system of vaccination and surveillance, none of this would be happening."

Venezuelan equine encephalitis seems a case study of the gaps between Government policies and high-profile research into a crop of terrifying, deadly viruses, from Ebola to hanta. For Venezuelan equine encephalitis, the technology existed first to prevent the outbreak, then to limit its spread, and finally, to avoid human deaths. What was lacking, scientists and public health experts say, was the collective alarm sufficient to act.

As the first horses and burros were taken sick in Falcón, Venezuela, in April, the Pan-American Health Organization, unaware of the nascent epidemic, happened to issue a report warning member countries that Latin America was ripe for just such a disaster. The report said the absence of vaccination and diagnostic programs for animals left Latin America vulnerable to the forms of encephalitis endemic to the region.

The report also chided all of the countries, except Colombia, for failing to send it weekly figures on disease occurrences. But the report brought no deluge of numbers from member nations, said Jaime Estupión, the organization's veterinary public health adviser.

The Venezuelan authorities did not officially alert other countries about the disaster brewing within their borders, or take sufficient measures to prevent the disease from marching south to Lara and west toward the border with Colombia. The Venezuelan Congress recently censured Health Minister Carlos Walter, who was dismissed for negligence in failing to combat the spread of the epidemic.

"It's not fair to blame a country for this problem," Dr. Estupión said. "They detected the cases in Lara, they started acting, but they didn't consider it an epidemic."

An early official warning was necessary at all only because as in Venezuela, the Colombian Government agency responsible for vaccinating animals, the Colombian Agribusiness Institute, had allowed its animal vaccination program to "deteriorate" to dangerous levels, said Gilberto Álvarez, director of direct campaigns at the Colombian Health Ministry.

In all of 1994, only 5,000 to 6,000 of the total 70,000 horses and donkeys in La Guajira department were vaccinated for Venezuelan equine encephalitis, said Jaime Cárdenas of the Agribusiness Institute. Mr. Cárdenas argued, however, that his agency had not dropped its guard.

Jonathan Smith, who has been working with Colombian officials to contain the epidemic, credited them with a quick response once the outbreak occurred. But Dr. Smith, who runs the department of viral biology for the United States Army at Fort Detrick in Frederick, Md., said that with limited budgets, governments tend to respond to present dangers, often neglecting measures that could prevent the outbreak of epidemics until it is too late, and more expensive to control.

"We may be much more sophisticated in terms of the science, but that's not always what translates into the best public health on the ground," Dr. Smith said. Nor has much thought been given to preventing infections in people through the use of human vaccines, though it normally takes two weeks for the infection of donkeys and horses in a given region to spread to

public health officials acknowledge could be used to vaccinate residents of infected areas.

The vaccines exist, though most people working in public health presumed they were available only for military or laboratory use, and in the United States that is true. But Russian specialists, who say they had never been contacted by foreign health officials about using their own research, asserted that they had developed three types of human vaccines against Venezuelan equine encephalitis, and that one — an inactivated live vaccine — was safe, effective and licensed for general use.

Sergei V. Netesov, deputy director of the once top-secret State Research Center of Virology and Biotechnology Vector, near Novosibirsk, said the vaccine is produced by the Virological Scientific and Production Association, in Tomsk, which could produce stocks of the human vaccine for vulnerable populations. Mr. Netesov's center has apparently decided to open its research on a wide range of infectious viruses, including Ebola, H.I.V., Eastern and Venezuelan equine encephalitis.

"If there are some public health problems with infections mentioned in our brochure," Dr. Netesov wrote in response to questions, "I am ready to discuss possible ways of solving these problems on the basis of mutual interests. Unfortunately, we have no opportunities by ourselves to give the humanitarian aid."

Dr. Netesov said the Venezuelan equine encephalitis vaccine has not yet been tested on children, though he believed it would be safe for them. The vaccine, he added, could easily be produced to answer the emergency in Venezuela or Colombia, though nobody from Latin America or elsewhere had inquired.

The vaccine has been licensed for use in Russia, and its development has been reported in scientific journals there.

Dr. Estupión of the Pan-American Health Organization, whose members would be the most natural consumers for such vaccines, said he was unaware that a human vaccine was licensed anywhere.

Though the number of people infected here with Venezuelan equine encephalitis appears to be dropping, and vaccination of animals is aimed at building a cordon south of La Guajira, the disease has spread to horses in the departments of Magdalena, César and Córdoba, while other strains may be appearing on the Colombian border with Ecuador.

Doctors and nurses are perplexed by signs that suggest more than one deadly disease may be striking the population. People here were already fighting dengue fever before this epidemic struck, and in recent days, Eastern equine encephalitis, which kills 40 percent of the people it infects, appeared in the neighboring

And information is not easy to come by. The day after Paulina Eplado, 14, died at the hospital here, epidemiologists and other visitors who wanted to know more about her illness visited the Wayuu settlement where she lived. In the hours before her burial, Paulina's family walled inside their hut, while the men — drunk and armed — chased the strangers away. A promised delivery of medicines from the hospital in Maicao had not been sent before-hand, and the Wayuu seemed vexed that the doctors would arrive offering nothing.

Most cruelly for the Wayuu, who adore their young with a devotion bordering on worship, the "mad plague" strikes mostly severely in children who have not had time to build up antibodies. The babies of some of the pregnant women who contracted the virus during the last epidemic were delivered stillborn without a brain, and adults and children who survive the convulsions and comas may be neurologically damaged for life.

Jairo Ipuana, his hospital bed raised to the level of a bier, has grown so thin from the illness he could easily be mistaken for 2, not 5. His parents left their two other children with relatives to stay with the child, more dead than alive when they brought him to Our Lady of the Remedies hospital in Riohacha in late September. Nelbis Ipuana, his mother, leans over and gently rubs the chest of her youngest son.

Every few minutes, the boy who loved to laugh and play soccer with the big ones breathes quickly, shallowly, and whimpers at the pain inside. His parents suspect an intravenous drain attached to his foot is hurting, but are convinced the child's only hope lies in the tubes, bottles and the stacks of prescriptions of the Colombian doctors.

"All he still needs to learn is how to ride a bicycle," his father said. "I haven't had the money yet to buy him one."

They worry about what they will do when their last pesos run out. "When that's over, we'll have to go hungry," Mr. Uriana said.

Jairo's medical chart is a grab bag of illnesses — encephalitis, dengue and meningitis, slight bacterial infection — that reflects the doctor's bafflement at his condition.

Doctors can only alleviate the symptoms, prescribing acetaminophen for fevers, and Valium and phenobarbital to quiet the convulsions. But ultimately, the struggle is a desperate and lonely one, raging between the virus and each body's defenses, leaving parents, sisters and doctors helpless on some other shore,

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1995

required by the Bill to examine crime and drug enforcement and prevention. The "Contract on America" says nothing about drugs. Republicans sent an appropriations bill to you that cuts funding for Federal law enforcement task forces of the FBI, DEA, and Treasury, and cuts the DEA, FBI, U.S. Marshals, drug prosecutors, Bureau of Prisons, and other drug fighting resources.

- cc: Memo to Reich
Re-look letter
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- cc: Leon
Rivlin
V. Hunt
- (E) **Rick Allen memo on AmeriCorps.** Gallup poll -- 83% favor program, though name recognition only 24%. Internal polls show Republican attacks raised name identification by 50% over the last year without reducing public approval. Press -- Editorials run 4 to 1 in our favor, but negative pieces are increasing as AmeriCorps is targeted more by Republican Leadership in Congress. Main charge: "a luxury we can't afford." In response, we stress cost-effectiveness (a \$1.60 to \$2.60 return on each federal dollar invested), and role of unpaid volunteers, as well as State and private sector support. Reauthorization -- required in FY 1996. Rick urges that you try to protect: the current education award (\$4,725;) floor on membership (25,000); a living allowance that ensures diversity; federal quality standards; and a national identity for AmeriCorps. *Likely Republican lines of attack* -- means-testing the education award and/or living allowance; restricting or eliminating the federal presence; capping per participant costs and increasing the match; tightening prohibitions against advocacy; reducing the number of members; and transferring the Senior Corps to HHS to eliminate the program's most potent constituency.
- cc: Leon
Memo to Leon
Scott
- (F) **Rasco response re medical coverage for people with HIV/AIDS.** There is no data distinguishing between those working and not working, but it is estimated that 15% of people with AIDS have private health insurance (often restricted, e.g., no coverage of prescription drugs), 30% have no insurance, 50% receive Medicaid benefits, and 5% are eligible for Medicare. Many of the uninsured and underinsured rely on public hospitals for inpatient care, and programs funded by the Ryan White CARE Act for outpatient care, drug purchase assistance, and/or help with COBRA premiums. However, states often exhaust their allotted CARE funds before the grant period ends.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE DIRECTOR

December 30, 1993 17:43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Alice M. Rivlin
Director

SUBJECT:

Labor Department Priority Investments

I am responding to your request that our budget negotiations ensure sufficient funding for School-to-Work and the G.I. Bill for America's Workers, two of your investments in the Department of Labor.

In his December 8th memorandum to you (attached), Secretary Reich suggested that neither School-to-Work nor the G.I. Bill is deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. This is not true. In our negotiations with the Congress to add \$6.6 billion in 1996, we continue to fight hard for additional funds for School-to-Work and the G.I. Bill programs.

For School-to-Work, we are proposing an additional \$153 million above the likely FY 1996 appropriation of \$218 million. Including our add-back, total financing for School-to-Work would reach \$371 million (\$185 million in each of the Departments of Labor and Education) and \$125 million (51%) over 1995.

Like School-to-Work, the G.I. Bill for America's Workers is a top priority for additional funding in our FY 1996 budget negotiations. Reflecting the high priority we place on these programs, we are proposing to add \$1.1 billion to G.I. Bill programs, or 17 percent of the entire \$6.6 billion add-back total. Within the G.I. Bill programs, in addition to School-to-Work, we are seeking additional FY 1996 funding to restore the Summer Jobs program (+\$635 million), and increase financing for Dislocated Worker Assistance (+\$362 million), adult training grants to States (+\$117 million), and One-Stop Career Shopping (+\$29 million). In total, these increases would raise funding for G.I. Bill programs to \$4.1 billion, or about \$300 million below 1995.

We are continuing the priority for the Department's GI Bill programs reflected in the June Balanced Budget. In that proposal, most GI Bill programs grew approximately three percent each year beyond 1996; by contrast, other Department of Labor programs were frozen at the 1995 level. The exceptions in the June budget policy in June were School-to-Work and One-Stop Career Shopping. Both of these programs are short-term, venture capital initiatives that build up and then decline as States implement the system and assume operating responsibility. Financing for both initiatives was scheduled to end in 2001 in the June Balanced Budget.

As we continue to press for additional FY 1996 appropriations for your investments, School-to-Work and the G.I. Bill will remain high priorities.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-11-95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR *RBR*

95 DEC 11 A 9:23

December 8, 1995

I'm informed that neither School-to-work apprenticeships nor the GI Bill for America's workers is deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. Have you made this decision or has it been made elsewhere?

*Alice -
What is the
COST?*

*Leon/Carroll
Do you think
of them as important
Pls take care of
BC*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-27-95 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-13-95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: RBR *RBR*

December 8, 1995

I'm informed that neither School-to-work apprenticeships nor the GI Bill for America's workers is deemed a "priority investment" for budget purposes. Have you made this decision or has it been made elsewhere?

Lead
Have we fixed this?
AR

95DEC 19 P 1:15

ye
Have we fixed this?

BC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
HELEN HOWELL

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

- Handwritten notes on left margin:*
Duke
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Haworth
a reply
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- (A) **Lake response re: Newsweek article on Bosnia.** 1) David Hackworth claims that today's mines are made mostly of plastic and metal detectors cannot locate them. *Lake response* -- Most of the 3 million mines in Bosnia are plastic, but they have metal components and are detectable by our highly-sensitive metal detectors and explosive-sniffing dogs. In addition, many tanks will have special plows and rollers to harmlessly explode the mines. 2) Hackworth claimed that U.S. Special Forces will be responsible for training Bosnian government troops. *Lake response* -- False. U.S. Special Forces will act as liaison officers and interpreters among the 25 national contingents and the top British, French and American division commanders.
- (B) **Rivlin response on implications of Welfare Reform Conference Agreement for SSI childhood disability benefits.** Sections on SSI benefits for childhood disability (i) tighten eligibility for new applicants (which we support), and (ii) create two categories of disability, with 25% benefit cut for some 65% of the kids coming onto the rolls. A child under age six would be eligible for the full rate only if the need for personal care assistance is so great that, without such assistance, the child would require specialized care outside the home. Alice argues that "personal assistance" is just one of several costly needs of children with disabilities. Others include: specialized day care, home adaptations, and aids to facilitate communication and mobility. Examples of those who would get only 75% of full benefit rate: a 2-year-old boy with HIV, a 4-year-old girl with Down Syndrome and a congenital heart defect, a 12-year-old girl with Lupus, and a 14-year-old boy with Crohn's Disease. Alice says creating two categories makes no sense since low-income parents of all these kids incur special costs and have reduced work opportunities.
- (C) **Fact sheet on Republican record on drugs.** Via Leon. Argues that the drug issue is NOT a priority of the Republican Leadership. After not doing anything in the first year of this Congress, Dole and Gingrich have now formed the partisan Task Force on National Drug Policy to study the issue. Over one year after the Crime Bill was enacted, Dole has yet to appoint anyone to either of two national commissions



THE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/27/95

December 20, 1995

95 DEC 20 P7:43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alice M. Rivlin

SUBJECT: Implication for SSI Childhood Disability Benefits of Welfare Reform Conference

This memorandum responds to your question on the budget implications for certain children with disabilities of the welfare reform conference agreement. In my memorandum to you of November 21, I noted that the agreement's sections on Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits for childhood disability included provisions that (a) tighten eligibility for new applicants (which we support) and children currently on the rolls and (b) cut benefit levels by one-fourth for about 65% of the children coming on the rolls by creating two categories of disability. You asked for a better understanding of the children affected by the 25% cut in benefits.

The conference bill defines the conditions under which disabled children would be eligible for the full benefit rate. A child under the age of six would be eligible for the full rate only if, without personal assistance, the child would require specialized care outside the home. A child age six or over would be eligible only if the child requires personal care assistance with: (1) at least two activities of daily living -- i.e., eating, toileting, dressing, bathing, and mobility; or (2) continual 24-hour supervision or monitoring to avoid causing injury or harm to self or others; or (3) the administration of medical treatment. The need for personal care assistance must be so great that, without such assistance, the child would require specialized care outside the home.

The conference bill, by focusing on "personal assistance," has identified just one of several costly needs of children with disabilities. These needs may also include: (1) personal aids to facilitate living and learning, such as assistive technology for communication and mobility; (2) heavier use of everyday goods and services, such as extended child care or electricity for around-the-clock electrical devices; (3) specialized day care, tutors, and instruction; and (4) home adaptations, such as additional locks, manageable door knobs, enlarged doorways, and bathroom railings. Attached are four examples, developed by the Social Security Administration, of children who would qualify for only 75% of the full benefit rate.

No obvious rule exists for classifying disabilities according to the extra costs they impose on families. There is little systemic data on the costs that families incur in raising a child with a disability. Existing classifications of disability by type include children with widely varying disability-related needs. Moreover, costs to meet the child's needs can vary greatly depending on the family's circumstances -- e.g., whether a parent or older sibling is available to provide needed personal assistance. Creating two categories of disability amongst individuals who are all judged to be severely disabled makes no sense; the low-income parents of all these children experience special costs and reduced employment opportunities because of their responsibilities for these children.

Attachment

**EXAMPLES OF CHILDREN
WHO WOULD BE CONSIDERED SEVERELY DISABLED
BUT WOULD QUALIFY FOR ONLY 75 PERCENT OF FULL BENEFIT RATE**

• ***Example 1 Two- Year-Old Boy with Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)
Infection***

This child was diagnosed with the HIV infection shortly after birth. At age 8 months, he suffered from pneumocystis carinii pneumonia, for which his treating physician has prescribed frequent dosages of AZT and Bactrim. The medications have caused recurrent rashes, for which topical medications are prescribed. The child also experiences recurrent thrush (infections causing sores and inflammation in the mouth and throat), and intermittent diarrhea, requiring occasional prescription medications to control. Periodic upper respiratory infections require occasional intravenous antibiotic treatments in a hospital emergency room; he has been treated in the emergency room six times in the past year.

His medical history shows that he is also showing signs of developmental delays, as evidenced by his inability to say even simple words--he babbles--and his failure to walk until very recently. He can feed himself with his hands, but it is very sloppy. He is fatigued, frequently takes two long naps daily, and is unable to keep up with other children his age.

Conclusion: The child's impairment meets the level of severity in the listings and is disabled. However, he would not meet the personal services test because, except for the need to take medications more frequently than other children his age, the care he receives at home is the same as that required by other 2 year-olds. At this time, he does not require specialized care beyond the administration of medications. Consequently, he would not be eligible for 100% of the benefit amount.

- **Example 2** ***Four-Year-Old with Mosaic Down Syndrome and Congenital Heart Defect***

Psychological testing revealed that this child has IQ scores in the high 60 range and her communicative abilities are well below the age-appropriate levels; she speaks in two-word sentences (e.g., “want Mama;” “give cup”). Her appearance is not as strongly affected by the disorder as many children who have full Down syndrome, but her tongue protrudes and she drools, causing some children outside of the family to shy away from her.

She is able to feed herself foods that can be eaten with a spoon, but she needs assistance with other items, such as meats which must be cut up for her. Her mother and older sister share in taking care of such needs. She has clothes with Velcro fasteners, and can usually dress herself, although the clothes will typically be misaligned, and she needs assistance with such things as winter coats. She is unable to manage buttons, zippers, or shoelaces. She is toilet trained, but has frequent accidents.

As often happens with children who have Down syndrome, this child has congenital heart disease - a ventricular septal defect which has not been considered severe enough to require surgery, but which leads to a somewhat reduced rate of growth and a constant risk of respiratory infections. It is treated with Digitalis and a restricted-salt diet. The child has been hospitalized each of the last three winters with pneumonia, which responded to symptomatic treatment without further complications. The prognosis for the heart defect is uncertain. (In many children with relatively mild defects, the effects are reduced with time; in other cases, the wear and tear on the respiratory and circulatory systems lead to reduced growth, chronic infections, and heart failure.) The child is not being treated by a heart specialist; her mother monitors her appearance and general health fairly closely, and administers her medical regime.

Conclusion: This child’s impairment equals the level of severity in the listing and therefore is disabled. However, the assistance she needs in dressing, eating, toileting and other such age-appropriate activities, and the monitoring and medication required by the heart condition, although time-consuming and expensive, are not greatly different than that required for a normal child of her age. This child would not need “specialized care outside the home;” and would not therefore be eligible for the 100 percent benefit rate.

• ***Example 3*** ***Twelve-Year-Old Girl with Systemic Lupus Erythematosus***

This child suffers from pain in her extremities, most notably her ankles and knees. Physical examination showed swelling, pain on motion, and blood in her urine. She is being treated with Prednisone and is in partial remission. While the pain is not as severe, she still has it. She is also weak in her upper extremities. Because of the medication, the child is becoming moon-faced and hairy on her back and arms, and suffers from severe acne. These side effects of her medication have caused significant problems in socialization. She is fatigued and depressed. She sleeps a lot, and has gained a lot of weight. She attends school, but cannot participate in physical education. The child is susceptible to infections and, because of these infections, required hospitalization three times in the past year. Each hospital stay lasted 20 days.

Conclusion: This child meets the disability requirement because her impairment meets the level of severity in the listing. However, she would not meet the personal services test. She does not require assistance in activities of daily living, does not need to be monitored to avoid causing injury or harm to self or others, and does not receive any treatment at home other than the routine administration of medication.

• **Example 4**

Fourteen-Year-Old Boy with Crohn's Disease (Chronic Inflammatory Disease of the Bowel)

This child's chronic bowel inflammation began at age 12 and has persisted despite surgery and ongoing attempts at drug- and diet-based treatment. He has undergone one surgical procedure, and several subsequent hospitalizations to relieve recurring partial bowel obstruction. His physicians report that follow-up surgery may be necessary, but has been avoided so far. The disease results in chronic diarrhea, abdominal pain, fever, weight loss, and a sense of distress in the lower abdomen. The severity of these symptoms vary from day to day, but are always present to some degree. He wears adult diapers at all times when in public, because his bouts of diarrhea are abrupt and uncontrollable, although they do not occur every day. He has no friends of either sex; he cannot tolerate the idea of getting close to someone and then having them find out about his problems. (He alternates between denial and recognition of the fact that his classmates are already aware of it.)

Although his intelligence is normal (full-scale IQ 103), he has fallen well below grade-level in all academic subjects since onset of Crohn's disease. This is partly due to frequent absences when he is acutely ill, and partly due to impairment-related distraction and depression; he often feels "there's just no point."

He is also chronically weak due to his poor ability to extract nutrients from food, and has grown very little since onset. He is excused from gym and can do no strenuous activities.

In addition to the hospitalizations to relieve bowel obstructions, he has been hospitalized briefly on two occasions for treatment of perianal fissures that became infected. He is conscientious about keeping himself clean and dry, so as to reduce the chances of such infections, but the fissures recur frequently, and are vulnerable to infection.

