

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	01/24/1996	b(6)
002. memo	Todd Stern to Christopher Cerf re: Security Briefings (1 page)	01/24/1996	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7693

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files January 14-20, 1996 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3303

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Steve Silverman

Fax Number: 234-0717

Phone Number:

FROM: Jessica Arons

SUBJECT: Disaster Declarations

DATE: 1/27/96

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7

MESSAGE:

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.

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

JAN-27-96 10:52

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 92340717

PAGE : 07

ELAPSED TIME : 02'06"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : O.K

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JAN 26 P7:00

January 26, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*
Assistant to the President and
Secretary to the Cabinet

STEPHEN B. SILVERMAN *SS*
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

SUBJECT: FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY (FEMA)
RECOMMENDATION THAT THE PRESIDENT DECLARE A
MAJOR DISASTER FOR THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

As a result of heavy rains, accompanied by melting snow, beginning on January 19, 1996, and continuing, the State of Virginia experienced extensive flooding. Governor George Allen of Virginia has requested a major disaster declaration. With your consent, FEMA will provide Individual Assistance to affected individuals in the counties of Alleghany, Bath, Botetourt, Shenandoah, and Warren. Public Assistance and Hazard Mitigation may be added at a later date, if warranted. The situation is of such severity and magnitude that effective response is beyond the capabilities of the State and local jurisdictions, and supplemental Federal assistance is necessary. FEMA recommends that the Governor's request for a major disaster declaration be granted.

The attached declaration letters to James Lee Witt, the Director of FEMA, and Governor Allen declare a major disaster for the State of Virginia.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letters and declare a major disaster in Virginia

Attachments:

Declaration Letter
Letter to the Governor

OK to AP
1/27/96

Phil Cople

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1996

The Honorable James L. Witt
Director
Federal Emergency Management Agency
Washington, D.C. 20472

Dear Mr. Witt:

I have determined that the damage in certain areas of the Commonwealth of Virginia, resulting from flooding on January 19, 1996, and continuing is of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant a major disaster declaration under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act ("the Stafford Act"). I, therefore, declare that such a major disaster exists in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

In order to provide Federal assistance, you are hereby authorized to allocate from funds available for these purposes, such amounts as you find necessary for Federal disaster assistance and administrative expenses.

You are authorized to provide Individual Assistance in the designated areas. Public Assistance and Hazard Mitigation may be added at a later date, if warranted. Consistent with the requirement that Federal assistance be supplemental, any Federal funds provided under the Stafford Act for Public Assistance or Hazard Mitigation will be limited to 75 percent of the total eligible costs.

Sincerely,

William D. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1996

The Honorable George Allen, Jr.
Governor of Virginia
State Capitol
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Governor Allen:

As requested, I have declared a major disaster under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (the Stafford Act) for the Commonwealth of Virginia due to damage resulting from flooding on January 19, 1996, and continuing. I have authorized Federal relief and recovery assistance in the affected area.

Individual Assistance will be provided. Public Assistance and Hazard Mitigation may be added at a later date, if warranted. Consistent with the requirement that Federal assistance be supplemental, any Federal funds provided under the Stafford Act for Public Assistance and Hazard Mitigation will be limited to 75 percent of the total eligible costs in the designated areas.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will coordinate Federal assistance efforts and designate specific areas eligible for such assistance. The Federal Coordinating Officer will be Mr. Robert J. Gunter of FEMA. He will consult with you and assist in the execution of the FEMA-Commonwealth Disaster Assistance Agreement governing the expenditure of Federal funds.

Sincerely,

William S. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JAN 26 P7:00

January 26, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*
Assistant to the President and
Secretary to the Cabinet

STEPHEN B. SILVERMAN *SB*
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

**SUBJECT: FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY (FEMA)
RECOMMENDATION THAT THE PRESIDENT DECLARE A
MAJOR DISASTER FOR THE STATE OF OHIO**

As a result of the heavy rains, accompanied by melting snow, beginning on January 20, 1996, and continuing, the State of Ohio experienced extensive flooding. Governor George Voinovich of Ohio has requested a major disaster declaration. With your consent, FEMA will provide Individual Assistance to affected individuals in the counties of Belmont, Columbiana, Jefferson, Meigs, Monroe, and Washington. Public Assistance and Hazard Mitigation may be added at a later date, if warranted. The situation is of such severity and magnitude that effective response is beyond the capabilities of the State and local jurisdictions, and supplemental Federal assistance is necessary. FEMA recommends that the Governor's request for a major disaster declaration be granted.

The attached declaration letters to James Lee Witt, the Director of FEMA, and Governor Voinovich declare a major disaster for the State of Ohio.

Recommendation:

That you sign the letters and declare a major disaster in Ohio

Attachments:

Declaration Letter

Letter to the Governor

*OK to AP
1/27/96
Phil Gpln*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1996

The Honorable James L. Witt
Director
Federal Emergency Management Agency
Washington, D.C. 20472

Dear Mr. Witt:

I have determined that the damage in certain areas of the State of Ohio, resulting from severe storms and flooding on January 20, 1996, and continuing, is of sufficient severity and magnitude to warrant a major disaster declaration under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act ("the Stafford Act"). I, therefore, declare that such a major disaster exists in the State of Ohio.

In order to provide Federal assistance, you are hereby authorized to allocate from funds available for these purposes, such amounts as you find necessary for Federal disaster assistance and administrative expenses.

You are authorized to provide Individual Assistance and Hazard Mitigation in the designated areas. Public Assistance may be added at a later date, if requested and warranted. Consistent with the requirement that Federal assistance be supplemental, any Federal funds provided under the Stafford Act for Public Assistance or Hazard Mitigation will be limited to 75 percent of the total eligible costs.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1996

The Honorable George V. Voinovich
Governor of Ohio
77 South High Street, 30th Floor
Columbus, Ohio 43266-0601

Dear Governor Voinovich:

As requested, I have declared a major disaster under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (the Stafford Act) for the State of Ohio due to damage resulting from severe storms and flooding on January 20, 1996, and continuing. I have authorized Federal relief and recovery assistance in the affected area.

Individual Assistance and Hazard Mitigation will be provided. Public assistance may be added at a later date, if requested and warranted. Consistent with the requirement that Federal assistance be supplemental, any Federal funds provided under the Stafford Act for Public Assistance and Hazard Mitigation will be limited to 75 percent of the total eligible costs in the designated areas.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will coordinate Federal assistance efforts and designate specific areas eligible for such assistance. The Federal Coordinating Officer will be Mr. Phil Zaferopulos of FEMA. He will consult with you and assist in the execution of the FEMA-State Disaster Assistance Agreement governing the expenditure of Federal funds.

Sincerely,

William D. Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: FEMA Control Room

Fax Number: 898-6173

Phone Number:

FROM: Steve Silverman

SUBJECT: Disaster Declarations - VA bOH

DATE: 1/27/96

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 5

MESSAGE:

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

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MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

JAN-27-96 11:48

FAX NUMBER : 2024562215

NAME :

FAX NUMBER : 98986177

PAGE : 05

ELAPSED TIME : 02'52"

MODE : G3 STD

RESULTS : O.K

1-27-96
cc: w/incoming
Anne Walley
Stephanie Streett
(scheduling)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1996

Peter Zapp
3306 Barham Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90068

Dear Peter:

I was deeply moved by your letter and by your thoughtfulness in writing at a time of such profound loss.

Hillary and I so enjoyed having Nancy perform here at the White House and were very grateful to be able to speak with her before she died. She was such a wonderful person -- *The New York Times* article really captured her remarkable spirit and the joy that her music brought to so many.

I would be honored to provide a letter for Nancy's memorial service and will have it to you by early next month.

Please know we are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

cc: Nancy
Apparent
The Memorial
is in February
Have Nancy keep
w/ draft - HOC
checked sign -
cc: Nancy

December 30, 1995

Dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton,

I am Nancy La Mott's husband. She would have been 44 today. I'm writing to tell you how deeply I appreciate you for appreciating her. She was profoundly touched by your gestures of caring and support during her terrible ordeal - especially at the end.

When you called the hospital Nancy was in terrible shape. The cancer was revaging her at a merciless pace. It hurt me so to watch my poor baby suffer like she was. Thank God you reached out and lifted her misery away for a time. She was so concentrated on your voices and focused on your compassion that she was detached from suffering for those precious minutes.

I cannot describe what I felt as I heard her assure you that she would be there for you if there was a benefit or a fundraiser, or anything else she could do for you. To offer service with only hours of breath left is a sacred thing to behold and will forever remain one of my last cherished memories of her spirit. You gave me the gift of that memory.

God speed you in your efforts to do what is right for America. I know that you are struggling to do great and meaningful things. For me, the greatest will always be that you squeezed out a spot on your worldwide agenda to tell Nancy that you cared about her well-being. And so, as she said, so say I, call on me for anything at any time and I am there for you.

If there are any words you might wish to convey at her upcoming memorial service I would consider it an honor to do so for you.

Through her we have all again been touched by the better angels of our nature.

Thank you both from the bottom of my heart.

Sincerely yours,


Peter Zapp

uh
any idea why I just
got this? I didn't
answer letter on the
funeral - and reply
again I just received
for some reason
TR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: w/ incoming
Carol Rasco 1-27-96
Rahm -

↑
Rahm

January 22, 1996

Jane Warwick Yoder, L.I.C.S.W.
The Capitol Hill Center for
Individual and Family Therapy
530 Seventh Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Jane:

Thanks for your very good letter of January 10 and for sending the *Journal of the National Association of Social Workers* article about AFDC and the plight of unwed mothers. I really appreciate your insight into this dilemma and strongly agree with your clients about the need for meaningful welfare reform. We must hold parents responsible for the children they bring into this world and move them from welfare to work as quickly as possible.

Please give my best to Ed. Hillary and I enjoyed seeing you both in Hilton Head and hope to visit with you again before long.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

I agree with the
article -

Handwritten: 1/10/96
Jane Warwick Yoder, L.I.C.S.W.

LICENSE #LC0030187

THE CAPITOL HILL CENTER
FOR INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY THERAPY
530 SEVENTH STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

Handwritten: M. Yoder
Handwritten: C. Proctor
(202) 543-4645

January 10, 1996

President William Clinton
The White House
20500 - 2000

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is an article from the JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS which you may find interesting. It regards AFDC and the plight of impoverished, unwed mothers.

I counsel many depressed and anxious grandmothers (on Medicaid) who despair when their daughters tell them that they intend to get pregnant so that they can leave home and do as they please. My patients tell me that they then suffer from seeing the resulting grandchildren abused and neglected, while their children "run the streets" and buy drugs with their welfare checks. Child Protective Services can provide only limited assistance.

My patients hate the welfare system as it is constructed. They desperately want to see their children finish school, get jobs, become responsible parents and members of society -- and get off welfare. There must be a better way.

Ed and I enjoyed seeing you and Hillary at Renaissance. The weekend is a wonderful time to retreat and reflect, and to be with dear friends.

We both send our love to you and Hillary, with very best wishes for the coming year.

Sincerely,

Handwritten: Jane

Jane Warwick Yoder, LCSW

Enclosure

cc: w/incoming
Stephanie Streett
Anne Walley
1-27-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1996

Turner Whitson
Post Office Box 469
Clarksville, Arkansas 72830

Dear Turner:

Thanks so much for your letter and for sending Caroline's sermon. It's wonderful -- I only wish I had been in attendance to hear her deliver it!

I appreciate the invitation to attend the dedication ceremonies of Robson Library. While I'm not sure what my schedule will hold next August, I've passed your letter on to Stephanie Streett and Anne Walley, my schedulers.

Your continued support, encouragement, and -- most of all -- friendship mean so much to me.
Thanks.

Sincerely,

Bill Howard A Rich Howard

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Maureen

January 03, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

I thought you would enjoy the enclosed "A Rich Harvest," a sermon Caroline presented at the University of the Ozarks' Parents Weekend. In reading this, I was touched by the commitment to a liberal arts education that I know you share.

You have been invited to the dedication ceremonies of our Robson Library that is named in honor of Helen Walton's parents, and the Raleigh Boreham Business Building. The dedication will be held sometime between August 19, a special day for you, and August 31. I hope scheduling will allow you to participate. I know you are close to these individuals and share the goals as stated in Caroline's sermon.

Last weekend, Caroline and I saw "The American President," of course, we thought it was wonderful. It seems to me that you are gaining ground working to preserve the middle class and opportunities for people everywhere. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,



Turner Whitson
TW/jt
Enc.

cc: Craig Smith

1-27-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1996

Pat and Jim McClelland
McClelland Consulting Engineers, Inc.
900 West Markham
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-1999

Dear Pat and Jim:

Thanks so much for your letter and for your encouragement. Hillary and I are very grateful for your generous offer of support. You know we can always use the help of our Arkansas Traveler friends!

We hope you are well and happy and look forward to seeing you this summer.

Again, thanks.

Sincerely,

Bar

Markham

January 2, 1996

President & Mrs. Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton & Hillary:

Pat & I want to wish you a Happy New Year - 1996!

We both think of you daily and discuss the events occupying your lives and all of the world. We are so very proud of you both and know that you are doing the best job that any two people could, helping to improve America.

The polls are positively in your favor and we are delighted to read that most are predicting your re-election in November. We both will be active in your campaign and hope to attend the Chicago convention this summer. If you have a specific needs regarding the campaign or other issues please do not hesitate to let us know as we will be honored to assist you.

We are always looking for excuses to visit you and will travel to Washington any time you wish to have Arkansas visitors. We support your views on the nations budget and economy and on your position in Bosnia and want to encourage you to keep up the positive American spirit!

Sincerely,

Pat & Jim

Pat & Jim McClelland

JEM\dkb

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: wine.
Craig Smith
1-27-96

January 24, 1996

Merle Peterson
Peterson Enterprises
Post Office Box 666
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

Dear Merle:

Thanks for your note and for sending the letter you wrote to the *Wall Street Journal*. I was very moved by it and by your enduring support of Hillary and of me. Thanks.

I also appreciate your letting me know about your talk with Bishop Dick Wilkie -- he must be a good man.

Sincerely,

Bar

Munireen-Resperel

Peterson Enterprises

P.O. BOX 666

PHONE 501-382-2144

Dumas, Arkansas 71639

FAX 202-456-6703 1/22/96

Dear Bill

I am sending you a
copy of my letter to the
Wall St Journal. self
explanatory -

Last night I was in a
Meeting with Bishop Dick
Wilkie. Phone 501 ~~687-324~~ 8019
at Mantello. He said he wanted
to help in your reelection
campaign. He is 65 years old
in good health and well
retire in July. He is a good
speaker and a believer in
what you and Hillary are
trying to do.

Sincerely
Merle

Peterson Enterprises

P. O. BOX 666

PHONE 501-382-2144

Dumas, Arkansas 71639

January 20, 1996

Mr. Peter R. Kann
Chairman and Publisher
The Wall Street Journal
200 Liberty Street
New York, New York 10281

Dear Mr. Kann:

Because of your biased and unfair portrayal of Bill and Hillary Clinton, I am cancelling my subscription to your publication.

Your editorials and news articles are slanted and inaccurate. I am a friend of these people. I have worked as an unpaid volunteer with both of them for fifteen years. They are among the smartest people I have ever met. I have first-hand knowledge of the things you write about, and I find that it is mostly hearsay and innuendo.

As I read today's edition, I find one-half of the editorial page is spent in bashing Bill and Hillary Clinton --Hillary about her book.

Most people do a few good things. Our economy is good; inflation is nil. All of the good things Bill has done are overshadowed by what you people print about what happened many years ago.

I enclose the mailing sticker from my newspaper, and I ask that you please accept this letter as a cancellation of my subscription.

Very truly yours,


Merle F. Peterson

MFP/dep
Encl.

#BXBDLFC*S-DIGIT 71639
#020194 33427376#
MERLE F PETERSON
117 BRASFIELD ST
P O BOX 666
DUMAS AR

71639

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 01/26/96

TO: CAROL RASCO

FROM: Staff Secretary

After you have reviewed
the attached book, please
pass it on to Bruce Reed
per the President's
instructions.

Thank you.

cc: Bruce Reed

To CR / Based

Superior

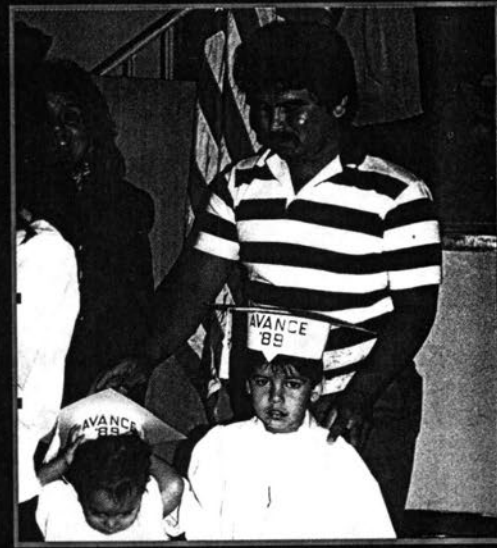
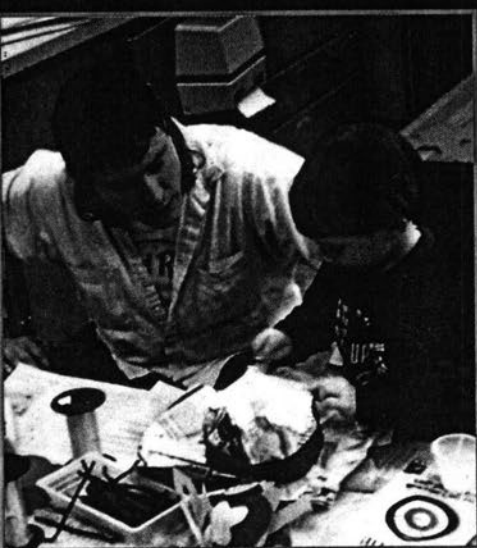
Be

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/26/96

"In an arena marked by passionate divisions, *New Expectations* will help unite those concerned about fatherhood and fatherlessness in America. Its remarkable integration of sound scholarship, successful community-based programs, and sensible advice blazes a trail we all can follow."

—William A. Galston, Professor, School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland at College Park

New Expectations



Community Strategies for Responsible Fatherhood

James A. Levine
with Edward W. Pitt



Families and Work Institute

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-26-96

T. C. Allen / S. Berger

Pls Merilee

check out -

(S. T. is a problem)

Associate General Counsel
JUSTIN L. FINGER

1-26.96



January 25, 1996

The Honorable William Perry
Secretary of Defense
Department of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301-1155

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It has come to our attention that a Department of Defense memorandum has been circulated which warns American defense contractors to keep an eye out for Israeli spies and which attributes Israel's success in obtaining intelligence partly to the "strong ethnic ties to Israel present in the U.S."

Mr. Secretary, this is a distressing charge which impugns American Jews and borders on anti-Semitism. We believe an apology by the Department is needed. We think it is critical that the memorandum be removed from circulation and you indicate that in no way do the views expressed represent those of the Defense Department and the American government.

In addition, we are disturbed by the general tenor of the memorandum considering the fact that Israel is America's longtime ally, considering the fact that only five years ago Israel refrained from taking military steps against Iraq despite Scud missile attacks because its U.S. ally asked for restraint. One would hardly sense this alliance in the tone of the memorandum.

We wonder whether Israel is being singled out and, if so, why? Are similar memoranda written about other countries?

In sum, we find the memorandum a matter of serious concern. We respectfully urge your immediate attention.

Sincerely

Abraham H. Foxman
National Director

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-26-96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-26-96
For Reed
Call him 1-26-96
RC

January 25, 1996

MEMORANDUM

To: THE PRESIDENT

From: Nancy Hernreich
Andrea Whitney

Re: "The Final Test, The Personalities and The Issues" by Rep. Jim Moran
from Cons. Union

Your State of the Union speech is an opportunity to bring together all the character of your political career. You have more natural ability and political integrity than any leader since JFK. Show us why Bill Clinton chose political life.

The Personalities

The First Lady: The women's vote will decide your election. Your attitude toward Mrs. Clinton will be the main deciding issue. Show your security with her intelligence; it will show your character and that is what Americans really care about.

Bob Dole: Let Dole self-destruct. Praise Dole for his moderation and art of compromise; it will drive him crazy because he is already challenged by your youth.

The Issues

The Economy: As a recession becomes conceivable you can not yield to the Republican 7 year plan because:

- 1) Americans must be able to provide basic needs even without jobs.
- 2) You care too much about the reducing debt to worsen it with popular tax breaks.

- 3) The House Republican's plan actually increases the debt in its early years.

Working Family Tax Cuts: Replace the EITC with Family Tax Credit

Line Item Veto: Keep reminding the Republicans of their promise.

Medicare: When tried in 15 states Managed Care actually increased costs due to insurance profit share. Cutting from Medicare reflects a different set of priorities which you will continue to veto.

Direct Loans: Loans would be turned back to the banks and ultimately cost American Parents \$12 billion.

Welfare: Putting welfare mothers to work will require more day care, education and training. Corporate welfare must be demagogued.

Debt Ceiling: Slam the Majority Leader for even challenging to force a default on treasury bill payments.

COMMITTEE
ON

GOVERNMENT REFORM
AND OVERSIGHT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

COMMITTEE
ON

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4608

JAMES P. MORAN

8TH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

405 CANNON HOUSE
OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4808
(202) 225-4376

FAX COVER SHEET

cc: Dwyer/Walden

PLEASE DELIVER PROMPTLY TO: President Clinton

Date/Time: _____

Telephone: _____

Telecopy: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET 9

FROM:

Name of Sender: REP. JIM MORAN

Direct Dial Number of Sender: _____

Telecopy Number of Sender: (202) 225-0017

This message is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination or distribution of this communication to other than the intended recipient is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by collect telephone at (202) 225-4376 and return the original message to us at the above address via the U.S. Postal Service.

Thank you for your assistance.

NOTES: **ATTN: BETTY**

COMMITTEE
ON

GOVERNMENT REFORM
AND OVERSIGHT

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

COMMITTEE
ON

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4608

JAMES P. MORAN
8TH DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
405 CANNON HOUSE
OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4608
(202) 225-4376

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: President Bill Clinton
FROM: Rep. Jim Moran
DATE: January 21, 1996
RE: The Final Test, The Personalities and The Issues

Mr. President, you invited me to fax you any further observations consistent with our last telephone conversation.

The Final Challenge

Your speech tomorrow effectively begins the last campaign of your life. It is an opportunity and a challenge to bring together all the hard fought lessons, all the natural and developed skills and all the determination and character that have defined your political career. This is the election that will put you in the history books and affirm the faith of those who have loved you and believed in you.

But enough of the pump priming.

The Personalities

The First Lady: It is the woman's vote that will decide this election and it is your attitude toward Hillary that will get it for you. The negative vote of nearly every antagonistic white male can be offset within the same household.

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: JB DATE: 7/11/2009
2019-0774-S

The key to the women's vote is not abortion or equal rights or day care, but whether women feel that you treat your wife the way they want to be treated, i.e., with deference, love and respect. Women want a man who'll "stand by his woman."