Conclusion: This child's impairments meet the listing; therefore, he is considered disabled. Despite the chronic, debilitating, and depressing nature of this child's disease, and despite the constant expense of medication, diapers, and a tremendous amount of clothes laundering, this child does not require an exceptional degree of "personal care assistance." His mother and the school nurse do assist him to some degree, and his mother keeps after him to eat enough, but he is largely able to manage himself. He wears and changes his diapers, keeps himself as clean as possible, takes various medications, and is careful about overexerting himself. He does not and would not require "specialized care outside the home," and therefore would not qualify for the 100% benefit rate.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 22 , 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN
HELEN HOWELL

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

Handwritten: Alice with tank
(A) **Lake response re: Newsweek article on Bosnia.** 1) David Hackworth claims that today's mines are made mostly of plastic and metal detectors cannot locate them. *Lake response* -- Most of the 3 million mines in Bosnia are plastic, but they have metal components and are detectable by our highly-sensitive metal detectors and explosive-sniffing dogs. In addition, many tanks will have special plows and rollers to harmlessly explode the mines. 2) Hackworth claimed that U.S. Special Forces will be responsible for training Bosnian government troops. *Lake response* -- False. U.S. Special Forces will act as liaison officers and interpreters among the 25 national contingents and the top British, French and American division commanders.

Handwritten: straight forward
(B) **Rivlin response on implications of Welfare Reform Conference Agreement for SSI childhood disability benefits.** Sections on SSI benefits for childhood disability (i) tighten eligibility for new applicants (which we support), and (ii) create two categories of disability, with 25% benefit cut for some 65% of the kids coming onto the rolls. A child under age six would be eligible for the full rate only if the need for personal care assistance is so great that, without such assistance, the child would require specialized care outside the home. Alice argues that "personal assistance" is just one of several costly needs of children with disabilities. Others include: specialized day care, home adaptations, and aids to facilitate communication and mobility. Examples of those who would get only 75% of full benefit rate: a 2-year-old boy with HIV, a 4-year-old girl with Down Syndrome and a congenital heart defect, a 12-year-old girl with Lupus, and a 14-year-old boy with Crohn's Disease. Alice says creating two categories makes no sense since low-income parents of all these kids incur special costs and have reduced work opportunities.

Handwritten: Examples for (C) agree
(C) **Fact sheet on Republican record on drugs.** Via Leon. Argues that the drug issue is NOT a priority of the Republican Leadership. After not doing anything in the first year of this Congress, Dole and Gingrich have now formed the partisan Task Force on National Drug Policy to study the issue. Over one year after the Crime Bill was enacted, Dole has yet to appoint anyone to either of two national commissions

12/27/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1995

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT:

Newsweek Article by David H. Hackworth

The following are answers to your questions regarding David Hackworth's recent Newsweek article on Bosnia entitled "The Troops: Learning About War the Hard Way" (Tab B):

(1) Hackworth: Mines used today are made mostly of plastic and will need to be found by probing with a bayonet since metal detectors cannot locate them.

Most of the estimated 3 million mines are plastic; however, they have metal components and are detectable by our highly-sensitive metal detectors and explosive-sniffing dog teams. In addition, many tanks will have special equipment (plows and rollers) to harmlessly explode mines. Probing for mines on one's hands and knees is normally done in emergency situations only. At Tab A is a recent article providing a more balanced assessment of our countermine capabilities. It also highlights the mandatory mine awareness training for all servicemembers deploying to Bosnia.

(2) Hackworth: U.S. Special Forces will be responsible for training Bosnian government troops, stirring up further enmity.

No U.S. military personnel will be training Bosnian forces. U.S. Special Forces are specialists in language, communications and operations. They will act as liaison officers and interpreters among the 25 national contingents and the top British, French and American division commanders. These soldiers are fluent in the language and culture of each national unit to which assigned and will provide sophisticated U.S. communications equipment to ensure communications interconnectivity and an American "link" throughout IFOR.

Attachments

Tab A The Washington Post ArticleTab B Newsweek Article

Copy to T. Lake

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Mines Weigh Heavily On Minds of Troops

Army Hopes Rigorous Training Will Pay Off

By Rick Atkinson
Washington Post Foreign Service

SCHWETZINGEN, Germany—Mines that maim and mines that kill. Mines that can blow off toes and mines that can rip open a 70-ton tank. Mines detonated by the magnetic force field of a passing vehicle and "bouncing" mines that leap chest-high before spewing hundreds of metal splinters.

For the U.S. combat soldiers who will begin deploying in large numbers to Bosnia within a week, land mines have become an obsession. Mines are the subject of training exercises, barracks bull sessions and more than a few nightmares.

U.S. intelligence estimates that 3 million mines have been strewn across Bosnia in four years of fighting, Lt. Gen. Howell Estes, operations director for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said last week. "Could it be double that? Yes, sir," he added. "I don't think anybody really knows how many mines are there."

Between April 1992 and April 1995, 19 U.N. peacekeepers were killed by mines in Bosnia and Croatia and 190 wounded. Last month, Defense Secretary William J. Perry told soldiers training for Bosnia duty that mines pose the greatest threat to U.S. forces—more than hostile Serbs or Muslims or icy roads.

A report last week by the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation estimated that Bosnia and Croatia together are embedded with 4.5 to 6 million mines, including some that are among the world's most difficult to detect. The sector of Bosnia where the Army's 1st Armored Division will operate has at least three major minefields—including an infested area around Tuzla airfield—but is less saturated than some other parts of Bosnia, Estes said.

The Army is working feverishly to

minimize risks. Armored units have been outfitted with heavy metal plows and rollers, as they were in the Persian Gulf War. Mounted on the front of an Abrams tank, the plows cut furrows beneath buried mines and flip them to the side of the road; rollers detonate the mines in place, although after a few explosions the anti-mine devices are reduced to scrap and must be replaced.

The troops also are taking Schiebel mine detectors—reputedly able to detect even tiny metal fuze parts in otherwise plastic mines—and explosive-sniffing dogs, dubbed "biosensors" by some Army wags. Soldiers on occasion may have to do it the old-fashioned way, searching inch-by-inch for buried mines with a 10-inch plastic probe, or a bayonet.

The plastic probe method moves slowly. Even in a "hasty sweep," when the presence of mines is only suspected, a unit can expect to advance only two or three miles an hour—a ponderous pace that helps explain why Operation Joint Endeavor will unfold in slow motion.

Deadly mines have become a lethal factor in modern military operations. Army figures indicate that 4.4 percent of the U.S. soldiers killed in action in World War II were victims of mines. In the Korean War, mine fatalities made up 10 percent of the total, and in Vietnam mines accounted for 33 percent of U.S. combat losses, as well as 70 percent of the vehicles destroyed. In the gulf war, 20 percent of those killed in action fell victim to mines.

Since late October, about 20,000 U.S. soldiers headed to Bosnia have been through "mine awareness" training. They have studied wall charts and table displays, knowing that even experts are overwhelmed by an estimated 340 types of anti-

See MINES, A30, Col. 1

Troops Train To Counter Bosnia Mines

MINES, From A27

personnel mines manufactured in 50 different countries.

At the Army training center in Grafenwoehr, troops witness the explosion of a Korean War vintage M-21 or M-15 anti-tank mine under a junked vehicle. The stunt demonstrates both mine longevity—virtually all have detonated despite their age—and the power latent in a dinner plate-sized mine that can flip a truck 25 feet into the air.

Some of the training consists of unlearning old habits. Instinct number one in most combat situations is to scatter for cover if threatened; but rule number one in mine awareness is the need to stay on well-traveled routes.

Capt. David T. Seigel, a tank company commander from the 3rd Infantry Division involved in preparing the Bosnia force, said, "It's been tough to retrain them, but I think everybody knows now that you don't go flying off the road."

Soldiers are taught to mark any mines they find clearly, to report the discovery to their headquarters and then to detour around the mines if possible and leave the demolition to experts.

Each patrol is supposed to draft contingency plans to deal with mine casualties. "Do you send multiple soldiers into a minefield for one casualty?" Sgt. Charles Bradley, an instructor, asked rhetorically. "By the grace of God you may save him, but on the other hand you may have casualty after casualty. There are no easy choices in a mine strike."

The Dayton peace accord calls for the warring parties in Bosnia to provide NATO commanders with maps and information about minefields, to mark the fields and to render them "inert." But few soldiers have high expectations of compliance, given the haphazard way in which mines have been strewn.

The bottom line for many soldiers, the Army says, is the need to remain alert every waking minute for the next 12 months. "The law of averages says that there are mines out there waiting for a convoy," Bradley said.

8865

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PLEASE STAFF To Bob
~~Security~~ Bell

5 December 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/8/95

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles

From: Harold Ickes *HI*

Re: Bosnia

Attached is an interesting and disturbing article by David H. Hackworth entitled "The Troops: Learning About War the Hard Way" which appeared in the 4 December issue of Newsweek magazine.

Donny → *Tony*
What are the answers to his article, especially the 2 points I marked
to his critics, esp. Donny
Donny (marked)
BC

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Cy sent to Sandy
Vershbow

KV

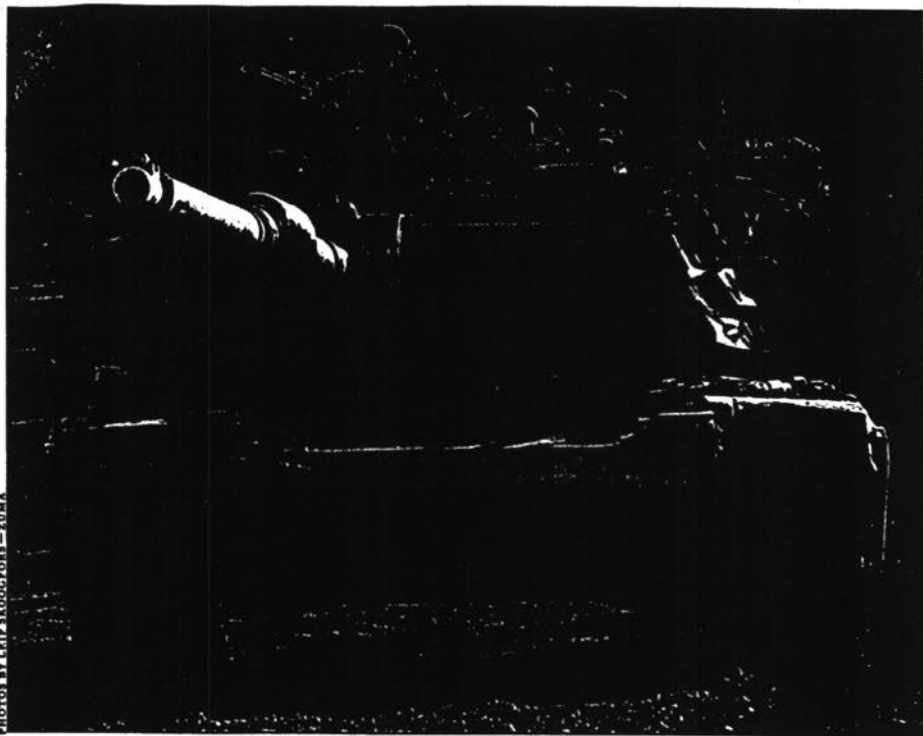
cracks overhead. Still others won't change their minds until there is an actual "incident": a buddy catches a bullet or steps on a land mine and turns into a body bag full of mangled flesh. Then the troops will demand to know what the hell they're doing there, what fool sent them and when they can go home. So will their relatives, friends and congressmen.

AS I PACKED MY GEAR LAST WEEK for another trip to Bosnia, the memory of the first dead soldier I ever saw suddenly flashed in my head. It happened 50 years ago, when I was a fresh recruit in my midteens. And it happened only a few hundred miles from Tuzla, the Bosnian town where 20,000 Americans are now scheduled to deploy. My unit, the 351st Infantry Regiment, was dug in along a demilitarized zone called the Morgan Line. Our job was to keep Tito's Yugoslav partisans out of the Italian-controlled city of Trieste, which they figured was a prize they had earned in World War II by fighting the Germans to a standstill. We weren't officially at war with the partisans, but they resented our presence, so they made things hot for us by sniping at our positions, shooting at our aircraft, ambushing our patrols and scattering mines and booby traps along the paths and roads we used. The dead young army captain had stepped on one of them. I can still see his hair stirring in the breeze and the bloody stumps where his legs had been.

He wasn't the first or last American to die there. Dozens of airmen and grunts would be killed, captured or wounded along the Italian-Yugoslav front between 1945 and 1954 in a conflict that few Americans know about. The brass told us it would be a one-year mission, not unlike Clinton's Bosnia plan, but it took nine years before a final deal was cut and the regiment came home. That was where I got my baptism of fire and where I learned that the Serb, Croat and Muslim soldiers in the partisan army included some of the meanest fighting men on earth. The crazies I fought there still take the prize as the most vicious and hard-core extremists I've bumped into in the 42 wars I've experienced as a soldier or correspondent.

The all-volunteer U.S. Army is the most professional force this country has ever fielded. It has every tool it needs to do the job in Bosnia. But despite all the gold-plated, stealthy technology that makes things faster and more lethal, warfare hasn't changed much out at the pointy end of the spear, where the grunt tries to stay alive. It's still a dirty game of kill or be killed, and the critical governing factors—terrain, weather and the enemy—are as absolute as they were at the battle of Jericho.

■ **Terrain:** Mountainous Bosnia is a cross between Germany's Hürtgen Forest and



Vietnam's Central Highlands, scenes of some of the bloodiest fighting in two previous wars. The terrain is steep and heavily timbered, with treacherously narrow and muddy roads and ruined or damaged bridges. It is a tightly compartmented landscape, where a patrol can easily get trapped and cut to pieces. The ground is strewn with literally millions of uncharted mines and booby traps, usually covered with snow at this time of year. In Vietnam, 60 percent of all U.S. casualties came from these terrible devices, which not only took lives and limbs but also gutted American

Bad tank terrain: The Abrams is too heavy for most of Bosnia's roads and bridges; the unfriendly landscape is strewn with land mines and booby traps, requiring an army engineer to practice caution at a base in southern Germany

morale. The mines used today are even worse; many are made mostly of plastic and thus can't be picked up by metal detectors. Gen. Dennis Reimer, the army chief of staff, tells me how these mines have to be found: "With a bayonet." Like their great-grandfathers in World War I, the warriors of IFOR will be down on their hands and knees with bayonets, probing and praying.

The army plans to go into Bosnia with a "heavy" force of tanks and armored personnel carriers, most of them provided by the First Armored Division, now based in Germany. That sounds awesome to the laptop commandos in the Pentagon and other citizens not familiar with ground combat. The 70-ton M1-A2 Abrams tank and the 30-ton Bradley fighting vehicle will be the major players. Both proved formidable in the Iraqi desert, but Bosnia, as the Germans found out in World War II, is not-tank country.

Last August a lightly armored United Nations vehicle skidded off a wet mountain road and tumbled down a draw, killing three U.S. envoys. That vehicle weighed only half as much as a Bradley. "Right now, the terrain there is a no-go for armor," says an army tank colonel. "Most of the heavy stuff will sit in tank parks until the bridges and roads can be repaired, which will take months. Most of the roads and 95 percent of the bridges won't take an Abrams or a Bradley." The chairman of the Joint Chiefs



Winter clouds and fog will limit the use of American air power: An Air National Guardsman, M/Sgt. Bill Foster, says goodbye to his wife, Marietta, in Rhode Island

of Staff, Gen. John Shalikashvili, promised Congress the U.S. force will be "robust." But without usable armor, American troops in Bosnia won't be much better off than my light infantry regiment was in those same mountains 50 years ago.

■ **Weather:** Our troopers are scheduled to go in December, the worst possible time in terms of snow, ice and numbing cold. Frostbite will be a big problem for the Joes and Janes up front, because on the forward edge, along the DMZs, there will be no warm tents such as those enjoyed by the REMFs ("rear-echelon misfits," you might say). Our grunts will hunker down in cold foxholes and bunkers, just as their forefathers did from Valley Forge to Korea, staring out into an icy no man's land between the warring factions and trying to keep their fingers and toes from turning black.

Icy roads and snowdrifts will be nightmares for American drivers. In the gulf war, road accidents were the biggest cause of American casualties; in Bosnia it could be even worse. And winter weather also brings heavy cloud cover, low ceilings and ground fog, limiting the use of American air power, which is a major component of Shalikashvili's "robust" force. "If a fighter aircraft or

an Apache chopper pilot can't see the target, they ain't exactly going to be robust," says Dale LeClerc, a Vietnam-era helicopter pilot with more than 400 combat missions.

■ **The enemy:** This mission won't be easy; Bosnia is no Haiti. As in Vietnam, it will be hard to tell the bad guys from the worse guys, and weapons will be everywhere. The combatants are seasoned veterans who have learned plenty of nasty tricks during 43 months of self-imposed holocaust—and centuries of hatred. All three Bosnian factions have some diehard fruitcakes who won't accept what went down in Dayton, no matter what their leaders say. They might revert to guerrilla warfare, or they might lie low and wait out the U.S. occupation, starting up the horror show again when we've left. Serb extremists may seek revenge against our troops for the U.S.-led NATO air attacks that pummeled them for weeks and forced their leaders to the peace table. Bosnian government extremists may shoot our forces in the back, blaming the Serbs and hoping to enhance the Bosnians' image as victims.

Our own behavior will stir up further enmity. The 10th U.S. Special Forces Group, based in Fort Carson, Colo., will be

responsible for training Bosnian government troops. The Serbs (and possibly the Croats, too) will rightly conclude that we have taken sides, which is the ultimate sin for peacekeepers. "We won't be exactly neutral," snorts a Green Beret captain who is scheduled to go in with the first wave to train the Bosnian Army. It's an impossible task: keeping a peace that not everyone wants and at the same time training one of the combatants. That's what we tried to do in Lebanon in 1983, and the result was the suicide bombing at the Marine barracks in Beirut, in which 241 of our troops died.

IF ANY OF THE BALKAN COMBATANTS decide to oppose us, they won't draw a line in a muddy valley or slug it out toe-to-toe on a hilltop. They know that, in this type of fighting, Americans are best, and best equipped. The Balkan fighters watched TV and saw what happened to the Iraqi Army. Instead, their MO will be the Somali model: nickel-and-dime, ankle-biter stuff that produces lots of blood and body bags for the TV cameras. Their tactics will be the same ones used by Yugoslav partisans to hold off the Germans: hit-and-run raids, mines and booby traps, mortar and terrorist attacks and selective sniping.

Some of the military professionals I spoke to last week said I should add a fourth item to my list of governing factors. They called it "the threshold of pain," and they meant it in a political sense, not a physical one. "If it comes to a shooting match, no one can slug it out with our forces and win," said Colonel Hunt, the best serving combat leader I know. His fear is that "the commanders on the ground will again have their hands tied, and we will see a repeat of Vietnam." No one expects a war on anything like the scale of Vietnam; the political decision has already been made to keep IFOR smaller than many of the military men would like. But the political interference and waffling may have a familiar ring to it. How many dead Americans will it take to force a premature withdrawal from Bosnia? No one knows, and I hope we'll never find out.

With or without heavy casualties, the task ahead is difficult. After a long train ride from Germany, people in battle dress will have to convert the subtle language of pin-striped politicians and diplomats into something doable. They must take compromises that were deliberately fudged and translate them into concrete action. What do they do when a Muslim wants his house back, and the Serbian family occupying it refuses to leave? How do they respond when an American is hit by sniper fire from the direction of Serbian lines, but an informant reports that the shot was fired by a Bosnian Muslim? The challenges that await the grunts in Bosnia are the toughest the army has faced since Vietnam.

is this true?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95

December 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
HELEN HOWELL

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent political information items:

- (A) **Hickman-Brown, November North Carolina poll.** Via Harold. Education leads the list of voter concerns. You received a 52% excellent/good job performance rating compared to a 46% not so good/poor rating. You received a 38% favorable rating compared to Dole's 36%. Among "white Democrats" you beat Dole 71% to 16%, and among all Democrats, you beat him 77% to 12%. Statewide, you are 42% to Dole's 48% with 10% undecided. *Mit many!*
- (B) **DNC financial report.** Via Harold. It shows cash on hand of \$1.68 million, and a draw-down against the \$7 million line of credit of \$5.6 million as of 12/11/95. Also, enclosed is a list of DNC deposits from 10/23 to 12/8 showing total deposits of \$7.5 million of which \$1.9 million is from direct mail, and \$5.6 million is from major donors (Marvin Rosen had anticipated raising \$8 million from major donors between 10/20 and the end of December).
- (C) **DNC 11/21/95 budget meeting documents.** Includes: Harold's memo to Dodd re: DNC 1995 operating and media budgets; DNC responses to his memo's questions regarding how much of the \$7 million credit line was drawn-down as of 11/17 (\$5.2 million), cash in DNC operating (\$577,832) and media accounts (\$41,000), total unpaid bills and other commitments (\$1.6 million), total accounts receivable (\$0), and 10/23 through 11/17 fund raising deposits (\$3.27 million); DNC 1995 budget analysis -- at year-end, DNC will have a net debt of \$4 million, owe \$2.3 million in hard bills, and have \$2.3 million of soft cash on hand; a week-by-week summary for 10/20 to 12/31 major donor projections; and a Don Fowler memo re: additional fund raising requests -- because of short lead time and lack of time to cultivate additional donors, he believes the maximum that can be raised prior to year-end is \$3.2 million).