The problem with Hillary is that she's brighter and more competent than 99% of the men out there -- and she knows it. You have no choice but to highlight your own personal security and treat her as the asset she is. E.g.: "My love for Hillary is between she and I but my respect for her as a partner in life and an equal in intellect is so great that no degree of political expediency will ever cause me to distance myself from her nor to diminish her role in my political career. And if that costs me the Presidency, so be it."

Such a statement says more to the American people about your character than any allegation D'Amato and his ilk could possibly come up with. It's also a far more effective way to negate the Paula Jones-type stuff than any specific protestations could possibly accomplish.

Forget the know-it-all inside-the-beltway pundits. The American people don't understand or care diddlyshit about Whitewater or Travelgate, but they do understand character when they see it. Show them yours.

I know you agree so let's move from your asset to your opponent.

Bob Dole: Shower this guy with praise for his moderation, his willingness to understand that politics should be the art of compromise not the tactic of terrorism. Praise him for putting those innocent federal employees back to work who had been held hostage by the extremists in his party because they couldn't achieve their objective in a lawful, democratic way.

This guy is incredibly threatened by your youth and your charm. His only hope is to come off as a seasoned statesman. But you take the high road and he'll take the low road. He knows it better anyway. Praising him for moderation and helping federal bureaucrats will drive him crazy and throw red meat to his primary opponents.

At some point, Gingrich will embarrass him deliberately and destructively, which will cause the voters to ask themselves if Dole can't even control his second lieutenant, how's he hope to take over control of the country? The fact that you are heading a party united solely behind you will leave a lasting impression on the voters.

Let Dole self destruct.

The Issues

The Economy: A recession is not inconceivable. The stock market has been too high for too long. EPS numbers are getting irrational and the American consumer is nearing the tipping point in the anxiety and reality of corporate downsizing, restructuring, and globalizing.

But this is a Democratic opportunity. You cannot yield further on the Republican's seven year plan because:

1. As a nation, we must always work for the best but be prepared for the worst. If the economy slows, unemployment increases and consumer purchasing declines, you are determined to have all the tools necessary to continue steering this economy in a straight direction no matter how bumpy the road gets. And when people loose their jobs, through no fault of their own you will see to it that they do not also lose their home and their ability to provide for their families. This addresses the breadth and depth of economic insecurity gripping our work force.

2. You care too much about the burden of our national debt to worsen it for the sake of politically popular, but excessive, tax breaks.

If it were not for the interest we're paying on the debt, attributable to the Republican tax cuts/loopholes of 1981, we

The Issues

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If it were not for the interest we're paying on the debt, attributable to the Republican tax cuts/loopholes of 1981, we would be operating at a surplus today and able to strengthen the economic security of working families.

3. The House Republican's plan actually increases the deficit in the early years. You will not sign onto a plan designed to give the signators political gain while passing on the pain of real program cuts to future Presidents and Governors.

Working Family Tax Cuts: Replace the EITC with a Working Family Tax Credit that offsets the FICA and other income taxes on a current basis.

Line Item Veto: I still think you ought to ask the Republicans to keep their promise in the Contract with America to give you a line item veto so you can "clean up these appropriation bills by taking out the extremist, inappropriate legislation and letting us all go back to the business of paying our bills and running our government."

Medicare: You agree with the Trustees report that approximately \$100 billion needs to be cut from Medicare to insure its solvency. But to cut an additional \$100 billion to pay for tax breaks reflects a different set of priorities that you will continue to veto. But Medicare is more than a dollars and cents issue, the House Republican plan goes to the heart of what makes America great -- its sense of community. By destroying the concept of community rating and replacing it with managed care, we will be throwing the older and the sicker overboard to make more room for the younger and the healthier.

90% of Medicare recipients cost the program less than \$1300 per year and they'll stay on board. It is the 10% who cost an average of \$28,000 per year who will be thrown overboard. These are the people you are most concerned about because no one in the audience can be assured that they won't one day be one of those 4 million who have no recourse but to depend upon Medicare insurance for critical and costly medical crises.

Giving managed care companies \$4800 per year for each beneficiary will certainly increase competition in the health care field. But it will also increase the targeting, the segmenting, the creaming, so as to avoid coverage of the old and sick. Isn't this the antithesis of what insurance is all about - in fact isn't this just the opposite of what the American community is all about?

In the 15 states where the Republicans' managed care approach has been tested, it has actually increased costs due to the insurance companies administrative and profit share of 15-25% versus 2% for all Medicare administrative costs, not to mention their ability to target the young and healthy whose health costs are less than a third of their per capita premiums.

Direct Loans: The House Republicans have fought long and hard to turn the direct student loan program back over to the banks. After all, banks will gain \$8.8 billion of profit while the

Federal government will reduce expenditures by \$3.8 billion. But where does this \$12 billion come from? "It comes from the savings of America's parents who have worked and sacrificed and dreamed of a better life for their children through a college education. America's families don't have another \$12 billion to pay the banks for college costs and we shouldn't require them to. Again, this is a far different set of priorities than mine and I will continue to exercise my veto authority over every attempt to tear at the social and economic fabric that holds us together as Americans."

Welfare: If welfare reform is to work, we must enable the 5 million single mothers who represent virtually all the adults on welfare to be able to work without compromising their responsibilities as parents. Not one of the 9 million children on welfare chose to be born into poverty, but if their mother must abandon them to fulfill her work requirements we will be further punishing the innocent and helpless. Putting welfare mothers to work will require more day care for the children and more education and training for the adults than the Republicans are yet willing to provide.

But speaking of welfare, it's time to do a little demagoguing on corporate welfare. "We can't continue to offer our wealthiest taxpayers incentives to renounce their citizenship. \$3.6 billion was lost just this year due to the subterfuge of claiming a foreign residence.

"Nor should foreign mining companies be making billions by

buying public land at prices that were set back in 1872. This is the principal reason I was regrettably forced to veto the Interior Appropriations Bill."

Debt Ceiling: Slam the Majority Leader for threatening to force a default on our financial obligations. Arney wants to repeal Reagan's 1987 legislation that was designed to prevent any possibility of the kind of world wide financial chaos that would result if we ever seriously considered defaulting on our Treasury bill payments. And speaking of the father of the Republican Revolution, when he couldn't reach agreement with Congress he requested a continuing resolution for two full years -- 1987 and 1988. Not even Ronald Reagan considered shutting down the Federal Government.

I'd be foolishly flattering myself to think you've had the time to get this far.

Let me just leave you with one final point to bear in mind as you begin your last political journey:

You have more natural ability and public integrity than any political leader since JFK. There is a reason you are in the most important position in the world at what may be one of the most important transformational periods in modern history. You have five more years to carry us into a new millennia of peace and prosperity and progress and 9 1/2 months to show those who would pull us back into the old world of wars and poverty and cynicism why Bill Clinton chose a public life.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/26/96

Sent to Mark Penn
Mark Penn

Ideal citizens' go face to face

Forum lets voters share perspectives

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

AUSTIN — A liberal from Arkansas, a moderate from Kansas and a conservative from Georgia spent four days here at the National Issues Convention, hoping to influence national policy and this year's presidential election.

But unlike President Clinton, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich, the three women emerged with common ground, broadened viewpoints and a deeper appreciation of their differences.

"We've been exposed to people who are in different circumstances and who face a lot harder times," said Donna Oliver, 43, a homemaker and mother of three from Georgia. "I'd like to see this change the way we elect presidents."

That's the ambitious goal behind the National Issues Convention, a \$3.9 million experiment that brought more than 450 randomly selected Americans to Texas to talk over the nation's toughest problems.

Polled for their opinions before they arrived and again as they left Sunday, the cross-section of the USA may provide pollsters with new insight into how opinions can change after intense exposure to all sides of an issue. Results won't be available until later this week.

And if it fails to influence the debate or the 10 men vying for the White House the confab at least showed that voters can move from sound bites to substantive debate.

"This is an example of the way the dialogue could be," said University of Texas professor James Fishkin, the event's organizer, who calls the newly informed delegates "ideal citizens."

But some public opinion experts dispute the validity of Fishkin's experiment, calling it an artificial, elitist forum that skews participants' views.

And although 600 Americans were selected, nearly 25% didn't take the expense-paid trip, leaving too many Westerners and too few elderly.

Proponents and critics alike, however, agree the convention and hundreds of smaller focus groups held across the country this year will help educate participants and uplift the national dialogue.

In this case, four hours of live PBS coverage helped expand the audience.

"The polling isn't what's important. It's the focus on substance rather than style," said Republican pollster Frank Luntz. "If I had my way, this is how politics would be run."

Much of the hoopla surrounding the event disappeared when most of the presidential candidates declined offers to appear in person.

Only Sen. Richard Lugar of Indiana and Vice President Gore appeared; three other GOP candidates — publisher Steve Forbes, Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas and former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander — took questions via satellite.

Clinton and Dole were invited but did not attend.

That left the delegates to



Roundtable: National Issues Convention delegates Donna Oliver, center, of Lithonia, Ga., and Kimberly Holmes of West Memphis, Ark., listen as moderator Taylor Willingham talks to the group.



In attendance: Vice President Gore speaks to a delegate.

talk, mostly in groups of about 15. By Sunday morning, many emerged with new insights.

► Oliver, the conservative from Lithonia, Ga., opposes abortion but thought again about unwanted pregnancies after hearing blood-curdling stories of child abuse. "This is a reality that I had never seen or heard."

► Kimberly Holmes, 25, the liberal from West Memphis, Ark., was convinced of the need to raise the minimum wage after watching a struggling parent in tears over tough times. "I'm more in the middle class, and now I'm getting to understand the opinion of the lower-income class."

► Kathryn Wilson, 56, a registered nurse and a moderate from Manhattan, Kan., was left with deeper empathy for those less fortunate than herself. "I really feel sorry for people on an individual basis."

The weekend was full of policy experts, but also stories of real-life economic and social experiences.

► Mindy Bunch, 20, of Turlock, Calif., spoke about the difficulties she faces as a single mother raising her 9-month-old daughter amid drugs and violence. "I feel sorry for my daughter," she said. "There's a lot of sick people out there."

► Valerie Washington, 29, a motel housekeeper and the only African-American in her smaller group, lamented that her happy four-member household in Rocky Mount, N.C., is inundated with neighborhood children lacking parental su-

No. 1 issue: Public education

A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows that voters identify the quality of public education, violent crime, the economy and health-care coverage as the top-priority issues in the 1996 presidential campaign. The percentage who say the candidates' stands on those issues would be a "high priority" in deciding whom to vote for:



Rank	Issue	Percent
1	Quality of public education	67%
2	Violent crime	66%
3	Economy	64%
4	Availability of good jobs	63%
4	Availability of health coverage	63%
4	Cost of health care	63%
7	Federal budget deficit	58%
7	Drug abuse	58%
7	Financial security for retirees	58%
10	Medicare	55%
10	Moral values	55%
12	Poverty	51%
12	Federal taxes	51%
14	Welfare	49%
15	Cost of college	43%
16	Size, role of federal government	41%
17	U.S. role in world affairs	34%

Source: USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup nationwide telephone poll of 1,000 adults conducted Jan. 5-7. Margin of error: +/-3 percentage points.

► Michael Winters, 52, a Lansing, Mich., truck driver, related the hardship of raising his 13-year-old grandson, the product of a broken home, and called for a return to traditional family values. "It's a messed-up world"

► Karen Stringham, 38, of nearby Fowler, Mich., a Dairy Queen worker whose husband is unemployed, appealed for better job opportunities or government aid to help lift her three children from poverty. "I would like to just be able to say that I'm taking care of my own."

► Valerie Washington, 29, a motel housekeeper and the only African-American in her smaller group, lamented that her happy four-member household in Rocky Mount, N.C., is inundated with neighborhood children lacking parental su-

pervision. "It makes me feel sorry for them"

► And Mike Daniel, 36, a plumber from Charleston, S.C., complained about deadbeat dads who don't pay child support. Divorced and separated, he's paying for three children from two marriages.

All those definitions of modern families left Phyllis Johnston, 80, of Pueblo West, Colo., shaking her head. Married 55 years with two daughters, five grandchildren and four great-grandchildren, she came away shocked by the stories.

But while she and most other happily married participants sympathized with their compatriots, there were few calls for more government involvement.

"I think it's terrible the way that government has stepped in," Johnston said.



Wilson: Kansas nurse came away with deeper empathy.



Washington: N.C. motel worker sees neglect in neighborhood.

"Even the people that need these services don't feel that the government should come running to them," said William Kaiser, 41, an insurance agent from Scottsdale, Ariz., with a family of four.

"The more liberal thinking is that government can solve everyone's problems," he said. "But that's not true, and we're finally coming to that realization."

Hearing from the candidates didn't help. Emboldened after hours of discussion, delegates hit politicians with questions about cutting taxes and creating jobs, policing the world and restoring family values.

Most expressed their dissatisfaction with the sound-bite responses.

"A lot of rhetoric," fumed Houston construction worker Mark Dettor, 41. "There wasn't an answer we didn't expect."

While the pollsters and political scientists connected to the convention searched for superlatives to describe its importance, the participants in Group 25 may have found it.

"I think we need to help each other, but I think it needs to be done on a one-to-one basis," said Kansas' Wilson.

"If you have it good, turn around and try to help somebody else," said Arkansas' Holmes.

"More than government intervention," added Georgia's Oliver, "we need people intervention."

► The budget battle, 1A, 6A
► Dole and Forbes, 5A

Gore: Flat tax doesn't add up for most

The debate over the flat tax was played out in front of the nearly 500 delegates to the National Issues Convention in Austin, Texas.

On Sunday, Vice President Gore told the convention the flat tax won't fly because it lowers taxes for the rich and raises them for working peo-

ple.

"People will react positively to that (flat tax) until they get out a pencil and paper. When they figure exactly what the effect on their own family will be, then the attitude changes," Gore said.

Replacing the current federal tax code with a 17% flat

tax is the centerpiece of the campaign of Republican Steve Forbes, who spoke by satellite on Saturday.

"The first essential step is to get rid of this corrupting, complex, incomprehensible ... tax code that is plaguing America today," Forbes said.

"A typical American fam-

ily today pays eight times as much of tax to the government as they did 40 years ago," he said. "The cure is very simple."

"When you talk about junking the tax code," he added, "all the political class in Washington is going to fight it tooth and nail."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
✓ 26/96

Blue Reed
~~Skus~~

Robert Kuttner

Good Corporate Citizens

THE WASHINGTON POST
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1995

Delivering Results

Here's a good progressive idea: Let's cut capital gains taxes. And let's give business some regulatory relief.

But let's not just give all of this away. Instead, let's trade it for a set of corporate practices that produces a more even distribution of gains.

The great, unaddressed public issue of our time is the stagnation of living standards for most people, the rising economic insecurity and the unequal distribution of the fruits of our ever more productive economy. Nothing illustrates this better than the disparity between the stock market and the labor market: stocks booming, wages flat.

Ordinary people are knocking themselves out for the sake of competitiveness. But the gains are accruing mainly to the owners of the enterprise.

There are some exceptions, of course. A small minority of corporations have profit-sharing plans, or pay-for-productivity systems, or limits on exorbitant executive salaries. Many report that these measures improve employee morale and increase productivity.

Why not use the leverage of government to make these practices the norm?

For starters, a blue-ribbon commission of the most enlightened business and labor leaders and scholars could identify the best "gain-sharing" practices in American business. Then policy-makers could specify a core set of gain-sharing measures necessary for a company to qualify for tax breaks and regulatory relief as an exemplary corporate citizen.

These might include:

- A system to ensure that productivity increases translate into higher worker pay.
- A decent fraction of corporate earnings to be plowed back into health, pension and family-friendly fringe benefits.
- A commitment to invest a specified percentage of gross income or payroll in the steady upgrading of worker skills.
- A limit on executive salaries relative to salaries paid to employees.
- A process to give employees a greater voice in the enterprise, through Worker councils, unions or other avenues of representation, and to avoid unfair labor practices.
- A commitment to greater employee job security.

Within these broad guidelines, companies and their employees would have great latitude to devise plans that met their own particular needs. As long as they met the minimum, government would have to certify that they qualified.

In return, these solid corporate citizens would pay lower taxes. They might pay both a lower rate on the corporate income tax, and their stock would become more attractive to investors because it would get favorable capital gains treatment.

They could also fairly claim regulatory relief. For example, a company with a more engaged work force could be trusted to police itself in the area of employee health and safety, rather than relying primarily on OSHA inspectors.

I can hear some of my liberal friends howling. But it's one thing to give corporate tax relief away. It's another to trade it for a more equal distribution of earnings.

The purpose of progressive taxation, after all, is to partially equalize the great inequalities of the marketplace. If public policy can get corporations to bestow greater equality in the first instance, there is less need for equalization after the fact.

Regulation, likewise, is a means and not an end. Nobody likes red tape for its own sake. An empowered work force is a more reliable steward than a periodic visit from a bureaucrat.

Individual companies, of course, would be free to reject the offer (and the benefits). We could then compare the productivity and worker satisfaction of old-style and new-style corporations.

The currently ascendant Republicans plan to cede tax and regulatory relief to business with no quid pro quo, on the theory that greater business license would increase profits, growth and living standards for all. But we have been going down that road since the Reagan administration, and the gains to business have failed to translate into higher living standards for most people. More of the same would only widen the inequalities.

Here is a splendid issue for the foundering Democrats. Should government just give all of these benefits to business, or get something in return?

Rep. Richard Gephardt, the House minority leader, has proposed a corporate code of conduct. He is currently exploring whether to condition a series of benefits on companies that meet its terms.

Several Clinton administration officials, most notably Labor Secretary Robert Reich and Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, regularly celebrate "high performance work" and spotlight companies that choose voluntarily to pursue a path of investment in people. And their boss, on the 1992 campaign trail, had a manifesto with the theme of "Putting People First."

If the political mainstream doesn't address the issue of economic insecurity, the political fringe surely will—by scapegoating immigrants, minorities, foreigners and by stoking people's fears.

Nobody doubts that the emerging information economy is capable of prodigious gains. The hidden issue is how those gains are to be shared. It's time to place that issue at the center of political discourse.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/26/96

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For
Be
Scribble



55 Sea Cliff Avenue, Glen Cove, New York 11542-3695 Phone 516-676-7772
fax 516-676-7998

Tom Caplan
4000 North Charles Street No. 508
Baltimore, MD 21218

January 12, 1996
410-243-5721 fax
410-467-6139

Dear Tom,

What we talked about at our 25th Re-Union at the Harvard Business School is now a reality. I am running for Congress in the 3rd Congressional District in New York (Nassau Long Island).

Peter King, R, is the incumbent. The seat will be a tough fight. First problem is that the district's registration is 3 to 2 Republican. Second problem is King is the incumbent now for 4 years. Fortunately, we have enough non-affiliates to level the playing field.

I can put together \$500,000 for the campaign out of my pocket and from friends, family, and business associates. I expect another \$250,000 will come from the district. In addition I expect to build a network of 600 volunteers to cover the 300 ED's in the district. I will work full-time on being elected (my company is run by a good management team).

I think now is the time to move to benefit from the expected turnout during the Presidential election. I also will work for Clinton to win and fully expect that he will. The local Democratic party knows me and will make me the candidate without a primary. Most of the key Democratic officeholders in my area know me, like me, and think I would be a good candidate.

I am Italian, Catholic, appeal to the Jewish voters, and got my MBA from the Harvard Business School after Providence College. I started my company, *TWEEZERMAN*, with \$500 15 years ago. We will do \$11 million in sales this year. I was named Small Business Person of the Year by the SBA in 1994 for the New York District. *TWEEZERMAN* received the H.I.P Spirit Award in 1993 for extra-ordinary customer service, employee empowerment, and community involvement. I am good on my feet and would work well with the party. *TWEEZERMAN* is also a member of BSR and I gave the President one our tweezers at its national convention two years ago.

The primary issue for my district is the economy followed by environmental concerns. I will be positioning myself a self-made businessperson who wants to help his constituents acquire job and health security. I agree with the President that the budget is balanced. The fight is over how much of a tax cut will be enacted. I believe that tax cuts are a secondary priority to a more effective and efficient government.

Please let the President know I exist and help direct me to the people in Washington who can help us with the national issues and our campaign.

Warm regards,

Dal La Magna

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/26/96

January 23, 1996

✓
Mr. President:

Copies have been sent to
Laura Tyson and Gene Sperling.

Leon/Laura

C

Todd Stern

agreed then

Be

January 20, 1996

NOTE TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PAUL A. LONDON 

* I am concerned that Clay Chandler's piece in The Washington Post today positions you in a risky way by suggesting that appointing Felix Rohatyn to the Fed would be a "shift to the left." Far from being "left", Rohatyn's position on growth, which you know I share, is also shared by the National Association of Manufacturers (Jerry Jasinowski), Milton Friedman, and other pro-business groups. They all have said that an economic growth rate of more than 2.5 percent (2 percent on the new "chain weighted basis) is sustainable. Milton Friedman suggested almost 4 percent in a recent WSJ article based on historic series. The NAM is saying 3 percent or more. A raft of not-very-lefty Republicans including Trent Lott (this week), Dole, Gingrich, etc. all have taken this position.

There is nothing but needless risk in taking on the bond markets frontally as Chandler suggests a Rohatyn appointment would imply. Maybe some people are trying to block Rohatyn, but this type of characterization of the Rohatyn/Fed issue also hurts you by pulling you out of the center, where I think you want to be. The right argument is that faster growth has nothing to do with left or right. You can link it to your third way by insisting that change -- more domestic competition, technology, a better educated work force, record capital investment -- is restraining inflation and making faster growth possible. At the same time you can wrap yourself in the support of the NAM and other business people including Rohatyn who share this position. The unions, the union-backed Economic Policy Institute (Jeff Faux), the Economic Strategy Institute (Prestowitz), and others more to the so-called left of course will support this but there is no point at all in having your position characterized as an attack on bond traders or class warfare. Why should you be called a liberal or left for taking a position that the NAM has been outspoken in supporting? The argument is about the opportunities for faster growth that have been created by change and by good old American competition, not some sterile thing about the bankers vs. the workers.

✓ I think Chandler's characterizations risk hurting you politically and could further limit your ability to influence the Fed in a progressive direction. The staff ought to rebut them with the journalists who are covering this story.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/26/96

Jack Quinn
What's your response to
this? — BC

Memo to President Clinton

from Lee Strobel

date: January 24, 1996

re: Follow-up on D&X, or "partial-birth," abortions

Mr. President, I greatly appreciated your State of the Union address. I am encouraged that you're focusing on the strategic areas that we need to address as a nation, and you have my continued prayers as you work through the implementation of your policies.

Bill Hybels asked me to comment specifically on two abortion cases that you've expressed concern about. Both deal with the heart-rending problem of late-term fetuses afflicted with fatal birth defects. These are the "hard cases," the rare and extreme circumstances that are unlike the majority of partial-birth abortions, which involve infants who are either fully healthy or have conditions compatible with long lives, with or without disability. After consulting experts in the field, here is my analysis of these two specific situations:

1. The Coreen Costello case.

Question: What alternatives would Coreen Costello have had if the partial-birth abortion procedure were illegal?