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12 27 95

95 DEC 11 P 6:54

11 December 1995

✓
MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles
Doug Sosnik

From: Harold Ickes (HIS)

Re: Hickman-Brown public opinion poll on North
Carolina, November 1995

Attached is a copy of part of the recent state wide poll taken in North Carolina by Hickman-Brown. Education leads the list of voter concerns.

Bob Dole is at 36% favorable on a 1 to 10 scale with 10 being the highest compared to your 38% rating.

Your job performance receives a 52% excellent/good compared to 46% not so good/poor.

Among "white Democrats" you beat Dole 71 to 16, and among all Democrats, you beat him 77 to 12.

State wide, you are 42% versus Dole at 48% with 10% undecided.

HICKMAN-BROWN

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

Copyright 1995
NORTH CAROLINA

November 1995
95HBR1258

FINAL

Hello, my name is _____ from HBR, a national public opinion research firm. We're conducting a survey in North Carolina about government and politics and this number was selected at random. We are not selling anything, but only want to know people's opinions on important issues. According to the research procedure, I would like to speak to the (ALTERNATE: YOUNGEST/OLDEST) (ALTERNATE: MAN/WOMAN) at this address who is registered to vote.

QB. Are you officially registered to vote at this address in North Carolina [IF YES] Regardless of how you might feel about politics, are you officially registered as a Democrat, a Republican, or are you not registered with either party?

	7/95	4/95	9/94	8/94	4/94	2/94
YES : Democrat	56%	54%	56%	52%	53%	55%
YES : Republican	33	30	32	33	35	33
YES : Neither	11	15	12	14	13	12
NO / (Don't Know).....	TERMINATE					

QC. As you may know, next year, there will be an election for President, U.S. Senate, Governor and other offices. How likely would you say you are to vote in this election? Will you definitely vote, probably vote, are the chances 50-50, will you probably not vote, or will you definitely not vote?

	7/95	4/95	9/94	8/94	4/94	2/94
Definitely vote	80%	70%	76%	52%	59%	59%
Probably vote	14	19	19	33	32	28
50-50	5	8	5	13	8	11
Probably not	TERMINATE					
Definitely not	TERMINATE					
(Don't Know)	*	2	*	2	1	1
(Refused)	TERMINATE					

Q1. Regardless of how you are registered, do you generally think of yourself as a Democrat, an Independent or a Republican?

	7/95	4/95	9/94	8/94	4/94	2/94	8/93	12/92	10/92
Strong Democrat	23%	20%	24%	17%	20%	22%	19%	23%	25%
Weak Democrat	16	16	14	12	16	15	14	13	14
Independent Democrat	8	10	8	12	9	9	13	9	8
Independent	11	12	10	11	9	8	5	9	8
Independent Republican	9	9	10	8	10	7	15	11	9
Weak Republican	12	10	11	8	11	12	11	13	9
Strong Republican	14	18	17	23	19	18	15	19	17
(Other)	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	4	5
(Don't Know)	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	3

Q2. All in all, do you think things in this country are as a whole headed in the right direction, or are things off on the wrong track?

	7/95	4/95	9/94	8/94	4/94	2/94	8/93	12/92	11/92
Right Direction	25%	23%	27%	20%	23%	31%	30%	27%	46%
Wrong Direction	55	53	49	62	61	56	55	58	34
(Mixed)	16	19	18	15	13	10	10	8	8
(Don't Know)	3	5	6	3	3	3	5	6	12

Q3. All in all, do you think things in North Carolina are as a whole headed in the right direction, or are things off on the wrong track?

	7/95	4/95	9/94	8/94	4/94	2/94	8/93	12/92	11/92
Right Direction	45%	42%	48%	42%	42%	44%	46%	49%	48%
Wrong Direction	37	37	32	36	41	40	39	35	34
(Mixed)	15	16	14	18	15	13	12	10	8
(Don't Know)	3	5	6	4	2	2	3	6	10

- Q4. What problem facing North Carolina causes you personally the greatest concern? [PROBE] What other problem facing the state causes you personally great concern? [RECORD RESPONDENTS EXACT WORDS BELOW – CODE UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW]

	1st	Total		1st	Total
Education	20%	28%	Infrastructure	1	2
Crime	12	19	Prison overcrowding	1	2
Jobs/Economy	9	14	Treatment of senior citizens	1	2
Taxes	5	10	Judicial system	1	2
Welfare	6	9	Moral issues	1	2
Environment	4	8	Abortion	1	1
Medicare	4	6	Violence	*	1
Wasteful spending	4	6			
Drugs	3	6	OTHER	2	3
Health care	2	4	OPPOSITE	*	*
Corrupt politicians	2	4	NO/NONE/NOTHING	2	7
Racism	2	3	DON'T KNOW	13	35
Tobacco	1	3	REFUSED	-	*
Poverty	1	3			
Child programs	1	2	NO SECOND ASK		16
Law enforcement	1	2			

- Q5. Now I'm going to read you a list of several important issues, and I want you to tell me which one you think is the most important one facing North Carolina. [READ LIST] Which one is the most important issue facing North Carolina? [PROBE] And which one is the second most important issue?

	Most Important	Total Important
ROTATE		
o Reforming the public education system	41%	61%
o Taking new measures to protect against crime	21	41
o Expanding early education, childcare and health services for children in their first five years	13	27
o Creating jobs	10	24
o Making dramatic changes in state government to make it more efficient and effective	7	18
o Protecting the environment	3	13
o Maintaining and improving the state's roads and highways	3	8
(Other)	2	4
(Don't Know)	1	5
NO SECOND RESPONSE		1

- Q6. Now I'm going to read you a list of people in public life, and ask you to rate how you feel about them. Please rate each on a ten point scale where one means you have a very unfavorable impression of them and 10 means that you have a very favorable impression. If you haven't heard of someone or don't know enough to rate them, just say so. Here's the first one: [READ FIRST NAME] Where would you rate them on a scale of 1 to 10? Remember 1 means a very unfavorable impression and 10 means a very favorable impression, and you can use those numbers or any one in between.

ROTATE	Very Unfavorable				Very Favorable		Can't Rate	Never Heard	Mean
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10				
a. Jim Hunt.....	7%	11	28	31	16	5	2		6.29
April 1995	8%	7	34	31	14	6	*		6.28
September 1994	7%	10	30	31	17	4	1		6.32
August 1994	9%	10	35	30	11	4	*		5.99
April 1994	8%	10	33	31	14	2	2		6.16
February 1994	10%	10	32	33	15	3	*		6.16
November 1993	11%	11	34	25	16	3	1		5.98
August 1993	9%	9	31	30	16	5	*		6.15
December 1992	11%	10	25	30	17	6	1		6.14
October 1992	22%	15	23	19	14	6	1		5.21
					36				
b. Bob Dole	18%	14	24	26	10	7	1		5.35
April 1995	10%	12	28	24	12	11	2		5.88
August 1994	16%	11	30	23	10	7	2		5.48
February 1994	11%	11	30	24	9	8	6		5.64
August 1993	15%	12	27	22	12	10	2		5.61
					38				
c. Newt Gingrich.....	34%	13	17	14	10	9	4		4.34
April 1995	22%	11	22	15	13	12	5		5.04
					38				
d. Bill Clinton	27%	13	21	24	14	1	-		5.13
April 1995	26%	13	22	24	14	2	-		5.18
September 1994	32%	15	18	19	13	2	1		4.70
August 1994	33%	13	20	21	10	2	-		4.55
April 1994	25%	13	23	22	16	1	*		5.26
February 1994	25%	15	19	24	17	*	-		5.35
November 1993	30%	12	18	22	16	2	-		5.04
August 1993	25%	14	23	21	16	1	-		5.20
December 1992	10%	8	18	24	33	7	*		6.83
October 1992	24%	13	17	21	22	3	*		5.55
					38				
e. Jesse Helms	29%	13	19	19	18	2	*		5.07
April 1995	28%	12	20	19	17	3	*		5.13
September 1994	26%	10	18	21	22	2	1		5.46
August 1994	27%	11	20	19	20	2	2		5.33
April 1994	22%	11	21	21	21	3	2		5.63
February 1994	28%	8	17	22	21	2	1		5.47
November 1993	29%	9	17	22	21	4	*		5.37
August 1993	30%	8	15	21	22	3	*		5.42
December 1992	31%	10	19	18	19	3	*		5.13
October 1992	39%	12	17	19	10	1	*		4.35

Question 5 Continues on the Next Page

Question 5 Continued

	Very Unfavorable					Very Favorable		Can't Rate	Never Heard	Mean
	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10					
f. Richard Vinroot	3%	5	17	6	3	25	40			5.54
<i>April 1995</i>	3%	5	10	7	3	24	50			5.55
<i>August 1994</i>	2%	5	14	7	3	22	46			5.58
<i>April 1994</i>	2%	5	13	7	4	15	54			5.87
<i>February 1994</i>	4%	3	13	8	3	16	52			5.66
<i>August 1993</i>	2%	5	10	7	2	22	53			5.64
g. Colin Powell	6%	9	25	28	22	7	3			6.64
h. Robin Hayes	3%	3	12	6	2	25	49			5.34
<i>April 1995</i>	3%	4	8	3	1	26	55			4.71
i. Rufus Edmisten	11%	14	25	14	3	12	20			5.02
j. Harlan Boyles	2%	6	16	7	2	24	44			5.42
k. Richard Petty	12%	11	21	17	16	14	9			5.79
<i>February 1994</i>	12%	11	19	16	14	15	12			5.66
<i>August 1993</i>	7%	5	18	16	27	15	11			6.98

Q7. Now I'd like to ask you a different question about some of these same people. As I read each name, please tell me whether you think the way he is handling his job is excellent, good, not so good or poor. Here's the first one: [READ NAME] Do you think the way he is handling his job is excellent, good, not so good or poor?

ROTATE		Excellent	Good	Not So Good	Poor	(Don't Know)	Total Positive	Total Negative
a. Jim Hunt as Governor		13%	63	15	6	4	75	21
	April 1995	12%	66	14	5	3	78	19
	September 1994	15%	59	15	7	4	74	22
	August 1994	9%	63	20	8	1	71	27
	April 1994	13%	61	17	5	4	74	23
	February 1994	9%	67	18	4	1	77	22
	August 1993	9%	62	20	8	1	71	27
b. Bill Clinton as President		8%	44	24	22	2	52	46
	April 1995	11%	42	24	23	1	53	47
	September 1994	10%	31	25	32	2	41	58
	August 1994	4%	34	31	29	1	39	60
	April 1994	12%	42	21	24	1	55	44
	February 1994	12%	42	26	19	1	54	46
	August 1993	11%	35	28	25	1	46	53
c. Jesse Helms as U.S. Senator		12%	42	16	26	4	54	42
	April 1995	12%	42	20	22	3	55	42
	December 1992	16%	36	23	21	3	52	44
d. Newt Gingrich as Speaker of the House		11%	34	19	28	9	44	47

Q8. If the candidates in the 1996 general election for President are:
[ROTATE]

- Bill Clinton, the Democrat and,
- Bob Dole, the Republican

which one would you vote for? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, which one
would you lean toward supporting if the election were held today?

	7/95	4/95	
Clinton	42%	40%	37%
(Lean Clinton)	5	3	5
Dole	37	40	44
(Lean Dole)	6	4	5
(Don't Know)	10	12	10
TOTAL CLINTON	46	43	42
TOTAL DOLE	44	44	48

Clinton vs. Dole

April 1995

July 1995

November 1995

Net Change

	April 1995				July 1995				November 1995					Net Change		
	Clinton	Dole	(Und)	Net Clinton	Clinton	Dole	(Und)	Net Clinton	Total	Clinton	Dole	(Und)	Net Clinton	Clinton	Dole	(Und)
TOTAL	42%	48%	10%	-6%	43%	44%	12%	-1%	700	46%	44%	10%	2%	3%	0%	-2%
MEDIA MARKET																
Raleigh/Durham	40%	49%	11%	-9%	42%	43%	15%	-1%	197	48%	39%	13%	9%	6%	-4%	-2%
Charlotte	41%	48%	11%	-7%	43%	45%	12%	-2%	186	43%	45%	12%	-2%	0%	0%	0%
Greensboro	40%	53%	7%	-13%	42%	47%	11%	-5%	145	47%	47%	6%	0%	5%	0%	-5%
Asheville	45%	50%	5%	-5%	43%	45%	13%	-2%	77	45%	47%	9%	-2%	2%	2%	-4%
East	47%	41%	12%	6%	49%	41%	10%	8%	95	50%	43%	7%	7%	1%	2%	-3%
WHITES/REGION																
Piedmont	29%	61%	10%	-32%	40%	54%	7%	-14%	129	43%	52%	5%	-9%	3%	-2%	-2%
Charlotte	34%	57%	9%	-23%	36%	48%	16%	-12%	118	43%	50%	7%	-7%	7%	2%	-9%
East	37%	55%	8%	-18%	33%	53%	14%	-20%	140	40%	50%	10%	-10%	7%	-3%	-4%
PARTY ID																
White Democrats	71%	16%	14%	55%	75%	20%	5%	55%	183	73%	22%	5%	51%	-2%	2%	0%
Total Democrats	77%	12%	11%	65%	77%	17%	7%	60%	275	75%	17%	7%	58%	-2%	0%	0%
Independent	31%	56%	13%	-25%	37%	42%	20%	-5%	234	40%	43%	17%	-3%	3%	1%	-3%
Republican	8%	87%	4%	-79%	8%	83%	9%	-75%	191	13%	83%	5%	-70%	5%	0%	-4%
RACE																
White	35%	56%	10%	-21%	37%	51%	12%	-14%	574	42%	50%	7%	-8%	5%	-1%	-5%
Black	76%	17%	8%	59%	72%	16%	12%	56%	112	69%	13%	19%	56%	-3%	-3%	7%
SEX AND RACE																
White men	33%	58%	9%	-25%	37%	53%	10%	-16%	287	37%	57%	6%	-20%	0%	4%	-4%
White women	36%	53%	11%	-17%	37%	49%	14%	-12%	287	47%	44%	9%	3%	10%	-5%	-5%
Black men	74%	19%	8%	55%	69%	19%	11%	50%	56	62%	14%	24%	48%	-7%	-5%	13%
Black women	78%	15%	8%	63%	75%	11%	13%	64%	56	75%	12%	13%	63%	0%	1%	0%
WHITES/PARTY ID/SEX																
Democratic men	71%	14%	15%	57%	82%	15%	3%	67%	87	69%	28%	2%	41%	-13%	13%	-1%
Democratic women	70%	17%	12%	53%	68%	25%	7%	43%	96	76%	17%	7%	59%	8%	-8%	0%
Independent men	29%	63%	8%	-34%	32%	52%	16%	-20%	104	37%	53%	10%	-16%	5%	1%	-6%
Independent women	25%	58%	16%	-33%	34%	42%	24%	-8%	104	45%	41%	14%	4%	11%	-1%	-10%
Republican men	8%	87%	5%	-79%	6%	85%	9%	-79%	96	7%	89%	4%	-82%	1%	4%	-5%
Republican women	6%	91%	3%	-85%	7%	86%	7%	-79%	87	18%	76%	6%	-58%	11%	-10%	-1%
PARTY/IDEOLOGY/WHITES																
Democrat Liberal	88%	7%	5%	81%	89%	11%	-	78%	69	77%	19%	5%	58%	-12%	8%	5%
Democrat Moderate/Conservative	62%	20%	18%	42%	69%	24%	7%	45%	114	71%	25%	5%	46%	2%	1%	-2%
Independent Liberal/Moderate	35%	53%	12%	-18%	47%	35%	18%	12%	127	52%	37%	12%	15%	5%	2%	-6%
Independent Conservative	17%	73%	10%	-56%	16%	61%	23%	-45%	81	24%	62%	13%	-38%	8%	1%	-10%
Republican Liberal/Moderate	12%	84%	4%	-72%	8%	78%	14%	-70%	61	24%	70%	7%	-46%	16%	-8%	-7%
Republican Conservative	4%	91%	5%	-87%	6%	89%	5%	-83%	122	7%	89%	4%	-82%	1%	0%	-1%
WHITES/AGE																
18-34	36%	55%	9%	-19%	31%	55%	14%	-24%	186	38%	55%	7%	-17%	7%	0%	-7%
35-49	36%	53%	11%	-17%	36%	53%	11%	-17%	153	37%	55%	7%	-18%	1%	2%	-4%
50-64	28%	64%	8%	-36%	36%	56%	9%	-20%	132	49%	44%	8%	5%	13%	-12%	-1%
65+	38%	51%	10%	-13%	49%	36%	15%	13%	102	48%	44%	8%	4%	-1%	8%	-7%
WHITES/SEX AND AGE																
Men 18-39	38%	50%	12%	-12%	40%	51%	9%	-11%	135	33%	59%	8%	-26%	-7%	8%	-1%
Men 40-54	30%	62%	9%	-32%	37%	52%	11%	-15%	76	38%	61%	1%	-23%	1%	9%	-10%
Men 55+	30%	65%	4%	-35%	31%	58%	11%	-27%	76	42%	51%	7%	-9%	11%	-7%	-4%
Women 18-39	33%	58%	9%	-25%	28%	55%	17%	-27%	106	40%	52%	8%	-12%	12%	-3%	-9%
Women 40-54	39%	52%	9%	-13%	35%	56%	9%	-21%	75	51%	35%	14%	16%	16%	-21%	5%
Women 55+	37%	50%	13%	-13%	47%	39%	14%	8%	106	52%	41%	7%	11%	5%	2%	-7%
EDUCATION																
Non High School Graduate	31%	53%	16%	-22%	31%	53%	16%	-22%	56	31%	53%	16%	-22%	0%	0%	0%
High School Graduate	33%	57%	10%	-24%	33%	57%	10%	-24%	158	33%	57%	10%	-24%	0%	0%	0%
Some College	33%	58%	9%	-25%	33%	58%	9%	-25%	137	33%	58%	9%	-25%	0%	0%	0%
College Graduate	40%	52%	8%	-12%	40%	52%	8%	-12%	167	40%	52%	8%	-12%	0%	0%	0%



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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95

December 22, 1995

95 DEC 22 P 6:29

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY

CC: LEON PANETTA

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

Kam
Henry Kissinger

EVERGLADES

I travelled to Florida this week to meet with Governor Chiles, Lt. Governor MacKay and, separately, representatives of the sugar industry. Pressure is strong in Florida for action to restore the Everglades. Environmentalists have launched a multi-million dollar campaign calling for the sugar industry to fund restoration efforts. MacKay and Chiles appear ready to move. Bob Dole has begun to make a lot of noise about this issue and Jeb Bush has been supporting a tax on sugar to fund restoration. Chiles and MacKay do not want to be to the right of either or them; they are looking to us for leadership.

I strongly recommend that we move very quickly in January and announce an initiative on the Everglades that involves 1) an additional federal contribution and 2) your support for a one-cent assessment on sugar to fund further restoration efforts. I believe this is very important for prospects in Florida.

RCRA "RIFLESHOT" REFORMS

On Thursday, December 21, the full House Commerce Committee marked up and reported H.R. 2036, one of the two targeted reforms we have been seeking to the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA). The bill had strong bipartisan support and we remain hopeful that we can get the bill on the House suspension calendar. This reform alone could save half a billion dollars or more in unnecessary compliance costs for industry. This bill originated in your March 16 commitment, as part of our initiative for Reinventing Environmental Regulation, to consider and develop targeted legislative amendments to RCRA provisions that result in high cost, low-benefit regulations that defy common sense. CEQ, EPA, and the OMB Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs have assembled a broad coalition of companies and trade associations, supported by a large and bipartisan group of Representatives, in support of H.R. 2036. Also on Thursday, Senator Nickles (R-OK) and a number of Republican Senators were joined by Senators Glenn (D-OH), Lieberman (D-CT),

Pryor (D-AR), Bumpers (D-AR), and other Democrats as original cosponsors of an identical companion bill that was introduced in the Senate.

REPUBLICANS ON THE ENVIRONMENT

House Republican leaders this week admitted they are losing the debate on the environment. House Majority Whip Tom DeLay was quoted in Monday's Wall Street Journal saying, "there was a regulatory-reform strategy that deteriorated into an environmental issue, and it cost us." Attached is an article, dated December 18, 1995, from Wall Street Journal as printed in Greenwire.

TIMBER ARTICLES

The Seattle Times wrote editorials stating the salvage logging rider was interpreted too broadly by the courts. Clear-cutting of timber, including old-growth trees, has resumed in Oregon and Washington and threatens to damage the salmon and wildlife habitats. The article describes the Administration's interpretation of the rider as it related to Section 318 sales. Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA) believed the rider applied not only to the Section 318 sales but to all timber sales in Washington and Oregon. Timber industry has spurred a new round of legal gridlock. Attached are articles, dated December 15, 1995, from the Seattle Times.

ENVIRONMENTAL ARTICLES

The Denver Post wrote this week praising your strong stance on the environment. The public continues to ask for stronger environmental protection, not weaker. The Tongass Forest rider in the Interior appropriations bill is highlighted. Attached is the article dated December 20, 1995.

The San Francisco Chronicle wrote an editorial criticizing the Republican Congress' attempts to rollback environmental protections. The Interior appropriations bill rider regarding the Mojave National Preserve is highlighted. A December poll by the Field Institute found 85 percent of Californian's support keeping the preserve as a national park. Attached is the article dated December 18, 1995.