Answer: She could have done exactly what she did. Passage of this law would have made absolutely no difference in her case.

Reasons: First, Mrs. Costello *did* have a late-term abortion, but she did *not* have a partial-birth abortion.

In a report aired Dec. 6, 1995, on the television news program *Dateline*, NBC reporter Dennis Murphy pointed out that the death of Mrs. Costello's fetus occurred "in the womb and not in the birth canal." Thus, this was not a partial-birth abortion, but rather the removal of an already-deceased fetus. U.S. Senator Bob Smith pointed out on the program that this case would *not* fall under the partial-birth abortion law. Even the description of the way in which her abortion was performed doesn't fit the description of the D&X or partial-birth procedure.

Second, there are specific indications that Mrs. Costello's life was in danger. As a result, the law would not apply anyway because of the life-of-the-mother exemption.

If anything, Mrs. Costello's case demonstrates that alternatives to the partial-birth procedure *are* available -- and, indeed, an alternative was used in her situation to terminate her pregnancy.

2. The Viki Wilson case.

Question: What options would Viki Wilson have had if the partial-birth abortion procedure were illegal?

Answer: She could have done exactly what she did. Passage of this law would have made absolutely no difference in her case.

Reason: If, as the article indicates, there was the belief that Mrs. Wilson's life was imperiled, then the life-of-the-mother exemption would have allowed this procedure to be used. U.S. Representative Charles Canady, who introduced the House legislation, said: "No physician is going to be prosecuted and convicted under this law if he or she reasonably believes the procedure is necessary to save the life of the mother."

III. What about options in other rare and extreme cases?

Mrs. Costello and Mrs. Wilson could have legally undergone the abortion procedures that they did even if the ban on partial-birth abortions had been enacted. But what about other similar situations? In those cases, there are still viable medical alternatives, such as:

- The doctor can induce labor and deliver the child early. "At 34+ weeks, this is generally no problem," said Dr. Nancy Romer, former Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Wright State University, who I interviewed after her Congressional testimony. While Dr. Romer performs late abortions, she strongly opposes the partial-birth procedure as being absolutely unnecessary and "80 percent infanticide."

With severe fetal handicaps such as in the pregnancies of Mrs. Costello and Mrs. Wilson, the infant normally dies during delivery or shortly thereafter. Comfort care is provided the child until he or she expires. In terms of preserving the dignity of the child, it seems preferable to allow nature to take its course while providing for the comfort of the baby, rather than affirmatively causing the child's death through the apparently painful insertion of scissors into his or her head and sucking out the brains.

If the child's head is too big for delivery -- which Dr. Romer said only rarely occurs -- then fluid can be siphoned off via a needle

inserted through the mother's abdomen before birth; as a rule, this procedure is not harmful to the fetus.

- In rare cases where early birth isn't an option, a Cesarean section is another alternative.

Testifying in U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio, Dr. Harlan R. Giles, a pro-choice physician who performs abortions and who is a professor of "high risk" obstetrics and perinatology at the Medical College of Pennsylvania, said:

"[After 23 weeks] I do not think there are any maternal conditions that I'm aware of that mandate ending the pregnancy that also require that the fetus be dead or that the fetal life be terminated. In my experience for 20 years, one can deliver these fetuses either vaginally, or by Cesarean section for that matter, depending on the choice of the parents with informed consent But there's no reason these fetuses cannot be delivered intact vaginally after a miniature labor, if you will, and be at least assessed at birth and given the benefit of the doubt." (Transcript, p. 240)

- If for some reason inducing birth or having a Cesarean section aren't options, then a routine late-term abortion can still be performed. For instance, digoxin or hyperosmolar urea can be injected into the fetus while it's still in the uterus, resulting in its death. After that, it can be removed in any appropriate way the physician desires. This avoids the dangerous blurring of the infanticide/abortion line that occurs with the partial-birth abortion procedure. Remember that the partial-birth abortion ban *regulates* a specific procedure, but does not outlaw late-term abortions. The vast majority of women, faced with situations like Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Costello, have had abortions without using the partial-birth procedure. Said Dr. Pamela Smith, Director of Medical Education in the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Mt. Sinai Hospital: "There are absolutely no obstetrical situations encountered in this country which require a partially delivered human fetus to be destroyed to preserve the life of the mother."

All abortions carry some risk, but it should be noted that the partial-birth procedure presents special hazards to the mother. The fact that it involves a breech extraction under local anesthetic in a doctor's office makes this particularly dangerous to the mother's health. In addition, the procedure can be detrimental to the woman's future fertility. In the attached article from the publication *Obstetrics & Gynecology*, Dr. Warren Hern, author of the standard textbook

Abortion Practice, discusses routinely used alternatives to the partial-birth procedure. Dr. Hern himself has concluded: "You can't really defend (the partial-birth abortion method) I would dispute any statement that this is the safest procedure to use."

I must also point out that the article on Viki Wilson's case includes glaring medical and other factual inaccuracies. For instance, Dr. McMahon claims in the article that babies in partial-birth abortions die from the anesthetic given the mother, when Congressional testimony documented that without a doubt this is false.

Though I believe the Wilsons may have genuinely felt they had no alternative to the partial-birth procedure because of what Dr. McMahon told them, it should be noted that he was a family practitioner, not an obstetrician-gynecologist, and therefore may not have possessed the requisite skills to pursue the other alternatives that are commonly practiced by experts working in hospital settings. Certainly his medical knowledge must be seriously questioned due to his published statements that giving anesthetic to the mother causes the death of the fetus. The president of the American Society of Anesthesiologists has testified that this has "absolutely no basis in scientific fact." (The other major provider of partial-birth abortions, Dr. Martin Haskell, also is only a family practitioner.)

Further, the article states that the partial-birth abortion bill "marks the first time the Congress has attempted to outlaw a particular medical technique. . . . Never in history has Congress ever told a doctor what he or she can do within their examining room." This is misleading for several reasons:

1. Virtually all legislation concerning medical techniques and practice is enacted on the state level. It is only within recent years that we have thought in terms of federalizing health care. On the state level, there has been an enormous amount of legislation concerning what doctors, patients, parents, etc., can and cannot do.

2. Most of the federal "laws" concerning patient-doctor relations and medical practice have been decided by the federal courts, including cases involving abortion, the right to die, and contraception. Although not specifically "legislation," these federal decisions have the same impact as the passage of laws by Congress.

3. The executive branch of the federal government has made many decisions through the Justice Department, Health and Human Services, and Executive Orders that have the same impact as legislation. Your own decision not to accept the suggestion of a NIH ethics

committee to support federal funding of embryo research is an example of this.

4. Congress has attempted to "outlaw a particular medical technique" on numerous occasions. For example: (a) U.S. representatives have proposed legislation to forbid silicon breast implants; (b) Congress in the mid-1980's proposed legislation to ban physicians from withholding or withdrawing sustenance or routine surgery from infants with Downs syndrome or who are otherwise handicapped; (c) Since 1973, Congress on numerous occasions has attempted to pass a Human Life Amendment; (d) Representative Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) is the prime sponsor of HR 941, the Federal Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (S. 1030 is the Senate version), which would ban physicians and others from performing female circumcision.

5. Concerning the claim that "never in history has Congress ever told a doctor what he or she can do within their examining room," Dr. Stephen Krason's book *Abortion: Politics, Morality and the Constitution* (University Press of America, 1984) points out that during the latter half of the 19th Century Congress approved territorial legislation in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada to make it a crime to abort "a woman then big with child" (p. 172). To cite another example, Congress passed the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibits discrimination in medical care on the basis of handicap in federally funded hospitals.

IV. Conclusion

The Costellos and Wilsons faced tragic situations that should elicit compassion from any thinking and feeling human being. In fact, I gave the article on the Wilson case to Dr. Francis Beckwith, a university philosopher, ethicist, and perhaps the most responsible pro-life spokesperson in evangelical Christianity. Here was his comment:

According to the article, Baby Abigail "looked like she had two heads Two-thirds of her brain was in a separate sac and the tissue inside her head was improperly formed. 'You could not discern a cerebrum from a medulla,' Viki says. 'You could not do a proper anatomy lesson with Abigail's brain.'"

If this is true, and there is no reason to doubt it, the justification of the abortion in this case is not at all analogous to the cases in which this abortion procedure is typically performed. To use a more appropriate analogy, one could view this child as we would an individual who has had his head blown off by a shotgun. Since

medical treatment cannot hope to benefit either the child or the shotgun victim, and since in the case of the child if she is not removed her continued presence puts her mother in imminent peril, abortion in this case, I believe, is justified.

But keep in mind that it is not justified because the fetus is not a human being. Rather, the abortion is justified because it is the best we can do as moral agents in this particularly difficult circumstance. But don't forget, almost every case of D&X (partial-birth abortion) has none of these circumstances present. Consequently, if these circumstances are the basis by which the President justifies the continued practice of this method in general, he is implicitly admitting it is not justified in general since none of these circumstances are present in virtually every case.

Further, banning partial-birth abortions is consistent with both *Roe v. Wade* (1973) and *Casey v. Planned Parenthood* (1992). According to *Roe*, the state has an increasing interest in fetal life as the fetus moves closer to birth. Harvard Law Professor Laurence Tribe, who is pro-choice, concludes this:

"After fetal viability, the point at which the fetus is capable of surviving outside the womb . . . protection of fetal life also becomes a compelling reason sufficient under *Roe* to justify interference with the exercise of the right to choose abortion. At that point the government can also regulate, or even prohibit, abortion in order to protect fetal life unless the abortion is necessary to preserve the life or health of the woman." (*The Clash of Absolutes*, p. 12)

According to *Casey*, the only restrictions on abortion which are permissible are ones that do not create an undue burden for the woman.

Therefore, in light of the natural moral revulsion prompted by partial-birth abortions; the fact that other medical options remain available (including other abortion procedures) which will handle every conceivable case; and the fact that the new law will still permit use of this procedure in any instance where the mother's life might be in jeopardy, Congress' ban on partial-birth abortions is not only consistent with both *Roe* and *Casey*, but it's also morally and ethically proper.

You certainly know the difficulties of basing broad policy decisions on extreme circumstances, like the Costello and Wilson cases. But let me end with a question that I would ask those who support the continued use of the partial-birth abortion procedure: "If

there were no rare and extreme cases for which this method is necessary, would you still support it?"

If their answer is yes, then the rare and extreme cases are of no relevance to justifying the continued use of this method on perfectly healthy late-term fetuses who pose no danger to the life of the mother.

If the answer is no, then the method as it is currently practiced is not justified, since this method is used in the clear majority of cases on healthy or minimally malformed late-term infants.

Mr. President, I hope that this has been helpful. I strongly urge you to sign the partial-birth abortion bill. You have my prayers as well as my ongoing willingness to serve you in any way you need.

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Outpatient Abortion for Fetal Anomaly and Fetal Death From 15-34 Menstrual Weeks' Gestation: Techniques and Clinical Management

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Objective: To determine the safety of providing outpatient abortion services for women with complicated advanced pregnancies.

Methods: During a 10-year period, 124 abortions were performed after 16 menstrual weeks' gestation at an outpatient abortion facility for indications of fetal anomaly, diagnosed genetic disorder, or fetal death. Gestational lengths ranged from 15-34 menstrual weeks. Fetal diagnoses included a variety of chromosomal abnormalities, malformations, and death. Techniques for performing the late abortions included a serial multiple laminaria method of cervical dilation. Abortions performed after 20 menstrual weeks were effected by instillation of intra-amniotic hyperosmolar urea or induction of fetal death by injection of digoxin and/or hyperosmolar urea into the fetus, followed by artificial rupture of membranes, induction of labor, and assisted expulsion or instrumental extraction of the fetus. At less than 20 weeks, dilation and evacuation following serial multiple laminaria treatment of the cervix was the method of choice.

Results: The median gestational age was 23 menstrual weeks. The median procedure time for all cases was 12 minutes and median blood loss was 125 mL. Procedure time increased with length of gestation ($P = .00$). Blood loss was only slightly increased by gestation length ($P = .154$) and not by procedure time ($P = .299$). Complication rates were not significantly related to gestation length ($P = .895$). There was one major complication in this series. There were no uterine perforations and one cervical laceration.

Conclusion: Outpatient abortion may be performed safely in most cases of fetal disorder, including death, through 34 menstrual weeks under proper conditions. (*Obstet Gynecol* 1993;81:301-6)

Among the most perplexing problems in abortion practice is the clinical management of the patient with an advanced pregnancy who chooses or needs an abortion because of a fetal disorder or an acute medical complication. Although the dilation and evacuation (D&E) procedure has become well established for abortions performed through 24 menstrual weeks,¹⁻³ including those done for reasons of critical illness and fetal anomaly,⁴⁻⁶ abortion practice beyond this point is not well established. In addition, most obstetricians, including those who perform abortions, do not accept the use of D&E for treatment of a pregnancy complicated by late fetal death. Either waiting for spontaneous expulsion or using prostaglandin E₂ suppositories for induction has been recommended,⁷ but both alternatives are fraught with serious disadvantages or hazards.⁸

This report summarizes the experience with 124 patients receiving abortions from 15-34 menstrual weeks' gestation in an ambulatory extramural setting at a single institution. The report reviews techniques used to enhance the safety of the procedure, procedure variables, and overall complication rates.

Materials and Methods

All procedures were performed over a period of 10 years, ending May 1992, in a single private office outpatient abortion facility located across the street from a community hospital. The facility has been specially equipped and staffed to provide assistance for women seeking late abortion. Patients receive individ-

ence at the clinic. Real-time diagnostic ultrasound is performed on all patients during the preoperative evaluation. Nearly all patients came to our facility by way of private referral, with an established preoperative diagnosis of fetal anomaly or other serious indication for late abortion.

The routine protocol after ultrasound evaluation and counseling included placement of one to four laminaria in the cervix on day 1, replaced by four to 20 laminaria on day 2 at one sitting or two sittings 6 hours apart, and performance of the abortion on day 3. Some patients experienced a third day of preoperative laminaria treatment before the abortion depending on the length of gestation and on dilation of the cervix after the first 2 days of treatment. Few patients had more than 20 laminaria placed at a single sitting on the second or third day. We used the serial multiple laminaria protocol of 2-3 days for all patients. An earlier study of single overnight multiple laminaria treatment, not yet reported, was found to give less than optimum results for women having abortions beyond 14 menstrual weeks. At less than 20 weeks, D&E following serial multiple laminaria treatment for 2 days was the method of choice.

In the early part of this series, patients at later than 20 menstrual weeks' gestation received an intra-amniotic infusion of hyperosmolar urea on day 3 and then waited for labor to begin. Labor usually began within approximately 5 hours and was often followed by spontaneous or assisted expulsion of the fetus, or by D&E if expulsion did not occur.^{1,2} This protocol was gradually modified in pregnancies advanced beyond 24 menstrual weeks. Intrafetal injection of undiluted digoxin 1.5 mg under direct ultrasound visualization on the first or second day accompanied the first or second insertion of laminaria. Some of these patients also received an intra-amniotic hyperosmolar urea infusion until we observed that this step could be eliminated with similar good results.

Upon removal of the most recently inserted pack of laminaria at the beginning of the third or fourth day of treatment, the membranes were routinely ruptured and amniotic fluid was drained off as completely as possible. At that point, an intravenous (IV) line was placed, permitting administration of IV medications and infusion of Ringer's lactate solution. An attempt to induce labor was not made until a clear flow of amniotic fluid was established and the risk of amniotic fluid embolism was reduced. Amniotic fluid was measured as accurately as possible. Blood loss was determined for all patients by measuring directly the blood volume in the collecting basin at the abortion or by measuring the volume of blood lost from the fluid in

When patients became uncomfortable because of urea- or oxytocin-induced labor, they were given meperidine 50-75 mg intramuscularly (IM) for light analgesia about 20 minutes before the anticipated expulsion or D&E procedure. The D&E procedure was performed under paracervical block anesthesia using 10 mL of 1% lidocaine without epinephrine. Many patients received a prior long-acting cervical block with 12 mL of Marcaine (Winthrop Pharmaceuticals, New York, NY) 0.25% when the onset of labor was several hours before the anticipated D&E procedure or fetal expulsion. Approximately 40-60 U of oxytocin was routinely added to 500-1000 mL of Ringer's lactate IV infusion upon delivery of the fetal skull, and 0.2 mg of methylergonovine maleate was given IM upon delivery of the placenta. The placenta was delivered immediately in most cases by traction on the umbilical cord or forceps removal when it was adherent.

In the later cases in this series, we induced fetal death (by intrafetal injection of digoxin 1.5-2.0 mg or hyperosmolar urea 40 g under direct ultrasound visualization), followed by artificial rupture of the membranes and induction of labor by slow IV infusion of oxytocin (10 U/hour). When fetal expulsion was imminent, the patient was placed in an operating room where the expulsion was controlled by the physician. If expulsion did not occur within a few hours after artificial rupture of the membranes, D&E was performed.

In the case of assisted fetal expulsion, delivery of the fetus was controlled so as to minimize the risk of cervical or perineal laceration, sometimes by sharp dissection of presenting fetal parts. In most of the patients in this series, forceps evacuation of the uterus was routinely accomplished under direct intraoperative ultrasound visualization.

The protocol combining serial multiple laminaria treatment, induced fetal death, and rupture of the membranes with induction of labor backed up by D&E appeared to give the optimum results in patient comfort and safety. Procedure time was measured from the time the uterine cavity was entered with instruments or from the beginning of delivery of the fetus, whichever came first, until completion of the procedure by final curettage and vacuum aspiration.

Postoperative tissue examination included weighing the fetus and placenta separately and carefully measuring the fetal parts, including foot length, knee-heel length, femur length, biparietal diameter, crown-rump length, rump-shoulder length, abdominal diameter, and chest diameter. The method of measurement of fetal parts has been described previously. We diagnosed actual fetal age according to fetal foot length

response and the appearance of complications. All patients received routine antibiotic coverage after the abortion procedure, and those experiencing either intrafetal injection or intra-amniotic urea infusion also received chemoprophylaxis. The initial standard protocol was 1 g of tetracycline orally immediately after the procedure, followed by 500 mg every 6 hours for 5 days; the same regimen was begun immediately after intrauterine injection for those having that procedure. Doxycycline 100 mg orally twice a day for 5 days was recently substituted for the tetracycline regimen. Patients allergic to tetracycline doxycycline were given erythromycin. Cultures for gonorrhea and chlamydia were done only in cases that appeared to be at higher than usual risk for these infections. Rh-immune globulin was administered to all patients who were Rh-negative.

All patients were strongly encouraged to return for follow-up examination if possible and were given forms to send in when they could not return in person for an examination. Arrangements were made for follow-up with the referring or other local physician when the patient came from a long distance, and for the follow-up physician to return a brief report. Standard follow-up instructions included a recommendation for examination at 1 and 4 weeks after the abortion.

We defined major complications using criteria of the Centers for Disease Control:¹¹ major unintended surgery, hemorrhage requiring transfusion, or pelvic infection with 2 or more days of fever and a peak of at least 40°C or with hospitalization for 11 or more days. A minor complication was defined as any of the following: an operative or postoperative problem that required reaspiration or suture of a cervical laceration, infection (indicated by uterine tenderness at follow-up examination) responding to antibiotic therapy or more than a transitory fever of 38°C or more, a total blood loss of 500 mL or more, and documented evidence of coagulopathy not requiring transfusion.

Results

Patients came from throughout the United States, and two came directly from foreign countries. One patient was from the local community, and 51% were from outside Colorado, of which about half were from the east coast of the United States. Patient ages ranged from 13-46 years, with a mean and median of 29. Preoperative estimates of fetal age ranged from 15-32 menstrual weeks. Advanced pregnancies (20 menstrual weeks or more) were somewhat more likely to

Weeks' gestation	Blood loss (mL)	Procedure time (min)	N
15-16	132	8	14
17-18	168	12	14
19-20	189	12	16
21-22	187	11	18
23-24	114	16	8
25-26	210	16	18
27-28	127	23	24
29+	332	27	12

occur in younger women ($P = .002$). Follow-up contact was obtained, with 90% of all patients eligible for follow-up at the time of writing ($N = 120$).

The final estimate of gestational age as defined by measurable fetal foot length was 15-34 menstrual weeks, with a median of 23. The median procedure time for all cases was 12 minutes, with a mean of 16 and a range of 1-125. The median blood loss was 125 mL, with a mean of 180 and a range of 10-1500. Procedure time increased with length of gestation (Table 1); regression analysis showed that gestational length accounted for 15% of the length of procedure time (adjusted $r^2 = 0.152$; $P = .00$). However, blood loss was only slightly increased by gestation length (Table 1) ($P = .154$) and not by procedure time ($P = .299$). Fetal weights ($N = 124$) ranged from 19-2050 g, with a mean of 591 and median of 403. The median fetal foot length was 39 mm, with a range of 18-70.

One patient (27 menstrual weeks) experienced a major complication, coagulopathy requiring transfusion with packed cells. Another patient, who experienced severe hemorrhage following placental abruption, did not require transfusion and was therefore classified as having a minor complication. Thirteen women experienced minor complications (10.4%), including two in the patient with the placental abruption. There was no correlation between complication rates and length of gestation ($P = .895$). There were no uterine perforations and one cervical laceration.

Blood loss was generally low and within acceptable limits, but seven patients had a blood loss of 500 mL or more, including three (2.4%) who lost over 500 mL. The latter group included one patient who experienced coagulopathy approximately 1 hour after an otherwise unremarkable procedure, presumably due to intravascular embolism of fetal cerebrospinal fluid. In this case, the breech delivery of a severely hydrocephalic fetus was complicated by separation of the fetal skull from the thorax; the thorax was macerated because of intrafetal injection of hyperosmolar urea at that site. During the difficult extraction of the fetal head, a large

amount of fetal cerebrospinal fluid was observed issuing from the uterus. The uterus had been emptied of all amniotic fluid as confirmed by ultrasound observation; therefore the coagulopathy was likely due to absorption of fetal cerebrospinal fluid. This patient was hospitalized and the coagulopathy treated with a transfusion of 2 U of packed cells. She recovered without incident.

Another patient, whose 25-week pregnancy was complicated by severe fetal anomaly and polyhydramnios, experienced an acute placental abruption while being prepared for transfer to the operating room; she was in shock by the time she reached the operating table. Placement of forceps through the dilated cervix resulted in the instantaneous release of some 1000 mL of blood and a further drop in blood pressure. Aortic compression combined with rapid IV volume support was applied while the uterus was emptied rapidly within several minutes. This patient lost approximately 1500 mL of blood intraoperatively but stabilized within 1 hour after the abortion and did not require transfusion. She developed no evidence of postoperative coagulopathy.