Monday, December 18, 1995

*5 REPUBLICANS: LEADERS ADMIT WEAKNESS ON ENVIRO ISSUE

While House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) has succeeded "in transforming the House and using it to drive" the GOP's national agenda, the speaker's leadership allies admit their most important defeat has been on the environmental front.

Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-TX), who led efforts to add measures to the US EPA's FY '96 budget to curb the agency's enforcement powers: "I'll be straight with you -- we have lost the debate on the environment. ... I can count votes." The EPA budget riders provoked a "backlash" from GOP party moderates, "catching the leadership by surprise," and helped strengthen enviros on issues such as mining and logging on federal lands.

While the GOP's overall momentum is partly due to Gingrich's ability to mobilize the party, "there really has not been a leadership environmental strategy," according to DeLay.

The effort to restrict EPA's ability to enforce clean-air and water rules "came to symbolize an effort to reward industry allies seeking relief from regulation." DeLay: "There was a regulatory-reform strategy that deteriorated into an environmental issue, and it cost us" (David Rogers, W.S. JOURNAL, 12/18).

EDITORIALS

Why salvage logging is an old-growth rip-off

LAST SPRING, Sen. Slade Gorton helped sell an unusual congressional bill clearing the way for special "salvage logging" in Northwest forests. Six months later, there has been little salvage logging. Instead, loggers have returned to our old-growth forests, and the region is beginning to feel it has been taken for a ride on the blade of a chainsaw.

The legislation made sense at the time. The Eastern Washington firestorms of 1994 had been fueled by accumulations of diseased or insect-infested trees. By temporarily loosening environmental restraints, loggers would thin fire-prone forests, provide timber for mills and generate some much-needed jobs.

The legislation seemed in the spirit of President Clinton's timber plan, which seeks to protect critical habitat while providing public timber for a hard-hit industry.

Meanwhile, the industry had set its eyes on bigger things — thousands of old-growth trees in selected Northwest forests. These are trees slated for harvest five years ago but held up by the regional timber debate.

The timber industry went to court, persuading an Oregon judge that one obscure phrase in the law means that pending old-growth sales, not just salvage logging, should be exempt from environmental laws. The government has appealed that ruling. Meanwhile, clear-cutting has resumed in Oregon's national forests and may begin soon in Washington.

Rep. Norm Dicks, who supported the law, now is backpedaling. The judge interpreted the law too broadly, he says.

Gorton, however, says this is what he had in mind all along. So what's all the fuss about?

Here's what. Wildlife authorities, including the Forest Service, believe the renewed logging will damage salmon and wildlife habitat.

But the whine of the chain saws also threatens the credibility of the timber industry and their allies in the region's environmental debate. Many Northwest voices, including this newspaper, supported the salvage proposal in hopes of finding common ground between pitched antagonists. Instead, we see loggers marching back into ancient forests while environmentalists renew the eco-rhetoric. It's back to the trenches.

Arguments can be made that logging old-growth forests can be biologically responsible. Fine, but the taxpayers who own those trees are fed up with seeing ancient forests treated as a cash crop. There is room in Pacific Northwest forests for hikers, owls and loggers alike. Salvage logging makes sense, as do other environmentally sensitive approaches.

But most of the old trees already are gone. Leave the rest alone.

BEATTLE TIMES
56-51-21
12-15-95

SEATTLE TIMES 12-15-95

A clear-cut case of slipping a fast one through Congress



HERE'S a tale of big-time lawmaking that shows how public policy can be uglier and less productive than sausage making.

You may have thought the Northwest timber wars had ended with the Clinton compromise forest plan, known as Option 9. Thanks to the connivance of pro-timber industry lawmakers such as Sen. Slade Gorton, the Northwest can expect to see a new blizzard of lawsuits that could bring logging in future years to a grinding halt.

The trouble started this spring when Congress tacked onto the bill to cut 1995 spending a so-called emergency salvage timber rider that ostensibly streamlined the process for logging fallen or diseased trees on federal forest land.

Gorton and Rep. Norm Dicks were the rider's key sponsors, and they ensured its passage by putting it on the popular spending rescission bill, which also included emergency aid for the Oklahoma City bombing victims.

Most members of Congress haven't the time or inclination to study every amendment — let alone every clause of every amendment — stuck onto a bill, but they are inclined to help bomb-damaged cities. So the bill, along with the salvage rider, passed easily in both House and Senate (Sen. Patty Murray was one of only eight members of the Senate to vote against the bill).

President Clinton first vetoed, then signed a slightly modified second version of the bill. He voiced concerns about the salvage provision, but pointedly announced he was relying on Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield's word of honor that the rider would not affect protections for forests and streams.

Little did Clinton or most members of Congress realize that the bomb hidden in the salvage rider had *nothing* to do with fallen or

diseased trees. And indeed, few companies are bidding on the salvage timber; they're eyeing premium old-growth.

Buried deep in the Trojan-horse rider is one paragraph that exempts some federal timber tracts from all logging regulation through fiscal year 1996 unless there is an endangered species nesting on the site.

The question, of course, is which tracts on what federal lands?

Dicks and the Clinton administration have believed all along that the exemption applies only to some 60 specific plots of healthy timber originally offered for sale or sold in 1989 and 1990. Those plots, known as "Section 318 sales," are prime, vigorous stands, some home to the threatened marbled murrelet.

Exempting any logging from federal environmental law is a dubious proposition. But harvest of the Section 318 plots was assumed under Clinton's compromise to protect prime habitats while sending more logs to the mills.

In any case, this limited interpretation of the exemption is backed up by statements made on the floors of the House and Senate, though there was little discussion of the arcane details. Most of the debate focused predictably on diseased trees.

Now it is quite clear that while Dicks — and he says everyone else listening to the debate — were blithely assuming one thing, the timber industry henchmen had something very different in mind.

On July 27, the very day the president signed the bill, Gorton and five other Republicans sent a letter (which Hatfield did not sign) to Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman informing them that the exact wording of the exemption applies not only to the Section 318 sales but to all timber sales ever offered by the federal government in Washington and Oregon — even old sales that were canceled because they violated environmen-

tal law.

Suffice it to say that the drafters of the rider language — including Mark Rey, longtime chief lobbyist for the American Forest and Paper Association who this year joined the staff of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee — knew exactly what they were doing.

The Northwest Forest Resource Council, a timber-industry group, quickly filed a lawsuit asking a federal court to declare that their position prevails. A key exhibit — no surprise — was Gorton and Co.'s gotcha letter, submitted as proof that Congress intended this result all along, never mind that co-sponsor Dicks says the industry's interpretation is "broader than any of us thought possible."

In September, Judge Michael Hogan gave the timber industry a big victory. His ruling hinged largely on the placement of the phrase "subject to Section 318" in the fine print. Because the phrase modifies the "immediate antecedent" (a reference to federal forests in Oregon and Washington), the industry wins.

The clear-cutting free-for-all, accelerated by the tight 12-month window, has already started. The rider could potentially release for harvest some 660 million board feet of mostly old-growth timber. But the boost will be short-lived.

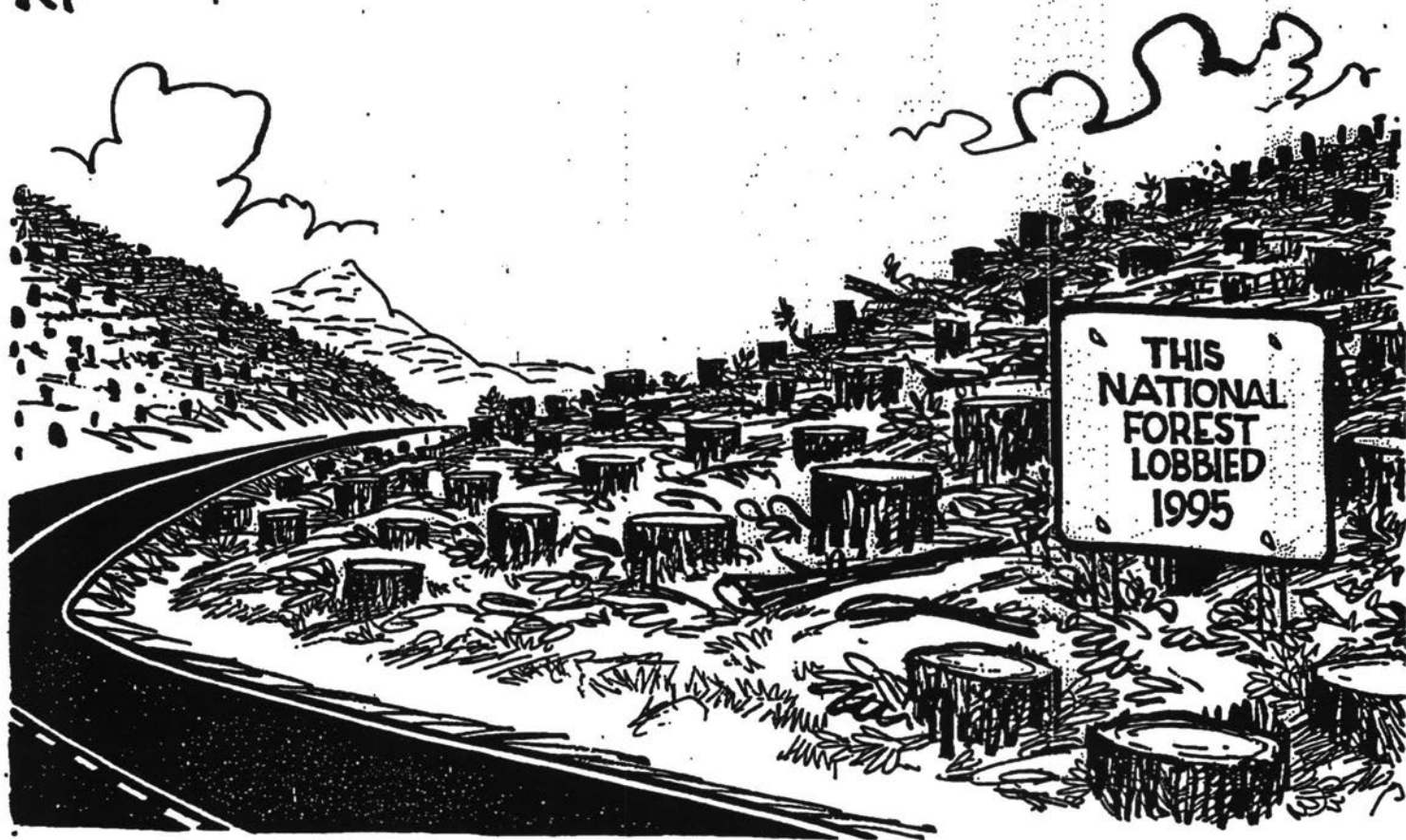
Gorton and the timber interests may be just too clever by half. By going for a secret and cheap victory — made possible by a Congress willing to vote blindly on anything, cynically binding the fate of Douglas firs to terrorism victims in Oklahoma — they will undermine the environmental assumptions of Option 9.

Just as environmental groups were making peace with the compromise, the industry gives them new ammunition to undo the Clinton plan and to challenge habitat conservation plans on private forest lands. Instead of living comfortably with the 1.1 billion board feet of timber allowed under Option 9, the timber lobby has just invited a new round of legal gridlock.

A few weeks ago, the House leadership was telling GOP members to insulate themselves from environmental criticism by planting a tree or passing out saplings door-to-door. Here's better advice: Don't remind voters of trees. The pictures of fresh clear-cuts will do that quite sufficiently.

Terry Tang's column appears Friday on editorial pages of The Times.

RIGGS © 1995 THE SPKSMAN REVIEW



Denver Post 12/20/95

Denver Post Dec 20 1995

Congress has no mandate to despoil the environment

Bill Clinton is winning political points because the GOP leadership is letting some Republicans attack Mother Nature.

Proposals the president vetoed this week included plans to emasculate wetlands preservation and to prohibit agencies from adding animals or plants to the endangered species list.

In some cases, the vetoed provisions actually might have increased government spending because of litigation costs and management inefficiencies. Worse, they would have permitted degradation of public resources for little or no widespread benefit.

It's one thing for the GOP to sincerely try to curtail public spending. But it's an entirely different matter to use the budget debate to advance the narrow interests of political contributors at taxpayer expense.

The most striking example is the fight over the Tongass, a rare North American rain forest that sprawls across southeast Alaska. A few years ago, Congress approved a compromise plan to permit some logging there.

The existing plan already costs the federal piggy bank plenty. On average, the U.S. Forest Service has lost \$40 million a year selling Tongass timber. Most of the Tongass timber is cut by Japanese companies, with the raw logs exported to the Far East. Environmentalists and taxpayer watchdogs didn't like the compromise, but politically it was the best deal they could win at the time.

Now the situation could grow far worse. U.S. Sen. Ted Stevens, an Alaska Republican, wants to undo the existing agreement and offer even bigger giveaways. His measure would require the Forest Service to allow even more widespread and potentially destructive logging in the Tongass. It also would bar citizen input into the forest management process.

If Congress adopts Stevens' proposal, America could commit the same sins against its own rain forest for which it has chided developing nations like Brazil.

Taxpayers will lose because Stevens' proposal will force more subsidized road building and below-cost timber sales.

Although a conference committee was supposed to strike Stevens' proposal from the appropri-

ations bill, congressional Republicans ultimately went along with his plan.

When the bill hit the president's desk, Clinton thus had a ready-made excuse to veto the measure and so win public applause.

GOP acquiescence to Stevens' demands proved to be not only absurd economics and dangerous environmental policy — it also turned out to be stupid politics.

When voters gave the GOP control of Congress, they were signaling a desire to decalcify the system. But Republicans should not misread the mandate as a call to dispose of some popular policies — including the formerly bipartisan consensus on environmental protection.

Indeed, the GOP has handed extraordinary control of America's public lands and environmental policy to the Alaskan congressional delegation, which has one of the worst collective environmental records in Washington.

Stevens heads the panel that oversees fisheries and oceans, yet the League of Conservation Voters rates him a paltry 8 on a scale where 100 is a perfect score.

His senate colleague, Frank Murkowski, last year earned a rating of zero from the same broad-based environmental coalition. He now steers the crucial Energy and Natural Resources committee.

Alaska's voice in the U.S. House, Don Young, is in charge of a panel on oceans, fisheries and wildlife; he also scored a zero on environmental matters in 1994.

Certainly there are Republicans with far better records. Among them is Colorado's own U.S. Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who last year earned a 62 for his pro-environmental votes.

By installing environmental laggards in key posts, the Republicans have shown a collective disdain for voters, who, according to opinion polls, consistently have asked for stronger environmental protection, not weaker. GOP leaders now must answer publicly for these committee selections.

The GOP leadership choices has cast a needless anti-environmental tone over the budget debate — that's one reason Republicans have lost some moral high ground in the shoving match between Capitol Hill and the White House.

This is wrong
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See cross page.

But, most gets
shipped to the
Far East.

San Francisco Chronicle

THE VOICE OF THE WEST

EDITORIALS

Undermining America's Environmental Ethic

APPARENTLY UNFAZED by the growing public opposition to the rollback of vital environmental protections, the Republican Congress last week fired off a double-barreled, scatter-shot blast of environmental destruction. In doing so, it handed the White House yet another opportunity to burnish its otherwise tarnished image as the ultimate defender of

America's most precious natural resources: its wild and productive forests, rivers, deserts, wildlife and the very air we breathe.

In giving final approval to two appropriations bills, one for the Interior Department and another for housing, environmental and veterans pro-

In the place of consensus and conservation, the GOP offers division and degradation

grams, the GOP majority has attempted to undermine, in the name of a balanced budget, an entire environmental ethic of conservation and sustainability — an ethic that has enjoyed a broad, bipartisan public consensus for more than two decades.

In place of that consensus, the Republicans offer bitter division, permanent environmental degradation and the mere chimera of budgetary savings. The environmental policy provisions that have been so disingenuously concealed in these funding bills are not merely destructive of an isolated forest here and a wildlife species there; they are destructive of America itself.

Of particular concern to Californians is the Interior bill's betrayal of the overwhelming public support for the creation of the Mojave National Preserve, the center-

piece of last year's California Desert Protection Act, which created the nation's newest and fourth-largest national park.

A December poll by the Field Institute found 85 percent support in the state in favor of keeping the preserve as a national park. On a separate question, 75 percent opposed Congress' obscene gesture — made at the behest of Representative Jerry Lewis, R-Redlands — of giving the National Park Service just \$1 to manage the Mojave and instructing it to reopen the preserve to such destructive uses as cross-country motorcycle races and open-pit mining.

In terms of genuinely massive destruction of natural resources, the most egregious feature of the Interior bill is the rider requiring the gutting of virtually all environmental protections in Alaska's Tongass National Forest, the world's largest remaining temperate rain forest. The bill calls for increasing logging by clear-cutting by as much as 44 percent, including harvesting in the forest's most environmentally sensitive and protected areas.

Other provisions of the two bills would prohibit adding wildlife species to the endangered species list and would place a similar moratorium on designation of critical wildlife habitat. The Environmental Protection Agency's budget would be slashed by roughly 20 percent, with similar cuts to the Forest Service, the Interior Department, energy efficiency programs and water treatment programs.

Republican leaders last week had the gall to defend such overreaching destructiveness as the elimination of "low-priority EPA items — useless funds and pork projects."

If that is the congressional majority's view of America's national parks and forests, rivers, lakes, bays and coastal waters, then Congress itself should be facing a voters' veto at the first possible opportunity.

12-27-95

presents no conflict in the circuits or important, unresolved issue warranting Supreme Court review.

- Consent Decree Expected in *United States v. Occidental Chemical Corp.*, a Superfund Case Arising from the Love Canal Controversy:** On December 21, 1995, DOJ lodged a consent decree settling the Love Canal cost recovery case. If approved, Occidental Chemical Corporation will pay \$129 million in four installments with interest accruing. Settling Federal agencies will also contribute \$8 million in settlement of Occidental's counterclaim for a total of \$137 million. Of this amount, \$102 million will go to the Superfund and \$27 million will go to the U.S. Treasury on behalf of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. In addition, NOAA/DOI's natural resource damages claims will be settled for \$375,000. DOJ will recover the money actually spent by the United States at the site. This settlement is likely to draw press attention, given the notoriety of the site and the large dollar recovery.
- Ruby Ridge Report Released:** The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Terrorism issued its report on the Ruby Ridge Incident on 12/21. The report criticizes both the ATF and FBI, by placing blame for the deaths of Vickie and Sammie Weaver in Idaho in 1992, on Federal law enforcement. The report, however, notes that the tragedy could have been avoided had Randy Weaver surrendered on an outstanding warrant of arrest. The report praises the Justice Department for many of the changes and improvements made at the FBI and elsewhere since the incident. The Subcommittee has also announced that it will hold hearings into the prospect of merging ATF into the Justice Department and the recently announced use of deadly force by federal law enforcement policy.
- Defendant Sentenced in California Under Violence Against Women Act.** The second person in the country to be charged with a violation of the Violence Against Women Act, was sentenced on December 11, 1995, to a prison term of 87 months. The defendant had previously pled guilty to a one-count felony for interstate domestic violence.
- Michigan National Voter Registration Act Suit.** On December 13, 1995, the court in *United States v. Michigan*, (W.D. Mich.), ruled that the National Voter Registration Act is constitutional and gave the state 10 days to prepare an implementation plan. The court set a status conference for the review the state's plan for January 12, 1996.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- Meeting with California on Draft Proposal to Restructure Los Angeles County Health Care System Delayed:** Health Care Financing Administration's plans for a face-to-face meeting with California officials have been delayed until the first week in January due to the Department's furlough. On December 15, a list of preliminary concerns was sent to the State, outlining issues where California's draft proposal did not reflect the agreement in principle reached between Federal and State officials on September 22. On December 20, a conference call was held to discuss these concerns and to assist California in revising its working draft to reflect the September 22 agreement. HCFA remains committed to working with California to address the urgent health care situation. The agreement in principle included \$364 million in additional resources and plans for the long-term transformation of

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95

95 DEC 21 8:07

DECEMBER 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS 
SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF CABINET WEEKLY REPORTS
DECEMBER 17-23

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

- **D.C. Appropriations:** Because Congress has not yet passed D.C.'s appropriation, the District has declared all of its employees "essential" and the D.C. government is operating at full strength. Treasury expects to receive a requisition this week for a loan of an additional \$270-280 million to be made to the District during the week of December 31.
- **IRS Commission:** Treasury is in the process of establishing a commission to study the operations of the IRS and make recommendations on IRS restructuring to improve service to taxpayers. Decisions on the composition of the Commission will be made in the coming weeks.
- **Reports on Mexican Economy:** Secretary Rubin's Semi-Annual and Monthly Reports to the Congress on the Mexican Economy will be released early next week. The release of these reports may generate publicity this month since it was at this time last year that Mexico's difficulties began. Op-ed pieces by Deputy Secretary Summers on Mexico are expected to appear in *The Economist* and *Insight* magazines next week.
- **Debt Limit:** Deputy Secretary Summers met with Sen. Arlen Specter and Rep. Amo Houghton this week to discuss the debt limit. The Senate is expected to vote soon on a bill to raise the Social Security earnings limit. The bill includes language codifying our understanding of the limitations of using the Social Security Trust Fund during periods of debt limit impasse. The Secretary has agreed not to use the proceeds of the Social Security Trust Fund to avoid breaching the debt limit.