Two patients with advanced pregnancies (26 and 28 menstrual weeks) presented with a history of vertical cesarean delivery. These histories contraindicated induction of labor following cervical dilation and rupture of membranes; a D&E abortion procedure was performed in each case.

Another 45-year-old patient at 29 menstrual weeks had a long history of hypertension and diabetes, with evidence of extensive pitting edema from the beginning of treatment. She also had a history of severe bleeding and prolonged clotting times.

One 32-year-old woman with a 21-week desired pregnancy and a history of insulin-dependent diabetes, severe hyperemesis gravidarum, deteriorating electrolyte balance and cardiovascular status, and profound anemia was flown by air ambulance from another state for her abortion. She went into shock on the airplane and was critically ill upon arrival, whereupon she was hospitalized immediately to stabilize her cardiovascular status. Once stabilized, she was transferred to the outpatient clinic for her abortion. She tolerated the procedure well and was relieved of symptoms within an hour after the abortion. She recovered without complication.

Another patient, already mentioned, was hospitalized for observation following acute placental abruption and the loss of some 1500 mL of blood before the uterus could be emptied. She was discharged the next day and experienced no immediate postoperative complications. However, she began bleeding several

Table 2. Fetal Anomalies, Genetic Disorders, and Disorders of Pregnancy

Chromosomal abnormalities	45
Turner syndrome/mosaic (45,X/46,XX)	8
Trisomy 18	2
Trisomy 21	29
47,XXX	1
Triploidy—69 chromosomes	1
Atypical banding/chromosome 5	1
Marker chromosome abnormality	1
Chromosomal abnormalities—46,XX	2
Neural tube defect	30
Hydrocephaly	13
Neural tube defect—spina bifida, encephalocele, etc.	11
Anencephaly	4
Hydranencephaly	1
Alobar holoprosencephaly	1
Developmental anomalies	40
Fetal hydrops/cystic hygroma/ascites	5
Multiple anomalies (unspecified, specified)	4
Thanatophoric dwarfism	3
Skeletal dysplasia/IUGR	3
Potter syndrome	2
Left ventricular syndrome/univentricular anomaly	2
Intracerebral/cardiac cystic anomaly	3
Microcephaly/macrocephaly/assorted anomalies	2
Polycystic kidneys, etc.	1
Conjoined twins	1
Sacroccygeal teratoma	1
Abnormal alpha-fetoprotein (anomaly suspected)	1
Dandy-Walker syndrome with IUGR	2
Klinefelter syndrome (47,XXY)	1
Cardiac anomalies	1
Oligohydramnios and severe bradycardia	1
Hemophilia diagnosed in fetus	1
Fetal death	6
High risk of congenital anomaly	3
Duchenne muscular dystrophy risk	1
History of X-linked genetic abnormality, male fetus	1
75% risk of congenital anomalies	1
Total	118

IUGR = intrauterine growth retardation.

weeks later and required a D&C, with the recovery of a small amount of retained tissue.

All but a few of the patients in this series sought abortion because of diagnosed fetal anomalies or disorders of pregnancy of varying degree, including fetal death (six cases). Six patients were treated as the result of non-fetal indications. These included extreme youth, a history of rape or forced intercourse, and illness exacerbated by pregnancy.

A wide variety of fetal disorders were documented before and after the abortions (Table 2).¹² The most common were neural tube or central nervous system defects (27%) and trisomy 21 (24%). One remarkable case of sacroccygeal teratoma occurred and three cases of thanatophoric dwarfism were observed. In the first case of thanatophoric dwarfism, the diagnosis was

confirmed postoperatively by radiographic and histopathologic studies. Preoperative amniocentesis for cytologic study was done on request. Postoperative histopathologic and cytologic studies were done whenever possible, but fetal tissue destruction resulting from the abortion procedure did not permit this in all cases.

Discussion

Late abortion of a desired pregnancy for reasons of fetal disorder is one of the most painful dilemmas in modern society. As new career opportunities open for women and childbearing is delayed, each pregnancy becomes more precious to the couple desiring children late in a woman's reproductive life. Early diagnosis of fetal anomalies and genetic disorders presents the woman and her partner with an agonizing choice, sometimes based on incomplete or imprecise information. The charged political climate surrounding abortion in contemporary American society makes this dilemma and its resolution even more tragic and painful. The technology of late abortion presented here provides acceptably safe results and offers the woman with a diagnosis of fetal abnormality a choice she would not have had a few decades ago. The risks of the abortion must be compared with the risks of term delivery.¹³ In the case of serious fetal anomaly such as hydrocephaly or conjoined twins, there is a high risk of cesarean delivery. None of the patients in this series required abdominal surgery. Only one required transfusion.

To achieve a high level of safety, one must take all possible precautions to minimize risk to the patient. A cornerstone of this preventive approach is the use of serial multiple laminaria treatment for cervical dilation.^{9,14} Procedures are designed to maximize patient safety rather than preserve fetal tissue for cytologic study. There are many advantages to an outpatient setting: a selected and highly supportive staff, the availability of a full range of specialty instruments not usually available in community hospitals or even in teaching hospitals, privacy and maintenance of patient confidentiality, informal procedures that reduce patient anxiety, availability of individual counseling and support throughout the experience for both the patient and her family, lower cost, fewer bureaucratic controls, reduced political vulnerability to the community pressures experienced by hospital boards, and greater flexibility in counseling and preoperative and operating schedules.

There is no requirement for routine hospital performance of this procedure, although this option should be available in the presence of medical indications.

Determination of the level of gestation at which this procedure may be safely performed on an outpatient basis depends on a variety of factors: the level of operator skill, the extent of preoperative preparation by the use of laminaria and other procedures such as induced fetal death, the level of preparation reached by the facility in question, and the proximity to a full-service hospital.

In our experience, there are several essential components of outpatient late abortion services. The patients must have absolute support from all members of the staff throughout the experience. The physicians should have specialized training and experience in performing this procedure. Nurses must be highly skilled in the management of surgical patients and must function as an integrated part of the surgical team. All patients should be routinely evaluated by ultrasound for diagnosis of fetal age, presentation, placental location, multiple gestation, and any uterine or fetal abnormalities. Serial multiple laminaria preparation of the cervix should be performed over 40-72 hours before the abortion is attempted. Specific appropriate instruments should be available in sufficient quantities.⁹ Space for a routine minimum recovery period of 2 hours should be available within the facility. Tissue obtained should be inspected thoroughly by the operating physician or another specially trained person immediately after the procedure. Outpatient abortion in gestations of 25 weeks or later should occur within 5 minutes of a full-service hospital (with blood bank, intensive care unit, and operating room), providing life-support ambulance service is immediately available. Physicians and administrators should recognize the emotional stress experienced by staff in assisting with or performing this procedure.^{13,16}

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/26/96

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America



U.S. - THAILAND
BUSINESS COUNCIL

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/26/96

January 25, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As Chairmen of the U.S.-Thailand Business Council and the Thailand-U.S. Business Council, it is our great honor to invite you to Thailand in 1996 to promote U.S.-Thai business at this crucial juncture in the economic and diplomatic relations of our two nations.

A Presidential visit to Thailand in 1996 would be the first in 26 years and would provide an invaluable boost to U.S. business in Thailand.

This year represents a significant milestone for Thailand. In 1996, the Thai people will celebrate the Golden Jubilee of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the longest reigning monarch in the world. As you know, King Bhumibol is the most influential person in Thailand. His steady leadership has been critical to Thailand's economic growth and development towards democracy. A Presidential visit would reinforce democracy in Thailand and demonstrate U.S. recognition of this special bi-national relationship.

On January 19 of this year, the United States and Thailand signed an aviation agreement giving U.S. air carriers the rights to increase the number of flights to Thailand. This has provided United Airlines, Northwest, US Air, Federal Express and Polar Air with new business opportunities in Thailand.

In addition, recent progress in negotiations for a Double Taxation Agreement have brought both sides closer to a successful conclusion. The Double Taxation Agreement is the single most important business issue regarding Thailand. A signed agreement would open substantial new business to U.S. companies.

The U.S.-Thailand Business Council in Washington, D.C. and the Thailand-U.S. Business Council in Bangkok form a bi-national forum of U.S. and Thai executives to explore business opportunities and policy issues with implications upon two way trade and investment. The two Councils are non-profit, non-partisan organizations.

It is our understanding that you will be traveling to Japan during the second week of April and to APEC in November 1996. The Business Council would take enormous pride in welcoming you to the Kingdom of Thailand as part of your official travel.

With best personal regards.

John McDonnell
Honorary Chairman
U.S.-Thailand Business Council

Chatri Sophonpanich
Chairman
Thailand-U.S. Business Council

CHATRI SOPHONPANICH

Chairman, Bangkok Bank Public Company, Ltd.

Chairman, Thailand-U.S. Business Council

Chatri Sophonpanich is the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Bangkok Bank Public Company Limited. He began his career as a banker in 1959, and rose from the ranks as Assistant Manager of the Accounts Department to Executive Chairman of the Bangkok Bank Public Company, Ltd. He had been Chairman of the ASEAN Banking Council and President of the Thai Bankers Association and Asian-Pacific Bankers Club. He currently holds the Chairmanship or Directorship of a number of companies, including Asia Cement Co., Ltd, City Realty, Co., Ltd. Bangkok Intercontinental Hotels, Co., Ltd., Bangkok Transit System Corporation, Ltd., and Dusit Thani Co., Ltd. He also serves in an advisory capacity to many companies and organizations. Because of his successful banking career, he was voted "Banker of the Year" by the leading Thai Finance Magazine for the years 1983, 1984 and 1992. In 1995, he was voted "Banker of the Year" by Money and Banking Magazine. He was also a member of the Senate between 1988-1991 and was Economic Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Advisor to the Minister of Communications.

Mr. Chatri's many decorations and medals include Knight Grand Cross (First Class) of the Most Exalted Order of the White Elephant, Knight Grand Cross (First Class) of the Most Noble Order of the Crown of Thailand, Knight Grand Cordon of the Most Noble Order of the Crown of Thailand, Grand Companion (Third Class, higher grade) of the Most Illustrious Order of Chula Chom Klao, Thai Red Cross Medal (First Class), and the King Mahidol Memorial Award. He has also been conferred an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law from Pepperdine University, California, U.S.A. and an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Business Management from De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines. He is Honorary Professor at Shan Tou University, People's Republic of China. Mr. Chatri received his diploma in Accountancy from the Kwan Tai High Accountancy College in Hongkong, and has certificates from the London Regent Street Polytechnic and the Institute of Bankers, U.K.

JOHN F. MCDONNELL

Chairman, McDonnell Douglas Corporation

Honorary Chairman, U.S.-Thailand Business Council

John F. McDonnell is Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation.

Over the past thirty years, Mr. McDonnell has dedicated his career to the advancement of the aerospace industry. In 1980 he was appointed President of the McDonnell Douglas Corporation and served as President and Chief Operating Officer from 1987 to 1988.

Mr. McDonnell has served in a leadership role with many distinguished organizations. He presently serves as Deputy Chairman and Member of the Executive and Personnel Committee of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis and Director and Member of the Finance Committee and Audit Committee of the Ralston Purina Company. He is a Trustee and Member of the National Council for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Committee, Investments Committee, Compensation Committee and Natural Sciences Building Committee of Washington University. Mr. McDonnell is the President of the Board of Trustees of the St. Louis Science Center and Co-Chairman of the Girl Scout Council of Greater St. Louis Capital Campaign. He is presently the Honorary Chairman of the U.S.-Thailand Business Council (U.S. Section). Mr. McDonnell received his B.S. degree in Aeronautical Engineering (1960) and M.S. degree in Aeronautical Engineering (1962) from Princeton University.