- **Automatic Extensions for Individual Income Tax Returns:** The IRS has published a temporary and proposed regulation that will make it easier for taxpayers to receive four-month extensions for filing their tax returns. The regulation will eliminate two of the five requirements which had to be met in order to receive such an extension (*i.e.*, the requirement that the application be signed and the requirement that the application be accompanied by the estimated amount of tax due).
- **Native American Gambling Revenues:** The IRS has published a final regulation which will impose an income tax withholding requirement on the distribution of gambling profits to Native American tribal members. The regulation implements a provision of the GATT legislation.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Economic Data:** All economic and demographic data releases are postponed during the shutdown, including 3rd Quarter 1995 Gross Domestic Product figures, international trade figures, personal income and housing starts. A revised schedule will be announced once work resumes.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Economic Indicators:** If the current shutdown extends into next week, the Bureau of Labor Statistics will delay release of Major Economic Indicators. These include the monthly unemployment rate, payroll jobs count, Producer Price Index, Consumer Price Index, and Import and Export Prices Indexes, the quarterly Employment Cost Index and revised Productivity and Costs report.
- **Effect of Shutdown on Workers' Occupational Safety and Health:** Programs protecting America's workers were effected because of the government shutdown. For example, on Monday and Tuesday alone, 320 work site inspections were delayed - 220 in response to complaints. Safety and health information was denied to nearly 16,000 individuals seeking help. Forty samples collected during OSHA health inspections were not analyzed by the Salt Lake Technical Center. Nine case file write-ups involving fatality investigations were postponed.
- **Effect of Shutdown on Job Training Assistance:** DOL has been unable to respond to an emergency request for funding from the state Rhode Island to assist 2,000 workers dislocated by the ALMACS grocery store chain. Neither the workers nor the state received any advance notice of the lay-off. Ordinarily, DOL's Employment and Training Administration would respond to the request within 24 hours. Fifteen additional requests for training funds for more than 7,000 dislocated workers from the following states cannot be reviewed because of the government shutdown: Florida, Guam, Illinois, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, (2 layoffs), West Virginia (2 layoffs), and Washington. 22 states report that they will run out of federal funds this week to Trade Readjustment Assistance benefits. At least 8 of these states (California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina,

Pennsylvania) will not be covered with state dollars, resulting in unemployed workers not receiving their benefit payments.

- **Veterans' Programs During Shutdown:** On Tuesday alone, 849 Veterans were not placed in jobs by the Veterans' Employment and Training staff. DOL was forced to suspend investigations of 400 veterans' re-employment rights cases and cancelled all briefings for service members and their spouses preparing to re-enter the civilian labor market.
- **Sweatshops:** On Wednesday, December 20, Secretary Reich announced that four national retail outlets owned and operated by the Gap are being added to the Fair Labor Fashion Trendsetter List, bringing the total number of companies recognized to 35. The Gap was included in the list after announcing it would take additional steps to protect workers in its contract shops from exploitation.
- **Pension Protection Rule:** This week, DOL published a proposed rule in the Federal Register which would substantially shorten the time within which employers must deposit workers' savings in 401 (k) plans.
- **Interstate Commerce Commission:** On Wednesday, December 20, Secretaries Reich and Pena sent a joint letter to the House and Senate informing the Congress that the President would veto the ICC Conference Report. The key labor issue is that the bill reduces employee protection for railway workers affected by mergers and sales. On Wednesday, the House voice voted approval of the rule, but did not take up the bill. The House leadership wants the Senate to act first. Some Senate Democrats want the opposite, and they are threatening a filibuster. No Senate action is scheduled at this time.
- **ALA/FEDEX Monitoring and Enforcement Unit:** Last weekend the National Mediation Board (NMB) reached an agreement between ALA and Federal Express, however, on Tuesday, December 19, FEDEX top management declined to approve the plan. DOL is awaiting word from NMB on its plans.
- **University Of Maryland Commencement Address:** On Friday, December 22, Secretary Reich will deliver the Fall Commencement address at the University of Maryland College Park.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- **California National Voter Registration Act Suit:** On December 26, 1995, the Solicitor General will file in opposition to the petition for certiorari in *Wilson v. Voting Rights Coalition*, (S. Ct.). In this case, the Ninth Circuit rejected California's Tenth Amendment challenge to the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA), holding that the NVRA is a constitutional exercise of Congress's broad powers to regulate elections for federal office. In its petition for certiorari, the State argued that the Ninth Circuit's decision undermines principles of federalism by allowing the federal government to "conscript" state employees to perform voter registration duties outside of their usual line of work. DOJ will argue that the court of appeals correctly rejected the state's Tenth Amendment argument, and that the case

12-27-95

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- **Michigan National Voter Registration Act Suit.** On December 13, 1995, the court in *United States v. Michigan*, (W.D. Mich.), ruled that the National Voter Registration Act is constitutional and gave the state 10 days to prepare an implementation plan. The court set a status conference for the review the state's plan for January 12, 1996.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **Meeting with California on Draft Proposal to Restructure Los Angeles County Health Care System Delayed:** Health Care Financing Administration's plans for a face-to-face meeting with California officials have been delayed until the first week in January due to the Department's furlough. On December 15, a list of preliminary concerns was sent to the State, outlining issues where California's draft proposal did not reflect the agreement in principle reached between Federal and State officials on September 22. On December 20, a conference call was held to discuss these concerns and to assist California in revising its working draft to reflect the September 22 agreement. HCFA remains committed to working with California to address the urgent health care situation. The agreement in principle included \$364 million in additional resources and plans for the long-term transformation of

the health care system toward improving primary and outpatient care.

- **USDA And HHS To Release Updated Dietary Guidelines For Americans:** On January 2, 1996 USDA and HHS will release the 1995 revision of the Dietary Guidelines for Americans, which reflect the strongest science yet on how Americans can choose diets that promote health. At a joint press conference Secretaries Glickman and Shalala will announce the release of the fourth edition of "Nutrition and Your Health: Dietary Guidelines for Americans". While the 1995 Guidelines incorporate much of the substance of the 1990 edition, this revision places increased emphasis on making food choices in the context of balance, variety, and moderation in the total diet. Using the findings of recent research on the problem of overweight, the Guidelines include, for the first time, recommendations on physical activity and weight maintenance as well as on weight loss.
- **States Submitting Questionable Fourth Quarter Medicaid Expenditure Reports:** The Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) has detected a pattern of questionable requests by states for Federal matching funds on their Medicaid fourth quarter Fiscal Year 1995 expenditure reports. The reports far exceed historical patterns of Medicaid spending. HCFA will not provide Federal matching funds on the questionable claims until the states in question submit adequate documentation to justify the expenditures. We assume states are taking these actions because they anticipate that new legislation would use Fiscal Year 1995 as the base year and hold states harmless for previously disallowed claims. Some states involved include Ohio, Hawaii, and North Carolina; HCFA's Regional Offices are currently identifying others.
- **ACF to Grant Anti-Fraud Welfare Waiver to Massachusetts:** As early as next week, the Administration on Children and Families will grant a waiver to the State of Massachusetts for the "Two-Digit Fingerprint/Photo Matching Demonstration Project." In an effort to reduce and prevent fraud, this demonstration will require fingerprinting or a digitized photo as a condition of eligibility for AFDC, in select offices.
- **New Test for TB:** On December 18, FDA approved Amplified Mycobacterium TB Direct Test, made by Gen-Probe, Inc. of San Diego, a fast, new laboratory test to detect the bacterium that causes tuberculosis. The test uses gene amplification technology to provide reliable, specific results in 4-5 hours. Conventional culture methods require 1-8 weeks for reliable results.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

- **Upcoming Report of Advisory Council on Social Security:** The Advisory Council on Social Security met on December 14 to discuss and finalize their upcoming report. Although no votes were taken on sections of the report with the exception of the three illustrative plans, it is believed that the Council has established certain consensus and majority principles on any future changes to the Social Security program. Among the highlights of these consensus principles is that the Social Security program remain a mandatory program and that all workers be included in the program; that action be taken on these issues sooner rather than later, preferably in 1997; that recipients continue to receive full COLAs; that Social Security be phased-in off budget; and that there be burden sharing by today's retirees on any package of proposals to restore long-term solvency. Majority

principles included that there be no payroll tax increase for any future package; that the Normal Retirement Age be increased to 68 over the scheduled increase to 67; and that Social Security surplus funds be invested in equities and bonds.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **Housing Authority of New Orleans:** This week, Secretary Cisneros spoke to Mayor Morial about the Administration's plans to address the long-standing mismanagement issues at the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO). Although the Mayor expressed his initial opposition to any HUD intervention into the management of his housing agency, Secretary Cisneros intends to proceed with HUD's plans. The Secretary briefed Rep. William Jefferson, and Sens. Johnston and Breaux on the situation, who were supportive of the Administration's proposed actions. Secretary Cisneros will speak with Mayor Morial again next week before the plans are implemented. Public announcement of our actions in New Orleans has been delayed and complicated by the government shutdown. Full action may take place as early as next week, but will most likely occur during the first week of the new year.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

- **Lee Brown Resignation:** Director Brown's resignation was supposed to take effect on December 31, 1995, but he has been asked to delay it until January 13 or 14 (at Rahm Emanuel's suggestion). He has agreed to do so if the University will move his start date to January 15. Until his resignation is effective, Director Brown has taken leave; he is in daily contact with his office and he has been available to respond to media inquiries. It is imperative that someone be designated Acting Director as of his resignation date. Prior to that date the Chief of Staff has been handling routine activities.
- **Attacks on Drug Policy:** ONDCP expects that the attacks on the Administration's drug policy by Congressional Republicans will continue over the coming weeks and months. Key staff met with Rahm Emanuel to develop a strategy for responding to these attacks. ONDCP is planning several high profile media events with Director Brown during the next two weeks.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **NAFTA:** On December 15, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters asked the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals for an emergency stay of a November 30 Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) final rule. The ICC rule adopted an application form for Mexican motor carriers to use in securing authority to operate in the U.S. states bordering Mexico. This rule helps implement NAFTA, which provides that Mexican motor carriers may apply for such authority as of December 18. A stay of the ICC rule, if granted, would effectively delay implementation of this aspect of the Agreement. On December 18, at a press conference, Secretary Pena announced that processing of applications would not be finalized until after an additional set of consultations on safety and security issues surrounding Mexican carriers seeking to do business in the U.S. have taken place. As of

December 18, the Teamsters have not withdrawn their request for the emergency stay. On December 20, the U.S. is hosting the first consultative meeting in Dallas, TX between the U.S. and Mexico to discuss motor carrier safety and security issues related to the opening of the border under NAFTA. Another NAFTA seminar has been scheduled for March 1996 in Monterrey, Mexico.

- **Decision in Los Angeles International Airport Rates Proceeding:** On December 22, DOT will issue its decision on the Second Los Angeles International Airport Rates Proceeding. In its decision, DOT finds that approximately 81.5% of the current landing fees at LAX are reasonable. Since 1993, LAX has twice increased its landing fees, resulting in an increase from \$0.51 to the current \$2.06 per thousand pounds landed weight. Approximately 25% of the landing fee increases sought by the City since 1993 are reasonable. Of the most recent landing fee increases adopted in 1995, the Department found a portion of them unreasonable, but not to the extent that an ALJ had found them unreasonable.

U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

- **Monitoring and Enforcement Unit:** Ambassador Kantor's expected announcement of a Monitoring and Enforcement Unit within USTR was postponed until after the government shutdown. The creation of this unit is intended to ensure that U.S. trade laws and U.S. rights under international trade agreements are enforced and that these benefits are manifested in increased economic and job opportunities for the U.S.
- **"NAFTA-Parity" Legislation:** Ambassador Kantor instructed staff to develop "NAFTA-Parity" legislation, which would confer equivalent treatment to Caribbean Basin Initiative beneficiary countries as that received by Mexico under the NAFTA. Over the course of this year, the Administration had worked with the Congress on similar legislation sponsored by Reps. Crane and Gibbons and Senator Graham. However, neither proposal was included in the House or Senate version of the budget reconciliation package.
- **The Japanese Deputy Prime Minister and Industry Minister's Visit to Washington:** Senior USTR staff, including Ambassador Shapiro, continued to work with Japanese representatives to advance preparations for an anticipated January visit to Washington by Japanese Deputy Prime Minister and International Trade and Industry Minister Hashimoto. Ambassador Kantor has requested meetings with Hashimoto to discuss bilateral trade priorities and has offered to host a dinner in honor of the visit.
- **Partial Denial of Trade Benefits to Argentina:** Ambassador Kantor sent a decision memorandum to you concerning the proposed partial denial of trade benefits to Argentina for lack of adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights. This approach is supported by a majority of agencies, and the memo detailed additional steps involving concerns over broader Latin America policy intended to solidify interagency consensus on the Argentina issue.
- **U.S. - Ukraine Commercial Space Launch Agreement:** Ambassador Kantor sent a memorandum to you describing the U.S. - Ukraine Commercial Space Launch Agreement

which was concluded last week in Vienna. The agreement, which allows the Ukraine a combination of independent and joint venture launches, not to exceed 20 by the year 2001, strikes a balance between U.S. aerospace and satellite operators.

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

- **Bosnia:** Preliminary results from USIA's poll in Bosnia show that the 86% of Bosnian Serbs dislike the US troops, distrust the US troops, believe that they are the victims in the conflict and support Ratko Miadic. 80% of Bosnian Croats (80%) and 97% of Bosnian Muslims in Sarajevo support IFOR and American troop participation, most Bosnian Serbs oppose both. One likely reason is that nearly all Bosnian Serbs doubt IFOR will be impartial.
- **Au Pair Program:** The House Monday, December 18 passed on a voice vote bipartisan legislation authorizing the Au Pair program to continue through September, 1997. The Senate acted similarly last week. The Program attracts up to 13,000 young people, mostly European women, annually to America. US immigration officials have been granting Au Pairs provisional entry into the United States since authority for the program ran out at the end of September. The approved legislation opens the program to new countries and new sponsors.
- **US-EU Higher Ed:** This week, Education Secretary Riley and Director Duffey signed an agreement on educational exchange between the US and the European Union. The Agreement establishes a cooperation program in higher education and vocational education, and brings a number of programs under one umbrella.
- **Israel/Golan Heights:** In Israel, according to a USIA poll completed in December, Israeli Jews are evenly split on withdrawal from the Golan Heights. The December 4-11 poll shows that nearly half (48%) oppose any withdrawal from the Golan in exchange for a "final peace agreement with adequate security guarantees," while exactly as many (48%) back at least a partial withdrawal.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

✓ **This Year's Accomplishments:** GSA's customer focus and common sense have netted taxpayers over \$12 billion in savings or cost avoidances. ~~GSA did this with a workforce streamlined by 20% with no layoffs, and with a 17% reduction in operating costs.~~ Time Out and Review of public buildings has yielded \$1.36 billion in savings and better construction management. Changing major computer purchase avoided over \$7 billion in unnecessary spending. GSA's unrestricted airfares with major airlines are on average 50% lower than commercial rates (e.g., a round-trip DC to California flight is worth \$242). Consolidating vehicles from other federal agencies into GSA fleet management program last year saved taxpayers \$7.2 million and other management improvements have saved an additional \$22.8 million. GSA management of the FTS2000 long-distance network has drastically cut costs to just over 3 pennies per minute saving taxpayers \$200 million a year. The GSA contract with American Express generates affinity refunds every time federal

employees use the AMEx card for official travel. These refunds are estimated at \$20 million a year. With the increased use of the government purchasing card, federal agencies get better, faster service and save \$475 million by eliminating administrative red tape.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- **Farm Bill Deadline Looms:** Notwithstanding the efforts of Senate Democrats to remove the agriculture provisions from the entire budget debate, the 1995 Farm Bill is still caught up in the overall budget negotiations. Timing is critical, since the current programs expire on December 31, 1995. At that time, the 1949 Agricultural Adjustment Act will go into effect unless current law is extended or new provisions are enacted into law. Farmers around the country are having difficulty obtaining credit due to the uncertainty over the 1995 Farm Bill. There is still no unanimity among House and Senate Democrats on alternatives to the current Congressional proposal, and Secretary Glickman has been meeting with key Members of both parties in the House and Senate regarding the potential outcomes to the current stalemate.
- **Food For Progress:** On a related note, the House International Relations Committee marked up a one year extension of the food aid authorities of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P.L. 480) and the Food for Progress Act, which expire on December 31. Without the extension, USDA will be unable to enter into new P.L. 480 agreements, and will not be able to provide commodities overseas under Food for Progress in 1996. It is unclear when the House Agriculture committee, and the Senate Agriculture Committee will act on an extension of these authorities.
- **USDA Forest Service Furloughed:** The USDA Forest Service furloughed 29,000 employees and closed National Forest System lands Tuesday evening. The Forest Service's appropriation is part of the Interior Appropriations bill that you recently vetoed.
- **USDA To Take Action on Advance Deficiency Payments:** Because of high commodity prices, wheat, feedgrain, and cotton producers will be required to repay \$1.7 billion of 1995 advance deficiency payments, with payments coming due in the latter part of 1996. Many of these producers have experienced crop disasters this year and will struggle to repay the advance deficiency payments. To address this situation, Secretary Glickman will announce more favorable repayment terms in the near future.
- **Diamond Bar Allotment:** The Laney Cattle Company's term-grazing permit on the Laney Allotment, Gila National Forest (NM), expires on December 31, 1995. The permittee asserts that signing a new term permit will jeopardize its valid existing water and grazing rights and will not make application for, or sign, a new term-grazing permit. If the permittee maintains this position, the permittee will not have a grazing permit and the livestock will be in trespass on January 1, 1996. Appropriate civil and/or criminal action may be necessary to remove unauthorized livestock.
- **Mexican Spotted Owl:** Biological assessments for both existing and amended forest plans in the Southwestern Region are now being reviewed by the Fish and Wildlife Service, whose biological opinion on the existing forest plans is expected by the end of December

and on amended plans by the end of February. These biological opinions are needed to remove an injunction that has sharply curtailed activities, including timber, in the Southwestern Region since August. The final recovery plan for the owl is also expected before the end of December.

* **Americorps:** USDA is completing its first annual report of the USDA Americorps Program. In the 30% of the program sponsored by the Forest Service, Members constructed or maintained 682 miles of trails, protected 2,599 acres of wildlife habitat, improved 668 acres of timber stand, built or rehabilitated 446 campground sites, improved 760 acres of fisheries habitat, restored fire-damaged areas by planting 93,500 willow cuttings, and provided conservation education to 88,373 students in grades K-12.

* **Empowerment Zone & Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) Program:** USDA has approved a \$2.5 million Business & Industry Guaranteed Loan for Freshwater Farms Inc., in Belzoni, Mississippi, which will create 65 jobs and save 170 jobs, USDA has also approved a number of Rural Business Enterprise Grants, including two grants totalling \$500,000 in California which should save or create over 60 jobs, two grants in Louisiana totalling over \$300,000 which save or create 23 jobs, two grants totalling \$1.5 million in Mississippi which save or create 96 jobs, one \$100,000 grant in North Carolina which will create 30 jobs, and two grants in Oklahoma totalling over \$800,000 which will create or save at least 50 jobs.

* **Montana Roadless Areas:** On December 15, Secretary Glickman issued a directive to defer final decisions on certain activities that would alter wilderness and roadless characteristics of parts of the Beaverhead, Custer, Kootenai, and Helena National Forests in Montana, until January 1, 1997. The decision will not affect grazing, recreational activities, post and pole sales, and related activities. The Forest Service will proceed with its decisions on making land available for oil and gas leasing on the Helena, Beaverhead, and the Beartooth District of the Custer National Forest. However actual leasing activities on 344,000 of the 2.6 million acres will be deferred until January 1, 1997. The purpose of this decision is to protect wilderness while Congress debate which lands in Montana will be designated by statute as permanent wilderness.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

* **Grand Canyon Agreement:** DOI reached an agreement with the State of Arizona to keep open portions of Grand Canyon National Park during this partial shutdown. Under the agreement, the State is paying for certain National Park Service employees to remain on the job, and is assuming liability for the working employees and park visitors. DOI has similar requests from several other states to execute the same type of agreement to keep their National Parks open. The Department is sending copies of the Grand Canyon agreement to these states, but the requests themselves are currently being deferred because of the government shutdown. California Governor Pete Wilson decided not to pursue an agreement for opening Yosemite, because he felt that opening National Parks would serve only to help you prevail in the budget battle.

* **Takings Bill Markup:** Today the Senate Judiciary Committee held a markup on its

takings bill, and they are likely to report it out Friday. Interior believes that this is an egregious, budget-bursting proposal that would force the government to compensate landowners for any loss of use of land totalling only 33% of any affected area, however small. OMB estimates that costs to the taxpayer of this legislation, passed as is, would easily run into the billions of dollars. Interior believes it may be appropriate, if the bill is reported out, that to make some public statements regarding the lunacy and absurd contradiction of the Republicans passing a bill such as this while giving lip service to balancing the budget.

- **Presidio Hearing:** This week, the Senate Energy Committee held an informal hearing on its own draft of Presidio legislation that would transfer more responsibility from the National Park Service to the Presidio Trust than the House-passed bill. Although DOI has concerns with this approach, Department officials are working closely with the California delegation.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **The National Ignition Facility Supports U.S. Nonproliferation Goals:** This week, Secretary O'Leary proceeded with initial design of the National Ignition Facility (NIF). ~~The National Ignition Facility allows for the maintenance of the nuclear weapons stockpile without nuclear testing.~~ The Facility, which will be the world's largest laser, is a key component of the Administration's Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship Program. The preferred location for this facility is the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Livermore, California. The NIF will create an estimated 2,000 construction jobs and 1,000 jobs for the long term. Members of the California congressional delegation along with the Chairman and Ranking Minority Members of the House and Senate Committees on National Security have been notified of this decision.
- **Environmental Impact of Nuclear Weapons Proliferation Policy:** DOE, in cooperation with the State Department, is preparing the *Environmental Impact Statement on a Proposed Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Policy Concerning Foreign Research Reactor Spent Nuclear Fuel* to determine whether the United States should implement a new policy for management of spent fuel from foreign research reactors. The understanding in the Atoms for Peace Program was that fuel would be returned to the United States. All of the spent fuel covered by the proposed policy contains uranium that was enriched in the United States. Much of this uranium is highly enriched (nuclear weapons grade) uranium. This action supports the Administration's nonproliferation goals through the removal of highly enriched uranium from civilian commerce worldwide. A successful program of returning this fuel to the United State would send a positive message to the Russian and Chinese fissile material, to low enriched fuel. DOE is developing the preferred alternative for the Environmental Impact Statement and expects to issue the final Environmental Impact Statement within a month. The Record of Decision for the Environmental Impact Statement would be issued after the 30-day waiting period by regulation. Implementation of this policy would result in between 60 and 840 shipments of this foreign spent fuel to the United States for storage in South Carolina and Idaho beginning in 1996.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

- **Middle East Peace Process:** During Secretary Christopher's trip to the Middle East last week, Prime Minister Peres and President Asad demonstrated a new seriousness of purpose to reach an agreement on the Syrian track. This was reflected in the sequence for negotiations that they finalized. The change is being driven by Peres. He is committed to getting an agreement, to solving all problems, and to being flexible on procedure and substance if Asad is serious about giving Israel a meaningful peace. They will begin to test this latter proposition in the informal talks that Dennis Ross will lead next week. Asad senses that he will have to confront key decisions soon. It is too early to tell whether he is up to making the right choices, but there is clearly a new opening to this possibility.
- **Bosnia Implementation Update:** U.S. delegations participated in two implementation conferences this week. At the December 18 Bonn Conference on arms control, the Dayton parties agreed to modalities for negotiations on confidence and security building measures and on CFE-style arms control measures. The Bonn Conference fulfilled the Dayton requirement that arms control negotiations begin within seven days of the Paris signing and should provide political impetus to more substantive talks that will begin in Vienna on January 4. On December 20-21, the EU and World Bank are slated to host a two-day conference in Brussels to identify resources to meet immediate, first quarter 1996 reconstruction needs. A follow-on, full-donors conference in late February/March will identify long-term needs.
- **Eastern Slavonia:** Secretary Christopher met today, December 21 with Jacques Klein, the U.S. designee to head the Eastern Slavonia transitional administration, to reinforce our commitment to making the November 12 agreement work. UN officials and potential troop contributors are concerned that the parties may not comply with the accord. These doubts jeopardize prospects for UN action to establish an Eastern Slavonia peacekeeping operation before UNCRO's mandate expires on January 15. We are urging Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman to undertake confidence-building steps to ease these concerns, but, even if they respond positively, more work will be needed to line up troop contributors and convince them that our 5,000-troop plan is sufficient. The Eastern Slavonia operation suffers from a second-class image as result of our result of our emphasis on IFOR. Pentagon engagement in the recruitment effort can make the difference.
- **Russian Elections:** With about 70% of the vote counted, projections of party strength in the Duma, the lower house of the parliament, give four parties representing the four main trends in Russian politics 3/4 of the seats: Zyuganov's Communist party, along with the Agrarians - 39%, Chernomyrdin's centrist party - 12%, Zhirinovskiy's nationalist party - 11%, and Yavlinskiy's reformist party - 11%. Independents won most of the remaining 26% of the seats. The division between reformers and opponents is roughly the same as in the previous Duma.
- **Possible Indian Nuclear Test:** Following indications of a possible Indian nuclear test, Ambassador Wisner has urged senior Indian officials not to conduct such a test, stressing the ramifications for regional stability, U.S. - Indian relations and India's world image. Allies are making similar points discretely to avoid publicity, which might result in domestic pressure in India to proceed with the test. The Indians have denied plans to test,

but we continue to watch the situation. We also have cautioned Pakistan not to overreact to the reports or to a test if it occurs.

- **South Korean Politics:** Charges against former Presidents Roh Tae Woo and Chun-Doo Hwan cause some worry that South Korea's democracy is not performing well. The judiciary has responded to executive calls for pursuit of the 1980 Kwangju Incident, only months after President Kim himself said the judgement on Kwangju should "be left to history." On the whole, though, we are seeing a young democracy struggling to deal with daunting issues in response to public demands for justice. Two U.S. angles have appeared: allegations that U.S. firms bribed ROKG officials and that the U.S. was involved in Kwangju. However, the U.S. is not the focus of investigations or unusual public criticism.
- **Haiti - Presidential Elections:** Aristide's handpicked successor, former PM Rene Preval, received more than 80% of the vote according to the OAS election observers. The runner-up got as little as 3.5%. Final results are expected next week. This was the most peaceful nationwide election in modern Haitian history and administratively was a major improvement over the June 25 parliamentary elections. The low turnout of about 25% is due to several factors, including the absence of attractive candidates and a widely held belief that Preval's win was certain. Preval's inauguration is scheduled for February 7. Among the immediate problems he will face are the need to reach agreement with major donors on badly - needed new loans, and deciding whether to ask to the international community for a small police/military presence following the withdrawal of UNMIH when its mandate expires in February.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

- **Future of U.S. Intelligence Hearing:** On Tuesday, Director Deutch appeared in open session before the House Intelligence Committee as the capstone witness in their review of the Intelligence Community in the 21st century. Director Deutch presented his vision of the U.S. intelligence and its future, specifically emphasizing the need for enhanced DCI authority over the Intelligence Community as a whole. He noted that while he has adequate authorities in general, his ability to craft and manage a coherent intelligence program is limited by the absence of truly centralized decision - making. He emphasized that our progress in the intelligence budget area reflects the exceptional working relationship between Bill Perry and himself rather than any legal authority invested in the DCI.
- **Intelligence Collection Against North Korea and Bosnia:** Director Deutch's deputy George Tenet on Wednesday chaired a meeting of intelligence collection managers to assess the Community's current collection posture against Bosnia and North Korea. The group concluded that we are well-postured in the near term against both countries. If the situation in North Korea becomes more threatening, however, we would be faced with some difficult trade-off decisions and shortfalls involving overhead and airborne collection systems as well as analytic exploitation resources. Because of Director Deutch's concern that this could happen, he has directed collection managers to develop contingency plans now for maximizing collection against both targets if the situation worsens on the Korean peninsula.

UNITED NATIONS

- **Eastern Slavonia:** Discussions on the future of the Eastern Slavonia area of Croatia are still ongoing. The UN wants no part of a new operation in Croatia. They believe that it will have to be a UN operation. This disagreement led to an exchange between Ambassador Albright and the Secretary-General that has been widely reported in the press. In a press statement, they faulted Boutros-Ghali's position. Two days later in the Council he called their statement "vulgar". Ambassador Albright responded that while there was room for disagreement, it was highly inappropriate to categorize the U.S. position as "vulgar". In the end, Ambassador Albright believe the UN will accept the U.S. proposal for a UN operation in Eastern Slavonia. The Secretary-General did, however, agree to accept our candidate, Jacques Klein, as the Transitional Administrator in Eastern Slavonia, pending establishment of the post by Security Council Resolution.
- **Bosnia (Human Rights):** The United Nations is also continuing work on a Security Council Resolution relating to human rights abuses in the Srebrenica/Zepa region of Bosnia. Demonstrating once again the Serbian flair for self-destructive posturing, the "FRY" mission circulating an outrageous letter to Council members which maintained that there was no credible evidence of human rights abuses in Eastern Bosnia. Members agreed that the President of the Council should call in the "FRY" Charge to express the Council's "outrage" and incredulity.
- **General Assembly Wrap-up:** Although the historic 50th session of the UN General Assembly is scheduled to close December 22, the report card on their priority issues -- pruning the UN bureaucracy and holding the line on the budget -- is still incomplete. Only at the eleventh hour will the GA produce a budget for the next biennium and vote thumbs-up or thumbs-down on such reform initiatives as their paperwork reduction proposal. Even victories on these questions would represent only the first steps in a long campaign to create a more cost-effective UN culture. In the face of frequent complaints about U.S. arrears, however, the UN has forced the organization to justify and prioritized programs long sheltered from scrutiny.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

- **Bosnia:** Bosnia-Herzegovina remains calm, but reports continue of Bosnian Croat looting and destruction in areas slated for transfer to the Republic Srpska. So far there are a few reports that Serbs are following suit, although the Bosnian government has asserted that sabotage plans are in place for Sarajevo. This threat is significant, as it could cut remaining power, gas and water lines to the city.
- **McClellan AFB Meetings:** Deputy Secretary John White will be meeting on Thursday with Rep. Vic Fazio and Sacramento representatives to discuss their proposal to privatize-in-place the Sacramento Air Logistics Center at McClellan AFB.
- **TRICARE Contract Proceeds Despite Protest:** Last month the Office of Civilian Health and Medical Programs of the Uniformed Services (OCHAMPUS) awarded a new \$3.78 billion contract for managed care services to Humana Military Healthcare Services, Inc. of

Louisville, Kentucky. The five-year contract, which includes a six-month start-up period and five one-year options, provides managed care services and support for more than 1,040,000 DoD beneficiaries living in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Southeast Louisiana, and a small area in Arkansas.

- **First Ship Built for Mixed-Gender Crews:** On December 4, the Navy's seventh AEGIS destroyer, *Benfold* (DDG 65), was delivered by Ingalls Shipbuilding in a ceremony in Pascagoula, MS. *Benfold* is the first U.S. Navy ship built from the keel up with habitability modifications necessary for full integration of women into her crew. Of a crew of 330, 46 are women. This ship represents the Navy's firm commitment to a mixed-gender crews serving aboard the Navy's most modern warships.

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

*Don't do
Do a nice
Letter - B6*

30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12/27/95

95 DEC 18 P8:23

December 18, 1995

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Frank MacConnell
(603)863-1483 (h)
(704)763-2303 (o)

very ill -

DATE: 12/19, by 1:00 PM

*nice to get
good
news*

RECOMMENDED BY: Michael Waldman, Domestic Policy
Wendy Smith, Political Affairs

PURPOSE: To tell him that you are signing the lobbying reform bill, and will continue to press forward with political reform.

BACKGROUND:

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate the reply.

Frank MacConnell was the citizen who asked you and Speaker Gingrich to agree on a political reform "base closing commission." He has been supportive of your efforts, and critical of Gingrich's stalling tactics. He writes a regular column for his local newspaper tracking the success of reform.

We will tell the press that you have made this call.

If he asks about moving forward with a commission, you should tell him that the most important thing is to move forward with rapid, bipartisan reform -- that was what the lobby bill was, and that is what you want to see happen on campaign finance reform. (Your draft remarks praise the bipartisan effort embodied in the McCain-Feingold bill.)

Submitted: December 19, 1995

ACTION:

*New Hampshire
Splash*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12/27/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 DEC 22 P6:32
December 22, 1995

Sen. Kennedy
letter to RNC
cc: HRC
Medicare
in letter

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached is a letter from Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA) that I thought you might like to see.

Enclosures



Edward M. Kennedy

December 22, 1995

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

I was shocked to see the distortions in the latest RNC ad on Medicare. The 1993 health plan is still one of the high water marks of your Presidency. I hope that after your re-election, the 1997 model will be center stage in Congress again.

I'm enclosing the text of a statement I made today to set the record straight about the RNC ad.

Best wishes to you both for Christmas and for all of 1996 -- especially November.

As ever,

All the best
from Viki -

95 DEC 22 P4: 09

from the office of

Senator Edward M. Kennedy

of Massachusetts

STATEMENT OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
REGARDING THE DISTORTED RNC ADS

For Immediate Release:
December 22, 1995

Contact: Jim Manley
(202) 224-2633

The Republican campaign of disinformation on their unfair Medicare cuts continues in full swing. Now it has reached a new low with a gross distortion of the views on Medicare of President Clinton and the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. A television advertisement, sponsored by the Republican National Committee, purports to show Mrs. Clinton endorsing the deep Medicare cuts in the Republican budget plan. In fact, the clip came from 1993 and showed Mrs. Clinton discussing the Administration's own health care plan.

Equating the Medicare cuts in the Clinton 1993 health reform plan with the cuts in the current Republican budget plan ignores several fundamental facts.

Every dollar cut from Medicare under the Clinton plan was reinvested in expanded health services for the elderly. The Clinton plan provided long overdue new coverage in key areas of Medicare where the greatest gaps now exist -- prescription drugs and long-term care.

Under the Clinton plan, senior citizens would have been vastly better off. Under the current Republican plan, they will be vastly worse off. Every senior citizen will pay an additional \$1,200 in premiums over the next seven years. Every elderly couple will pay \$2,400 more. Senior citizens already pay 21% of their limited incomes for health care. Their median income is only \$17,000 a year. They are already facing increases in their private Medigap insurance that will average 30% next year. The Medicare cuts and Medicare premium increase under the Republican plan will only make their plight worse.

The Republican plan slashes \$117 billion out of Medicaid as well, even though two-thirds of all Medicaid spending is for senior citizens and the disabled, including essential nursing home care.

The Republican plan is also rigged to force senior citizens to give up their family doctor, leave Medicare, and join private insurance plans. The Clinton health reform plan preserved Medicare. It preserved senior citizens' right to keep their family doctors. It did not slash Medicare to pay for tax breaks for the wealthy.

Equally important, the Clinton health care reform was not limited to Medicare or Medicaid. It assured health care for every American. By contrast, the Republican budget plan ignores the need for overall reform. In fact, it endangers the quality of care for all those on Medicare and Medicaid, and many others as well.

It is estimated that one-quarter of all hospitals will have to substantially curtail services or will even have to close. The total number of the uninsured could soar to 60 million by 2002.

The respected consulting firm of Lewin-VHI has estimated that the Republican Medicare and Medicaid cuts could add \$70 billion to the health care costs of businesses and workers. Every worker could pay \$1,000 more over the next seven years as a result of this Republican proposal. This is a program for higher costs and greater health insecurity for every working family -- not lower costs and greater health care security.

A final important point is that the Clinton plan would have reduced health care costs throughout the entire health care system. The Republican plan would cut costs only in Medicare and Medicaid. It would therefore perpetuate the current trend towards two health care systems, separate and unequal -- a first class system for the affluent who can afford it, and an unfair system for everyone else -- especially senior citizens and the needy.

What the Republican plan has in mind for Medicare and Medicaid today is vastly different from what the President and Mrs. Clinton had in mind in their 1993 plan. Republican tactics of obstruction prevented Congress from acting on that plan. The current Republican plan would go further in the wrong direction.

No one has fought harder for health care for all Americans than President Clinton and the First Lady. The Republican TV ad is a cynical attempt to manipulate the public. It deserves to be repudiated for what it is -- a devious and descriptive distortion. If this is a harbinger of things to come, the country is in for a long winter's night of Republican dirty tricks.

Don Baer
copied
12/27

December 21, 1995

Ms. Zlata Filipovic
69 Rue Fondary
75015 Paris
FRANCE

Dear Zlata:

Thank you so much for your letter and for your kind words of encouragement. I've kept your moving story in my thoughts these past months. Your courage and determination are an inspiration for us all.

I am proud that we can now hold out hope that our mission in Bosnia will help stop the killing of civilians -- especially children. With America's leadership and the commitment of our allies, the people of Bosnia will now have the opportunity to build a lasting peace.

As I continue working toward this goal, I thank you for all you have done to shed light on the tragedy in Bosnia and bring hope to its innocent victims.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/KMB/JFB/JRS/JAD/emu-efr-lynn-efr-ckb
(Corres. #2611683)
(12.filipovic.z)

- /cc: White House Gifts
- /cc: Pam Madaris w/copy of "Office
of the President" form
- /cc: Jim Dorskind, 94 OEOB

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through Todd Stern

CLEAR THRU TODD STERN

951222

~~PRESIDENT TO SIGN~~

~~I need to reply to~~
August 18
August.

I need to
reply to

ember 1995

Dear Mr. Presiden

I would like
children of Saraje
Bosnia, to thank y
of your authority

her even
though I
saw at
airport

me of all the
re children of
with the power

human power, have done to help
the reason win. With your help. the peace in my country has been
signed -- the chance is given to reason and to reasonable people,
so that the peace in my country becomes reality.

Once again the reason will be tested, but I believe that it
will win and that everything what have happened during this
horrible war will be one ugly past, but to clever ones the lesson
and acknowledgement of what the old Latins have said - *Historia
est magistra vitae.*

Thank you for helping the civilization not to die over
there, because ordinary people and children truly don't deserve
it. Thank you on opening the door of the future for the children
of my country, because everything that happened to them was a
historical injustice. The innocent ones lost the right to live,
to enjoy the life, to educate. The time which is in front of us
will give them the opportunity for that. What is lost is
impossible to bring back, children which were killed are gone
forever -- no one can bring them back, but for all those who
survived these sufferings there is future. The war,
unfortunately, made them more mature, serious and I hope that it
will be the capital with which they will enter the better life,

and taught by the mistakes of which they were victims themselves, they will build the better life. I believe they will show that, and the history will show it as well.

This century started with the war in Sarajevo, let it end with peace in Sarajevo.

Once again, in the name of the children who have suffered, thank you, and we will not forget.

Best Wishes, with all my heart
and with love,

/s/ Zlata Filipovic

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-23-95

December 8, 1994

President and Mrs. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President and Hillary,

I would like to thank both of you in advance for signing my copy of "Portrait of Victory." The rally at Madison was the first political rally that I had ever attended. It was truly a moving experience for me.

As a staff person for State Senator Fred Risser (D-Madison), I too, have to work in the minority. In fact, as you know, all three branches of Wisconsin's Legislature are controlled by the Republicans.

Just so you know, I am one Democrat that is proud to be a Democrat and proud to have you as our President. Don't give up the fight, Mr. President. You must and will persevere.

Once again thank you and I hope you and your family have a Happy Holiday Season.

Sincerely,



Ron Hermes
845 E. Gorham #2
Madison, WI 53703

P.S. Keep the faith!!

Craig T. Smith
cc: Jones
Dem
12/23/95
R



Gift Unit has
form

Christmas 1995

Dear Mr. President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-23-95

My thoughts continue to be with you and the First Family throughout the year, and especially during this Holiday Season, when counting my Blessings.

We still have to tell the story of "The Presidential Shopping Spree" at least twice a day! But, we refuse to let on exactly what you chose! Our commitment to privacy!

JIM DORSKIND:

please coordinate the reply, if necessary.

I've wanted to write to you since your trip to Israel. I was so moved by your speech at Prime Minister Rabin's funeral. It was eloquent.

You were truly a "Rabbi" - a teacher - , and I've always felt that this is a special quality you bring to the Presidency. You have an understanding and perspective of the world (human, environmental, technological) at the turn of this century. And, you, and the First Lady, with your brilliance and vision, teach, as you guide the nation through major realizations and changes.

Your path is surely a difficult one, but your reason, honesty and compassion, shine during challenging and disruptive situations, which you handle with much grace.

There are many of us who appreciate both your, and the First Lady's efforts. There is no doubt in my mind that you will be re-elected, and to that end I am enclosing some Chanukah Gelt!

Also enclosed, is Jude Holdsworth's new pin, which Percy wanted to send to Socks! He asked to please tell Socks that one of the reasons he loves it, is that the pin back doesn't leave a mark in his fine fur.

Please thank the First Lady for her continued support of Fine

American Crafts, and their rightful inclusion in the White House. Since your visit, we have added thirty five new Craftspeople to our Gallery, and another gallery cat, a pal for Percy, Lilly. We know you'll come again someday, to enjoy!

There's a quotation that hangs in the Gallery, from the last speech given by Adlai Stevenson, (to the World Craft Council),

We travel together
Passengers on a little space ship
Preserved from annihilation
only by the care, the work, the love, we give
our fragile craft
and each other.

Thank you, and the First Lady and Chelsea for your care, and may all your wishes for the New Year come true.

Sincerely,


Nancy Markoe

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-26-95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 DEC 22 P1:37

December 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAVID SHIPLEY, PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITER

SUBJECT: MICHAEL ERIC DYSON

Michael Eric Dyson, a Baptist minister and Professor of Communications at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, wrote a memorandum for your State of the Union outreach book. He asked me to pass along to you an inscribed copy of his most recent work, Between God and Gangsta Rap: Bearing Witness to Black Culture.

Thank
PK do try to sign
to sign
BZ

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 DEC 26 P4:45

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Kevin Thurn

Fax Number: 690-7755

Phone Number:

FROM:

SUBJECT: SYNAR draft

DATE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 2

MESSAGE:

Pls call Steve Silverman with any changes.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 DEC 26

✓ 4:52 Snt

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO:

B. H. Corr

Fax Number:

690-6960

Phone Number:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

DATE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

2

MESSAGE:

Pls call Steve Silverman with any changes.

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

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

December 26, 1995

Mr. Edmond Synar
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Synar:

I am writing to tell you that as soon as the Federal Government shutdown is over, I will issue an historic regulation that will protect children by curtailing the illegal sale of tobacco products. It is called the "Synar regulation" in recognition of your son's pivotal role in its passage and his inspiring leadership in the struggle to save children from tobacco addiction.

The "Synar regulation" is an integral component of our country's childhood tobacco control efforts. The regulation will enlist all State governments in a campaign to stop illegal tobacco sales and discourage thousands of young people from striking the first match of a lifelong, life-threatening addiction.

Throughout Mike's Congressional service he championed the goal of stopping young people from using tobacco. It was Mike who caused us to see tobacco as a children's health threat no less menacing than the polio epidemic of the 1950s. It was Mike who had the courage to say that government had a responsibility to help parents protect their children from marketing and advertising that make tobacco use so appealing to them. It was Mike who first alerted the American public to the irregular enforcement of tobacco control laws in the States. This regulation is testimony to Mike's leadership, tenacity, and courage.

Mr. Synar, your son has helped save the lives of many people who do not know him. He has had a profound influence on those who know him and have joined him in his many crusades. History will record his great and selfless achievements.

I know how proud you are of Mike. I am proud to know him as a colleague and friend. Mike is, indeed, an American hero.

Sincerely,

BC/TS/lynn (Corres. #2627199)
(12.synar.e)

SENT TO: Mike Synar, 218 8th Street, S.E., D.C. 20003
Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through Todd Stern
CLEAR THRU TODD STERN
PRESIDENT TO SIGN

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

DEC-26-95 16:45

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 96907755

PAGE : 02

ELAPSED TIME : 01'25"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : O.K

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

DEC-26-95 16:51

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 96906960

PAGE : 02

ELAPSED TIME : 00'51"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : O.K

~~CC Doug Sales~~
He's a real
friend and
a big support
for

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc w/ incoming
letter Scheduling
(Anne Walley
Stephanie Streett)

December 22, 1995

George S. Smith
Las Cruces Sun-News
Post Office Box 1749
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88004-1749

Dear George:

Thanks for your letter of December 8, which Woody passed along to me. It was so good to catch up with you again, but I was sorry to hear about your leaving the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. I hope you've settled in to your new position with the *Las Cruces Sun-News* -- they're lucky to have you.

Thanks, too, for your recommendation that I address the New Mexico Democratic Party in Las Cruces and visit White Sands Missile Range this coming March. While I'm never sure what the schedule will hold, I've shared your letter with my schedulers, Anne Walley and Stephanie Streett, to make them aware of your personal suggestion.

Have a wonderful holiday, and I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

BASSETT LAW FIRM
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
P.O. Box 3618
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72702-3618

W.W. "BILL" BASSETT
WOODY BASSETT
TOO C. BASSETT
WM. ROBERT STILL JR.
WALKER DALE GARRETT
CURTIS L. NEBBEN
EARL BUDDY CHADICK
ANGELA M. DOSS
GARY V. WEEKS
J. DAVID WALL
SHAWN D. TWING
VINCENT O. CHADICK
MICHAEL W. LANGLEY
JAMES M. GRAVES
PATRICIA A. HINES

221 NORTH COLLEGE AVENUE

TELEPHONE (501) 521-9996

TELECOPIER (501) 521-9900

*ALSO LICENSED
IN OKLAHOMA

*ALSO LICENSED
IN MISSOURI

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE:	December 19, 1995	NO. OF PAGES: 5
FROM:	Woody Bassett BASSETT LAW FIRM P. O. Box 3618 Fayetteville, AR 72702	FAX NO.: (501) 521-9600 TEL. NO.: (501) 521-9996
TO:	Nancy Hernreich	FAX NO.: 202-456-6703

HARD COPY TO FOLLOW No

If you have any problems receiving this transmission, please call
(501) 521-9996 and ask for: Bonnie

BASSETT LAW FIRM
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
P. O. Box 3818
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72702-3818

W.W. "BILL" BASSETT
WOODY BASSETT
TOD C. BASSETT
WM. ROBERT STILL, JR.
WALKER DALE GARRETT
CURTIS L. NEBBEN
EARL BUDDY CHADICK
ANGELA M. DOSS
GARY V. WEEKST
J. DAVID WALL
SHAWN D. TWING
VINCENT O. CHADICK
MICHAEL W. LANGLEY
JAMES M. GRAVES
PATRICIA A. HINES

221 NORTH COLLEGE AVENUE
TELEPHONE (501) 521-9996
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"ALSO LICENSED
IN OKLAHOMA

"ALSO LICENSED
IN MISSOURI

December 19, 1995

via facsimile
202-456-6703

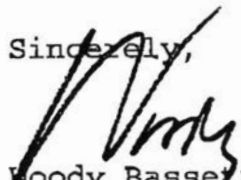
Ms. Nancy Hernreich
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Nancy:

Attached is a letter and some information sent to me by George Smith, who is now the publisher of newspapers in Las Cruces and Silver City, New Mexico. I know you have a million things to do but George asked me to pass this on. If the President goes to Las Cruces in March, he might want to consider visiting White Sands.

Happy Holidays.

Sincerely,


Woody Bassett

WB:bet
Enclosure

ATTENTION PLEASE TO WOODY BASSETT:

PLEASE GET THIS MISSIVE TO PRESIDENT/FRIEND BILL IF YOU
DON'T MIND.

I WILL BE IN FAYETTENAM SATURDAY - MONDAY AT 582-2149.

LAURA IS STILL WINDING UP HER PRACTICE AND I AM GOING TO BE
GRAND MARSHAL OF THE PARADE MONDAY. IT'S QUITE AN HONOR.

PLEASE TELL BILL AND HILLARY NOT TO LET THE BASTARDS GET
THEM DOWN.

THANK YOU

GEORGE SMITH

Las Cruces Sun-News

12/8/95

P.O. BOX 1749, LAS CRUCES, NM 88004-1749 • (505) 523-4581 • FAX (505) 523-7913

To The Man from Hope from Another Man from Hope:

Dear President Clinton:

I'm sure you are not aware that I left the Northwest Arkansas Times as publisher and moved to head papers in Las Cruces and Silver City, New Mexico.

The legal haranguing over who would own the Times wore me down a bit and with American Publishing looming as the frontrunner, I thought it best I control my own destiny.

New Mexico is a beautiful state but I have one gnawing question: Why don't they plant some trees in the high desert country? I'm used to

"green," not "brown" or "khaki."

To the point:

In March you will be invited, if you have not already, to address the New Mexico Democratic Party in Las Cruces. Let me echo that invitation and urge you to accept and visit this area.

There is a valid reason for you doing so that may not be brought out by the state party, but knowing your interest in the history of this country in general and in the presidency in particular, I feel this fact may help you decide in favor of visiting New Mexico.

Not only can you hit two important states in one visit (if you fly into El Paso), but you could be only the second president to ever visit one of the nation's best-kept secrets...White Sands Missile Range.

On June 5, 1963, John F. Kennedy visited White Sands. No other president, before or since, has ever set foot on this national treasure.

After I arrived here in September, I have been allowed to visit the Trinity Site, seen the structures where Oppenheimer and the other scientist worked to change the world. I have seen demonstrations of improved weapons that were used in Desert Storm and have witnessed extensions of projects that proves that the military -- at least those assigned to White Sands -- can adapt and thrive in the era of downturn of military funding.

White Sands, through the leadership of Brig. Gen. Jerry Laws, is doing commercial tests for various companies on the range, including GM, Honda and Nissan, thus clearly illustrating a stalwart effort to adapt to the changing environment facing the military.

This base, steeped as it is in history, working hard to ensure its place in the future, would be a good platform for you to examine what the military, working with private industry, has done and can do.

If you need any other information, please let me know.

(Looking at that last sentence, Mr. President, it was pretty stupid. You are the president. You can get whatever information you want a lot quicker than I could get it for you. But as my grandfather, George Andres Sr., of Hempstead County always said: "If you need help, holler!"

Sincerely and with good wishes,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "George S. Smith", with a long, horizontal, wavy flourish extending to the right.

George S. Smith

Publisher

Las Cruces Sun-News

Las Cruces, N.M.



Embassy of the United States of America

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

12-23-95

Budapest, December 18, 1995

Handwritten: 12/26 (To Lake)

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1700 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Vera and I had the unforgettable experience yesterday of visiting our Forces in Taszar together with Generals Crouch and Abrams. I know you would have been as proud as we were to see what has been accomplished in a few short days, despite adverse weather, to establish a fully operational base. Our Armed Forces are doing a great job in insuring that all Americans going into Bosnia receive maximum materiel and moral support.

It is a great privilege for us to be serving in Hungary, especially at this time, representing you and the American people. As 1995 draws to a close, it is clear that the United States, under your leadership, has given our European friends and NATO a renewed sense of energy and purpose. Vera and I take pride in being part of that effort. She joins me in wishing Hillary and you a very Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Respectfully

Donald Blinken

MEMORANDUM

TO: NANCY HERNREICH

FROM: JOHN HART *J.H.*

DATE: 12/18/95

Cardinal Hickey asked me to personally convey this letter to the President. Would you please make sure he receives it?

Thank you

12-20-95

Send to Denskind

Yes ☒

No ☐

C. Tucker

C.

*John D. Hickey
Please
12/20/95*



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
PO BOX OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20017

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

December 14, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I find myself writing to you once again about a matter of some urgency concerning abortion. In the spirit of our past conversations, I appreciate your willingness to seriously consider my correspondence.

It is my understanding that you will soon be asked to sign the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, which has been passed in both the House and the Senate (with a few minor differences between the bills which will likely be settled in favor of the Senate version). As both of us are aware at this point, the partial-birth procedure is a particularly awful form of abortion. A live child in the very process of being delivered with her body mostly outside of the mother, is brutally stabbed, and her head crushed before being completely delivered.

Supporters of abortion have attempted to deflect attention away from the partial-birth abortion itself. They have repeatedly made false claims about the nature of the procedure, the reasons doctors perform them, the actual cause of death of the child, and many other matters. Their claims are just as frequently contradicted by the very doctors who perform these and other late term abortions, and by other medical experts.

It is not possible in the case of this abortion, however, to avoid the thing in itself. Anyone reading about or seeing pictures of this procedure is confronted with the terrible reality of what is happening. The partial-birth abortion is one-fifth abortion and four-fifths infanticide. There is not moral justification for continuing to allow partly-born children to be killed in this brutal manner.

I urge you, Mr. President, to sign this bill into law. If there is anything further I can do to assist you in your consideration of this matter, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely in Christ,

** James Card. Hickey*
Archbishop of Washington

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC

12-23-95



One Rotary Center
1560 Sherman Avenue
Evanston, IL 60201-3698 USA

Herbert G. Brown
President, 1995-96

22 December 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20550

Dear Mr. President:

Carol Chinn
James
James on the Hill?
new my AC

As you are aware, Rotary International, along with the World Health Organization and UNICEF, has declared the year 2000 to be the date of global polio eradication. The benefits of polio eradication around the world are immense.

Even though there has not been a case of naturally occurring polio in the United States since 1979, we still must spend \$230 million annually to immunize our children against exposure to the disease. As soon as eradication is achieved, we can stop immunizing against polio and start saving \$230 million a year, every year. The worldwide savings would total approximately \$1 billion annually.

The fight against polio has come a long way since 1985, when Rotary first began its campaign against the virus. There has not been a case of naturally occurring polio in the Western Hemisphere for close to four years. Currently 145 countries have been declared polio-free. However, there are still many places which need support to completely eradicate polio globally.

Rotary International is contributing nearly \$400 million and thousands of hours of volunteer service worldwide, but that still is not enough. The World Health Organization and the Center for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that another \$100 million annually for the next five years will be needed to completely eradicate polio from the globe. Therefore, I, on behalf of 465,000 Rotarians throughout the United States, ask you to include \$70 million in your 1997 budget to Congress. These funds will be used by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the US Agency for International Development for implementation of the global polio eradication campaign. This will enable the US to take a leadership role in the global effort to eradicate polio once and for all.

Sincerely,

Herbert G. Brown

Herbert G. Brown
President, Rotary International

/rs

FACT SHEET

FROM

ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

Public Relations
Rotary International
One Rotary Center
1560 Sherman Avenue
Evanston, IL 60201 USA
Phone: 708-866-3000
Cable: Interotary
Telex: 724-465
FAX: 708-328-8554

WORLD COMMUNITY SERVICE



World Community Service (WCS) occurs whenever a Rotary club in one country assists a Rotary club in another country with a community service project. The WCS program links Rotary clubs needing extra help with clubs in other countries willing to provide funds, materials and technical and professional assistance. Adopted in 1967, the WCS program promotes international understanding and goodwill by uniting Rotarians of different countries in cooperative activities to improve lives and meet human needs.

Rotary International World Headquarters maintains a database of Rotary club-sponsored projects needing assistance and publishes the semi-annual *World Community Service Projects Exchange*, with approximately 850 projects currently registered. The Donations-in-kind Information Network (DIN), an activity of WCS, helps to link projects with donated material assistance. Over 100,000 items have been offered by Rotarians through the *DIN Bulletin*, published quarterly since 1986.

Thousands of WCS projects involving Rotarians around the world have been completed with assistance from the WCS program since it was established. Hundreds more, developed from individual and club-to-club contact, GSE teams or international meetings, are undertaken and completed each year. Many WCS projects are eligible to receive funding from The Rotary Foundation's Humanitarian Grants.

EXAMPLES OF PROJECTS

District 1910 of Austria coordinated the Austria, Bosnia, Croatia refugee relief efforts which received over US\$6,000,000 in funds and donated goods from Rotary clubs around the world.

With assistance from Rotary Clubs in Benin City, Nigeria, and a Matching Grant from The Rotary Foundation, the Rotary Club of Whatcom County North, Washington, USA, is helping to equip a new workshop for the disabled near Benin City.

Through the France-Senegal Intercountry Committee's "Eau-Santé-Scolarité" project, Rotarians assisted rural communities situated in the expanding desert regions of Senegal. An improved water supply and sustainable agriculture practices have helped to make this region more self-sufficient and prepared against future droughts.

Through the *WCS Projects Exchange*, the Rotary Club of Hiroshima Central, Japan found a project and an international partner, the Rotary Club of Sao Paulo Oeste, Brazil. They have joined to distribute Brazil nut seedlings to indigenous people in deforested areas of the Amazon.

The Rotary Clubs of Takoaka West, Japan, and Hualien, Taiwan, joined to provide financial support and stationery to a school for blind girls in Hualien.

With a Matching Grant from The Rotary Foundation, the Rotary Club of Vicksburg, Mississippi, USA and the Rotary Club of Nellore, India, completed a water and sanitation project which provides fresh water to an orphanage.

Rotarians from the Rotary Club of Galle, Sri Lanka, joined with RI District 2340 (Sweden) to build a center for elderly people in Owitigamuwa, Sri Lanka.

The Rotary Clubs of Port Elizabeth, Republic of South Africa, and Webster Grove, Missouri, USA, are working cooperatively to perfect a solar powered television/videotape player unit for a South African school that has no electricity. The project is intended to assist with community education and literacy among children and adults.

The Rotary Club of Toowoomba South, Australia, helped Rotarians from the Rotary Club of Magelang, Indonesia, establish the first sheltered workshop for handicapped Indonesians.

A hospital in the Philippines received a much-needed x-ray unit offered in the *DIN Bulletin*, thanks to the team effort of the Rotary Clubs of Makati North, The Philippines, and Amagao, Macau.

The Rotary Club of Alphen aan den Rijn in The Netherlands is working with the Rotary Club of Joao Pessoa North, Brazil, to aid a newly established SOS Children's Village in Brazil -- part of an international network that houses and educates orphaned and deserted children. The Dutch club decided to support the project by raising funds to purchase fruit trees for vocational training in food production.

Led by the Rotarians of District 5360 (Canada), a project in the jungles of Guatemala is improving life for Mayan ancestors in the village of Paquila. Involved are the nearby Rotary Club of Mazatenango and Rotarians in RI Districts 5190 (California, USA) and 6600 (Ohio, USA). Together they are providing for construction of fuel-efficient stoves, a village sewage system, and educational initiatives. The Canadian Rotarians also obtained a grant from their provincial government for the project.

The Rotary Club of Stuttgart-Rosenstein, Germany, obtained eight used artificial kidney machines. With the help of Rotarians throughout Germany and Turkey, they were delivered to the Rotary Club of Istanbul-Levent for the treatment of renal failure patients at the Istanbul University Cerrahpasa Medical Clinic of Nephrology.

Rotarians in several RI districts in France operate a nonprofit organization, Action Interclubs pour le Developpement par l'Eau (AIDE), which conducts projects for clean water, sanitation education, crop growing, reforestation and other conservation activities, and vocational training in water-related needs in Mali, Burkino Faso and Togo. With the help of Matching Grants from The Rotary Foundation, other European Rotary Clubs have participated with French Rotarians on these projects.

The Marie Stopes International Clinic in Nairobi, Kenya, received assistance from RI District 1070 (England) and the Rotary Club of Nairobi to conduct a local preventative health program on family planning and women's health.

The Rotary Clubs of Visalia, California, USA, and Celaya Centro, Mexico, received a Health, Hunger and Humanity Grant from The Rotary Foundation to establish a center to train women in hygiene, nutrition, cooking and home crafts in Celaya.

Rotarians from the Rotary Club of Agrabad, Bangladesh, received financial assistance from the RI District 2770 (Japan) to build a primary school in Chittagong, Bangladesh. The Rotary Club of Kawaguchi West, Japan, donated milk for the school's students.

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ROTARY INTERNATIONAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

At the U.N. Charter Conference in San Francisco, nearly 50 Rotarians served as delegates, advisors and consultants. The vice president of Rotary International, Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, was one of the most influential Rotarians at the conference and later served as president of the U.N. General Assembly. During the first 12 years of the United Nations, five Rotarians held the position of president of the General Assembly.

Many Rotary global programs predated the U.N. Charter Conference and influenced U.N. specialized agencies.

■ At Rotary's 1940 convention in Havana, Cuba, delegates adopted the "Respect for Human Rights Resolution," foreshadowing the **U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights**.

■ In 1943, Rotary held a conference in London to promote international cultural and educational exchanges anticipated after World War II. Attended by ministers of education and observers from around the world, the gathering planted the seed for the **United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)**, established in 1946.

■ Rotary also was among the first organizations to contribute to the restoration work carried out by the **United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency** at the end of World War II.

In 1991-92, the RI board of directors approved measures to expand and strengthen the RI-U.N. liaison. These included applying for the highest possible status in the U.N. system, increasing support for RI representatives and directing RI's general secretary to promote broader awareness of the RI-U.N. relationship among Rotarians and non-Rotarians.

Today, Rotary has consultative status with **UNICEF, UNESCO, the World Health Organization (WHO)** and the **U.N. Economic and Social Council**. In July 1993, the Economic and Social Council approved Rotary's application for reclassification to top consultative status. Category I status provides Rotary with access to many U.N. agency meetings and entitles Rotary to submit position papers and make official statements and inquiries about issues. Only 42 of the more than 1,500 non-governmental organizations associated with the United Nations have Category I status.

-more-



Rotary maintains representatives at U.N. headquarters in New York City, Geneva and Vienna and with UNESCO in Paris. Representatives provide information to Rotary International on the relevant activities of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

Rotary's humanitarian projects and those of the United Nations address similar global needs. Increasingly, the two organizations are achieving greater results by working together.

Rotary's work with **UNICEF** and the **World Health Organization** in child immunization is a dramatic example of the synergistic partnership between a private voluntary organization and the U.N. system. **Rotary's PolioPlus Program**, in collaboration with U.N. agencies, has helped to double the number of polio-free countries in the last decade. The common goal is global eradication of the crippling disease by the year 2000. PolioPlus grants have purchased vaccine for developing nations through UNICEF and the **Pan American Health Organization (PAHO)**, and funded technical expertise and vaccine research.

Rotarians have assumed leading roles in advocacy and social mobilization in support of immunization, conducting educational and promotional campaigns, providing volunteer support at local immunization clinics, and acting as catalysts for expanding private- and public-sector cooperation. In recognition of outstanding contributions to the global fight against polio, WHO Director General Hiroshi Nakajima presented Rotary International with the "Health for All" Gold Medal, the agency's highest award, in May 1993.

Other Rotary collaboration with WHO has been funded through **The Rotary Foundation's Health, Hunger and Humanity (3-H) program**. For example, a US\$300,000 grant was made in cooperation with PAHO to help control rabies in Mexico.

Rotary has cooperated with **UNICEF** on other 3-H projects including oral rehydration therapy in Turkey; integrated farming training in Bangladesh; AIDS education in Burundi; and schooling and agricultural training for girls and women in Bangladesh.

Rotary has worked in cooperation with the **U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees**. Rotarians raised more than US\$3 million and contributed an additional US\$3 million worth of clothing, bedding, medical and other supplies for refugees of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. The U.N. helped Rotary determine what supplies were needed and ways to contribute without duplicating efforts of other organizations.

Through the **Rotary Volunteers program**, hundreds of Rotarian physicians and dentists have served in U.N. sponsored refugee camps.

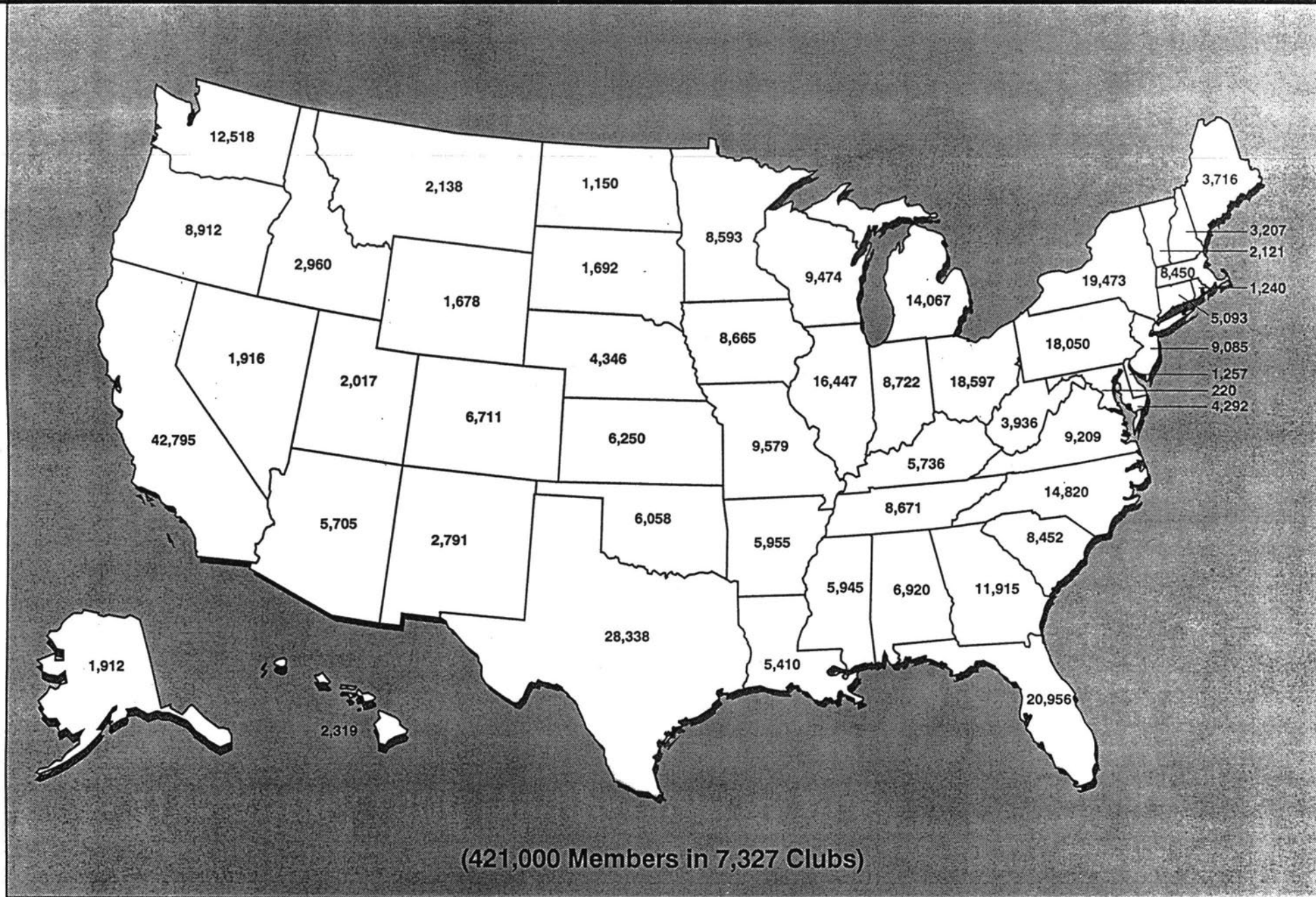
Rotary's ecological program, **Preserve Planet Earth**, draws upon the information and technical resources of the **United Nations Environment Program**.

Rotary also collaborates with the **United Nations Development Program**. Recently, they worked together to provide potable water to villages in Nigeria and help reduce guinea worm disease in that country.



U.S. Rotary Club Membership by State

Rotary Raised \$246 Million for PolioPlus, The Rotary Foundation Program to Eradicate Polio



FACT SHEET FROM ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

ROTARY FIGURES AT A GLANCE

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ROTARY INTERNATIONAL

1905

<u>Membership</u>	1,174,603	Rotarians
	27,630	Rotary Clubs
	515	Rotary districts as of 1 July 1995
	154	countries
	34	geographical regions
<u>Interact Clubs</u>	90,643	members (estimated)
1962	3,941	clubs
	81	countries & geographical regions
<u>Rotaract Clubs</u>	123,786	members (estimated)
1968	5,382	clubs
	134	countries & geographical regions
<u>Rotary Village Corps</u>	1,767	corps
1986	46	countries & geographical regions
<u>Rotary Youth Exchange</u>	7,000	youths participate annually (estimated)
1929	75	total countries involved since 1929

THE ROTARY FOUNDATION

1917

<u>Budget for 1995-96</u>	\$93.7 million	total authorized for program awards and operations:
		-- \$21.2 million for scholarships
		-- \$31.3 million for PolioPlus
		-- \$20.9 million for other programs
		-- \$6.6 million for program operations
		-- \$10 million for development/administration
		-- \$3.7 million for contingency reserve
	\$639.8 million	total <u>program</u> expenditures 1947-95
<u>Contributions, 1994-95</u>	\$61.7 million	-- \$53.6 million general
		-- \$7.6 million Permanent Fund
		-- \$0.5 million for PolioPlus fund
<u>Paul Harris Fellows</u>	498,453	total Paul Harris Fellows as of 9/95
1957		
<u>Rotary Foundation Benefactors</u>	22,156	total Benefactors as of 9/95

ROTARY FOUNDATION PROGRAMS:

<u>Scholarships Program</u> 1947	28,200	scholarships granted (approx.) since 1947 including:
	1,214	scholarships approved for 1995-96:
		-- 61 sponsoring countries
		-- 67 hosting countries
	\$278 million	total scholarships expenditure 1947-1995
<u>Group Study Exchange</u> 1965	500	teams approved for 1995-96:
		-- 2,500 participants
		-- \$5.5 million approved
	5,500	total teams through 1994-95:
		-- 29,500+ participants
		-- 100+ countries involved
	\$50 million	expended through 1994-95
<u>Health, Hunger and Humanity (3-H) Program</u> 1978	2	grants approved for 1995-96, as of 10/95
		-- 2 project countries
		-- \$599,810 approved
	143	total projects 1978 through 1994-1995
		-- 52 project countries
		-- \$33 million approved
<u>Matching Grants</u> 1964	14	grants awarded in 1995-96, as of 10/95
		-- 12 project countries
		-- \$516,586 approved
	4,335	grants awarded, 1964 through 1994-95
		-- 159 project countries
		-- \$38.4 million expended
<u>Grants for Rotary Volunteers</u> 1979	227	grants in 57 countries, 1994-95
		-- 2,000+ grants total since 1979
		-- 93 total project countries
<u>PolioPlus</u> 1985	\$248 million	collected for PolioPlus campaign, as of 6/95
	\$223 million	appropriated
	111	total countries with approved grants
	144	countries reported no cases in 1994 (up from 85 in 1985)

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POLIOPLUS

ROTARY CLUBS & GLOBAL POLIO ERADICATION



What is PolioPlus?

Rotary's PolioPlus program is the first and largest internationally-coordinated private sector support of a public health campaign. Rotary International began the program in 1985.

World Rotarians raised more than US\$246 million in PolioPlus funds to provide polio vaccine to immunize some 100 million children a year for five years.

To date, The Rotary Foundation has allocated more than \$200 million in PolioPlus grants to immunization and eradication efforts in 103 nations.

In project countries, Rotarians provide community-based leadership and grass-roots resources for social mobilization efforts such as transportation, logistical support and communications. Rotary Clubs also sponsor and equip laboratories and provide disease surveillance.

The program's focus has shifted to polio eradication by the year 2000, the goal set in 1988 by the more than 160 member countries of the World Health Assembly. Public sector partners in the global eradication effort include the World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF, and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). The effort is also supported by donor governments such as Japan, Canada, Australia and the United States.

Although only a feared memory in many parts of the world, polio still strikes an estimated 50,000 children a year.

Why polio eradication, why now?

Eradication is achievable. Effective polio vaccine exists and eradication techniques have been proven by global progress and Latin America's certified interruption of the wild polio virus transmission announced in September 1994.

A polio eradication technique used in Latin America, of National Immunization Days (NIDs), has now proven effective in large Asian countries.

Only one disease--smallpox--has been completely eradicated. Eradication would eliminate the polio virus from the world's environment, making immunization unnecessary.

The United States spends more than \$230 million a year on polio immunization. Worldwide, from \$750 million to \$1 billion would be saved each year by eradication.

The Rotary factor

- In Bulgaria, Rotarians convinced the gypsy community to participate in National Immunization Days, despite traditional distrust of government programs. Rotarians in Peru were often the only means of reaching children in areas of guerrilla conflict, taking vaccine to regions where government health workers could not travel.
- In Nigeria, Rotarians formed a national umbrella organization to coordinate all non-governmental organization support for health, including immunization.
- In the People's Republic of China, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, where there are no Rotary clubs, PolioPlus funded vaccines and promotional materials for NIDs. Thai Rotarians created posters for three national campaigns and provided funds to train Laotian health workers.
- Following a precedent set in Latin America, there are Inter-agency Coordinating Committees (ICCs) for every world region. Most of these coalitions of participating organizations are chaired by Rotarians. Their purpose is to orchestrate collaborative polio eradication strategies and generate political support and financial resources. Rotary's participation in the ICC for the Western Pacific helped increase Japanese Government support and inspired the creation of and funding for the regional disease surveillance system.
- Haitian Rotarians are maintaining national polio surveillance during their government's restructuring. Rotarians in Ecuador supplemented their government's surveillance system with a reward program promoted by national media.
- Rotary helps strengthen the global polio laboratory network needed to support the rapid diagnosis of suspected cases of polio. With the help of Rotary Foundation grants, Rotarians in Georgia, U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand equipped laboratories in Ethiopia, Russia, and India

Progress toward eradication

145 nations are now polio-free, up from 74 when PolioPlus began in 1985.

UNICEF estimates there are 2 million to 3 million children playing and walking normally today who would have contracted polio were it not for the immunization efforts of the last 10 years.

Eradication will require NIDs and global surveillance systems, which include networks of laboratories. All nations must sustain high levels of polio immunization until this ancient crippler of children is eradicated.

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ROTARY INTERNATIONAL AND POLIO ERADICATION IN THE AMERICAS

In September, 1994 an international independent committee established by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) reported that no more polio existed in the Western Hemisphere. The last confirmed case of polio in the hemisphere was reported in Peru in August, 1991.

This success was the result of intense activity throughout Latin America to build a system to interrupt the transmission of wild polio virus. Led by PAHO, the efforts to eradicate polio required the joint commitment of governments and donor agencies -- including Rotary International, which committed some US\$40 million in grants from its PolioPlus Program to provide vaccine and cold chain equipment and to support social mobilization efforts and epidemiologic surveillance.

Rotary clubs throughout Latin America provided tens of thousands of volunteers for national immunization campaigns and committed the organizational and communication skills of their worldwide network of business and professional people to the task.

Possibly the most important action in Latin America was the creation of national and regional "inter-agency coordinating committees," composed of representatives of Rotary, governments, PAHO, UNICEF, and other donor agencies. Through these committees, cooperative immunization systems have helped to achieve and maintain a polio-free region.

It was the progress in Latin America and Rotary's worldwide \$240 million PolioPlus Program that in 1988 prompted the World Health Assembly to establish the goal of global polio eradication by the year 2000. In 1989 Rotary provided the first funding for a World Health Organization team of experts created to spearhead the global eradication initiative.

The Road to Eradication

First, countries work to increase the levels of immunization coverage. This is accomplished largely through campaigns such as national immunization days or local "mop up" efforts. Simultaneously, routine immunization programs are strengthened.

As the number of cases drops, surveillance systems are strengthened so every possible case is reported. Although cases are confirmed by the presence or absence of the polio virus in stool samples, it is vital to detect and rapidly investigate any case of sudden paralysis. Currently, some 24,000 surveillance posts report weekly the presence or absence of paralytic cases. Suspect cases are promptly investigated. Stool specimens from some 4,000 such cases each year were examined in laboratories. None contained the wild polio virus.

Containment operations ensure children living near a probable case receive vaccine within 48 hours. Verification procedures are essential. All suspected cases must be revisited after 60 days. Countries must report no cases and meet exacting surveillance criteria to be certified as polio-free. Three years must pass after a country's last confirmed polio case before that country can be certified.



ANDEAN AREA: Last polio case 21 August 1991.

A recent assessment showed that for every dollar sent to **Peru** for social mobilization activities, that nation's more than 100 Rotary clubs raised an additional \$8. During a period of civil insurrection, Rotarians in Peru served as home visitors, vaccinators, drivers, meal preparers, data analysts and publicists and secured some US\$440,000 worth of advertising, transportation, supplies, posters and print and broadcast messages for national immunization days. This included mobilizing 11,000 volunteers, 1,000 vehicles, generating mass media support, visiting 10,000 vaccination posts, printing

1 million census forms and preparing 90,000 lunches. In 1986, Rotary International received Peru's highest award for medical achievement, the "Daniel Alcides Carrión Prize."

In **Bolivia**, Rotarians had been working in mass urban immunization campaigns dating back to 1981. In 1989 the Rotary Club of Oruro mobilized 3,500 students, teachers and other volunteers for a house-to-house polio immunization campaign that the Bolivian Ministry of Health recognized as the model to be followed in all major cities. Bolivian Rotarians created a television public service announcement stressing the importance of surveillance.

In **Ecuador**, every Rotary club participated in national days of immunization. Clubs near the southern border coordinated their activities with clubs in Peru to ensure that all border towns were reached by vaccine. In 1990, the Rotary Club of Guayaquil matched donations from businesses to fund 75% of the publicity for the immunization campaign. Following a February, 1990 outbreak of polio, the Guayaquil club persuaded local health workers to forego a threatened strike, and gained the collaboration of television and radio stations to create nine days of intensive coverage prior to a national immunization day in April, 1990.

In **Venezuela**, Rotarians printed posters and stickers and placed TV, radio and newspaper ads. Rotary clubs held workshops to educate health workers on "mop-up" procedures for 32 high risk areas. Rotary clubs delivered 200 refrigerators, 75 freezers, 1,200 cold boxes and two solar-powered units to boost the country's cold-chain system for preserving vaccine potency. In 1989, the Venezuela Ministry of Health presented the "Dr. Enrique Tejeera Award" and the "National Medal of Health" to Rotary for its efforts.

In **Colombia**, Rotarians used some US\$16,000 in social mobilization funds to generate more than US\$53,000 in donated goods and services. In the 300 highest risk areas, Rotarians gave presentations to mayors and community leaders to encourage participation. Some 100,000 posters, 20,000 pamphlets and 10,000 letters were assembled as kits, including epidemiological data for each municipality. Following a polio outbreak in April, 1991, Rotarians helped in the surveillance of 1.5 million homes.

BRAZIL: Last case 18 March 1989

In addition to involvement in national immunization days, which won for Rotary the "Oswaldo Cruz Gold Medal," Rotarians in the more than 1,750 clubs in **Brazil** have concentrated their efforts on epidemiological surveillance. Rotarians worked with the Brazilian Pediatrics Association to compile a list of some 12,000 pediatricians. Rotarians and members of Rotary's organization for young adults, Rotaract, contacted some 8,000 of the pediatricians to stress the need to report every suspected case of polio. In recognition of this effort, the Brazilian Ministry of Health conferred the status of Sub-Post for Reporting Cases of Flaccid Paralysis on each Brazilian Rotary club.

CENTRAL AMERICA: Last case 23 September 1990

Nearly 500 Rotarians in **Guatemala** participated in national immunization days, enlisting the support of Boy Scouts, Lions club members and other organizations and providing promotional materials. Rotarians helped develop the national eradication plan in 1987, with Rotary clubs "adopting" high-

risk municipalities. The first rapid assessment team in Colombia contained two Rotarians from Guatemala. In addition to

sponsoring surveillance workshops for health officers and volunteers, Guatemalan Rotarians raised US\$10,000 to reactivate a regional reference laboratory in Panama. A survey showed that mothers in areas targeted by Rotary clubs were more likely to have heard about immunization than mothers in other areas, demonstrating the effectiveness of Rotarians in generating public awareness.

Despite large-scale civil war in El Salvador, hostilities ceased every year for "Days of Tranquillity" during which Rotarians, particularly from the clubs in San Ana, San Salvador and San Miguel, joined health workers in distributing vaccine house-to-house in guerrilla-controlled areas, and provided vehicles and 3,000 thermoses. In addition to helping develop the nation's eradication plan in 1987, Rotary clubs consistently promoted social mobilization, including a highly publicized "mini-marathon" sponsored by the San Salvador club.

Rotarians in Honduras helped conduct a survey presented to a May 1988 workshop with PAHO and UNICEF on "Social Communications for Polio Eradication," which demonstrated the effectiveness of the private sector to reinforce the strategy of the World Health Organization's Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI). As advocates for immunization, Honduran Rotarians used their PolioPlus grant request as an inducement for the Ministry of Health to complete their payments to PAHO for previous vaccine shipments. A February, 1990 rapid assessment indicated that each of the 20 Honduran Rotary clubs generated an average of US\$18,000 of in-kind support for the EPI. These included everything from providing hats for volunteers to donating an ice-making machine to the Ministry of Health.

In Nicaragua, Rotarians generated newspaper ads for national immunization days and helped develop the national social mobilization plan. In September, 1991, they sponsored a national workshop on surveillance. In Costa Rica, Rotarians arranged transportation and cold-chain equipment in support of the EPI.

Using international contacts from other Rotary programs in which they had participated, Rotarians in Panama arranged for volunteer doctors and health workers from North Carolina, USA to assist in national immunization days, bringing with them vehicles, photocopiers and a computer which they donated to the Ministry of Health. Rotarians prepared and distributed 500 copies of a manual for community leaders. In February, 1990, two Panamanian Rotarians participated in a rapid assessment in Honduras and in a regional meeting of PAHO.

MEXICO: Last case 18 October 1990

In 1986, Rotarians in Mexico produced 120,000 promotional posters, delivered 50,000 cold boxes to vaccination posts and mobilized thousands of vehicles. In 1987, Rotarians were credited with mobilizing 200,000 volunteers. A 1990 assessment indicated that each of the more than 500 Rotary clubs in Mexico generated an average of US\$2,400 in goods and services for each national immunization day.

CARIBBEAN: Last case 8 August 1989

Rotarians in Haiti have been involved in intensive immunization campaigns since 1981. In 1982, Haitian Rotarians mobilized some 1,000 volunteers and provided 200 vehicles for three urban immunization days. Using Rotarian contacts, they generated support from the Canadian Public Health Association. By 1989, Rotarians were credited with coordinating 50,000 volunteers. A Haitian Rotarian was selected to head the Ministry of Health Resource Mobilization Committee, which generated US\$65,000 in business support.

In **St. Lucia**, Rotarians serve as health district coordinators. Rotarians visited each of the island's health centers to examine and repair refrigerators. In **Trinidad and Tobago**, Rotarians sponsored a ceremony to publicize the EPI and arranged for radio and television announcements. In **Jamaica**, Rotary clubs adopted health centers for support, generated radio, television and print coverage and now provide funding for epidemiologists.

Southern Cone: Last case 28 October 1988

Concentrating on the high-risk areas in northern provinces and periurban Buenos Aires, Rotarians in **Argentina** printed some 450,000 posters, created a slide-set for use in movie theaters, conducted household surveys for health authorities and even provided 144 all-terrain bicycles to public health workers in remote areas. In four consecutive weekends in 1989, Rotarians put in 4,400 volunteer hours and provided gasoline, meals and publicity worth US\$25,000. In 1990, an Argentine Rotarian coordinated a rapid vaccination campaign in 200 low-income barrios in Buenos Aires and was invited by PAHO to present a report to EPI meetings in Uruguay and Honduras. The "urban containment" plan was replicated by Rotary clubs in seven high-risk provinces. Two Argentine Rotarians participated in the rapid assessment team in northeast Brazil.

In **Paraguay**, Rotarians produced maps, 20,000 folders, badges, pencils, manuals and reporting forms, and mobilized and supervised 17,000 volunteer vaccinators. They imported 5,000 thermoses, printed 1 million stickers and generated more than US\$200,000 in donations for broadcast time, cold boxes, transportation and accounting services.

Similarly, in **Chile**, Rotarians printed and distributed 60,000 promotional posters, 2 million stickers with vaccination schedules, and 1,500 manuals. They donated cold-chain equipment totaling US\$150,000 including 1,250 thermoses, 3,000 thermometers, 115 refrigerators, 19 freezers and 100 boxes of vaccine with ice packs. Under the direction of the University of Chile School of Public Health, Rotarians mobilized their young adult clubs, Rotaract, and their secondary-school age-clubs, Interact, to conduct interviews of unimmunized families and to perform lameness surveys.

And in **Uruguay**, Rotarians participated in door-to-door information campaigns and provided a cadre of 100 trained volunteers to give talks to schools, civic groups and sports associations.