Bill,

I spoke very highly of Clinton
Gore 96 on CNN Live 1PM THURSDAY
WED. Come to Wilkes-Barre, it will
be good for you. I am very popular
As is REP Murtha or Sen. Patta.

Don't forget me, I'm on your team
Tommy



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
W.D. 1/26/96

Room 868

THOMAS D. McGROARTY

MAYOR

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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Quote of the Week

(See story Page 9)

"If there is not good public support for such a project, I would question whether in the end it was going to provide much value."

—Gov. Jim Edgar on the Fox Valley Freeway

Rick Nagel

Only a saxophone solo separates *Mayor Bill* and *President Bill*

More and more often these days, we are uncovering stories of well-known public figures who apparently were separated at birth by aliens. Perhaps the most recent and well-known of those stories is that of Geneva Mayor Bill Otilie and United States President Bill Clinton.

Frankly, I'm disappointed none of the supermarket tabloids have picked up on this important piece of investigative journalism. The clues are so obvious.

First off, the two politicians are both named "Bill." So it's easy to see a scenario where some dorky, five-armed life form from the planet Kfff! could have teleported one of a pair of twin baby boys from an Oelwein, Iowa, hospital to a Little Rock, Ark. hospital about 40 years ago without anyone realizing the first of two "Bills" was missing. Second, isn't it true that Bill Clinton was adopted?

Makes you think, doesn't it.

And if that's not enough to jump start the sputtering Washington Conspiracy Theory Machine, how about the uncanny resemblance between the two political leaders. Even Otilie, a confirmed Republican, admits that he and the Democratic president share many physical attributes.

"Let's put it this way," said Otilie (at least, we *think* it was Otilie), "when he (Clinton) first started running for president in January 1992, he was on the cover of *Time*, and I was at the newsstand, and I said, 'By God, they made me Man of the Year!'"

Otilie and Clinton are about the same height and weight, about the same age and build, have similar hair color and style. It also is a documented fact that BOTH MEN ARE LEFT HANDED!



Clinton



Otilie

"I don't play the saxophone, though," Otilie confesses.

Otilie says he hears comments about his resemblance to the president in almost every social and political situation, from shopping with his wife to campaigning door to door. He said when he was running against Suzanne Deuchler for state representative, he would approach a prospective voter's home, ring the bell and often witness the resident's jaw drop when he or she swung open the screen and saw THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!

Another time during the presidential campaign, Hillary Clinton rode the Chicago & NorthWestern commuter train into Chicago. The mayor, who also takes the CNW to work each day, was encouraged by some zany friends to get on the same train and impersonate Clinton, the idea presumably being that the mayor could either (a) fool the future first lady into having a romantic afternoon tete-a-tete or (b) find him-

self riddled with 14,000 rounds of secret service ammunition, ha ha!

Otilie says people in Geneva tend to comment that the president looks like him rather than vice versa. Outside the community, though, it's a different story.

Last fall, Governor Edgar was chairperson of George Bush's reelection campaign in Illinois, and Otilie was invited to a rally and press conference at the Bismark Hotel. When Edgar greeted the group of dignitaries, he walked up to Otilie, shook his head and said, "Mayor, considering who you look like, maybe we shouldn't have had you here."

Of course, this to me is why the Republican Party lost the presidential election—a severe deficit in the budget of creative campaign ideas. One would think, armed with a Clinton double at the Illinois Republican get-together, someone would have thought to take a picture with Bush giving Otilie a grundy, which someone could publish along with the caption, "Take that, Mr. Governor of Arkansas!"

No big deal, of course. All it might have done is CHANGED THE COURSE OF HUMAN HISTORY! But don't give it a second thought.

There is this new movie coming out called *Dave*, where Kevin Kline plays a guy who is a double for the president of the United States. This regular guy, of course, ends up having to take over as chief executive after the president falls ill. The double turns out to be a terrific president and everyone lives happily ever after, or at least, that's what it looks like in the clips.

Hmmmm.

You know, Jim Edgar may just have a chance to redeem himself.

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1/26/96

To: VP

Fr: Elaine

*J. Sosnik
J. Sosnik
cc: MP
MP*

Philadelphia Inquirer

1/22/95

Page One

In Austin, 'average' Americans step back from conservative GOP

By Dick Polman
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

AUSTIN, Texas — Rob DeWitt, a young lawyer from Atlanta, is no fan of Bill Clinton, and he's not big on the Democrats in general. He's one of those Southern white guys, the robust embodiment of the "Bubba vote" that leans these days toward the GOP.

But this weekend, after long hours of listening to Republican presidential candidates and to Vice President Gore, he came away feeling that the GOP was out to lunch —

and that the Clinton team has found a message that resonates with average Americans.

"I was real disappointed in the Republicans," sighed DeWitt, a delegate to the first-ever National Issues Convention, attended by a representative national sample of 459 Americans. "I voted for George Bush in '92, but this was almost enough to make you want to leave the party. They've gotten too conservative. I mean, there needs to be some role for the government."

"I can see Clinton and Gore riding

the budget stalemate all the way to the election, saying to people, 'I want to balance the books, but we've also got to save these social programs.' You say that, and I'm not sure you can lose."

Indeed, if these folks in Austin were a cross-section of U.S. opinion — as advertised by the convention sponsors — then it appears the GOP had a bad weekend. The candidates

See **VOTERS** on A5

A House leader says Congress may refuse to raise the debt ceiling. A3.

In Austin, 'average' Americans talk issues with the candidates

VOTERS from A1 didn't seem to click with this crowd, many of whom were clearly uneasy with the notion that unshackled free enterprise can cure all ills.

Critics of this unique event aren't so sure that this chilly reception means very much. Nevertheless, the creator, University of Texas Professor Jim Fishkin, is clearly trying to sell his convention as a virtual mirror of the American mood. One of every four delegates was a political independent, and most of the rest were split evenly between Democrats and Republicans.

Under his daring plan, these Americans were identified by a national polling firm and flown here for three days of talk on the issues. The whole point was to deliberate at length, in small groups, and reach "considered judgments," without the distraction of TV sound bites and political ads. (Fishkin had expected 476 people, but 17 canceled, mostly due to the weather.)

Meanwhile, all the candidates were invited to a public television forum designed to encourage erudite dialogue. But a few problems cropped up.

For starters, Sen. Bob Dole, the GOP front-runner, opted to skip the event and talk instead to MTV in New Hampshire. Lamar Alexander, Steve Forbes and Phil Gramm agreed to test wits, but only via satellite. Only Sen. Richard G. Lugar came in person. On the Democratic side, Clinton sent Gore.

Dole's no-show enraged many. Linda Isaak, a teacher from rock-bed Republican Oklahoma, fumed: "When you have a sampling of Americans like this, it's just arrogant of him not to talk to us. Everyone sacrificed a lot to get here."

Dole aides resisted the event for weeks, not wishing to cut his campaign time in Iowa and New Hampshire. But his absence provided a handy opening for the Democrats. Even on "Issues weekend," there was time for spin control.

Paul Begala, a key Clinton strategist in 1992, grinned and said: "The leader of the party of Lincoln just blew off 500 representative Ameri-

cans. Why? Because he would've had to speak English to real people. ... If this was 500 lobbyists, he'd be right here, man, because he speaks their language."

And the four Republicans who did appear were repeatedly hit with the same tough question — one that clearly reflected a core concern of these citizens, regardless of political affiliation: What should be done about the widening gap between rich and poor, the growing wage disparity, the seemingly inexorable shrinking of the middle class?

Gramm's response was echoed by his rivals: "I'm not going to have the government in the business of trying to say, 'We're going to influence the outcome of the competition.' I'm not concerned about the fact that some people are making a lot of money." The only solution, he said, is to shrink the federal budget, and free up more money to create jobs.

Forbes, the millionaire publisher who has emerged as Dole's prime challenger, touted his budget-shrinking flat tax, under which all Americans making at least \$36,000 would pay the same 17 percent levy on income. He stuck to his flat-tax message regardless of the question, a strategy that finally sparked laughter among the citizens.

When Dorothy Chandler, a Californian, asked what he would do to stop big business from "making excessive profits on the backs of American workers," he said that his flat tax would cure the problem in the long run, by freeing up enough private wealth to create new jobs.

But she persisted: "Americans are losing their jobs by the thousands. It doesn't seem fair. ... There's got to be a way to stop the [market] from doing this." And Forbes replied: "Well, there's no way you can create businesses, and not have those kinds of activities."

Republican candidates spoke on Saturday night. Yesterday morning, Gore showed up and dismissed the flat tax: "Fifty-seven percent of Americans now pay an effective tax rate of 15 percent. That means a majority, right off the bat, would have a huge increase under the [Forbes]

system. And the richest people, who are now paying up to 39 percent of their income in taxes, who are better able to carry the budget, would get a huge tax cut.

"So if you frame it that way.... and say, 'Are you in favor of a huge tax cut for those who are most able to pay?' most people aren't really for that."

He rejected the idea of soaking the rich. But he also argued that a safety net was still necessary: "Those who invest [private] money should play a key role in a growing economy. However, if you let them have a disproportionate influence [in Washington], then you can have a Congress that refuses to raise the minimum wage, that wants to cut way back on income supports for the working poor. And then we get into trouble."

Gore's message of cautious change impressed many. Pat Jacobson, a 60-year-old innkeeper from Vermont, a swing voter who once worked for GOP candidates, remarked: "I almost wanted to go up and say to him, 'Damn, you're good!' He is very thorough. The Republicans looked like they felt threatened by the questions."

Gore repeatedly asked people what they thought, and he took more questions after the TV show ended. Gigi Armbrrecht, from Mobile, Ala., said later: "That was so different from [Saturday] night, when the Republican candidates kept telling us about 'what the American people want.' Well, who did they think we were?"

Actually, more will be known about these people later this week. Yesterday, they took part in America's first "deliberative poll," and their views on the issues will be released by Friday. In the meantime, Fishkin clearly intended that they leave for home feeling more empowered as citizens.

"This here was my first time on a plane," said Mary Dobbs, who left her Alabama farm only because her husband got somebody to help him milk the cows. "And I've never voted before, not even once. But now, someday, I just might."

Phila Inquirer

11/23/96



David
Boldt

Gore provided happier answers

AUSTIN, Texas — Members of Group 14 were in a state of high excitement as they filed back into their room at the University of Texas music building for the concluding session of the National Issues Convention.

They were excited because Al Gore had talked to them.

Not past them, or over them — as many of them thought the four Republicans had done the night before — but right at them.

Valiantly, Penn professor Harris Sokoloff, the group's meticulously evenhanded moderator, tried to refocus them on Larger Questions, but there was no stopping them.

Like a pack of baying ... well, journalists, they headed off in pursuit of that most seductive question of them all: Who won? And their answer, virtually by consensus, was the vice president.

The convention, to be sure, had much more complex purposes behind it. The idea was to assemble, for the first time ever, a representative sample of more than 450 Americans and find out what they would think about issues if they had the chance to sit and talk about them.

Talk they did, in marathon small-group sessions that immersed participants in a stew of dilemmas. In the last phases, the delegates put questions to experts; then to Republican presidential aspirants Richard G. Lugar, Lamar Alexander, Phil Gramm and Steve Forbes; and, finally, Gore.

Message resonates

My three days with Sokoloff's Group 14 may have offered an insight into why the Clinton administration's case, for the moment, might resonate better than the Republicans'. It hinges on a delicate balance, that was struck as the deliberative process moved forward.

The delegates who came to form Group 14's central bloc were a somewhat surprising coalition. They agreed that government had gotten out of control, which made them

sound like good Republicans. (And many of them were; the party affiliation of the delegates matched the public at large.)

However, they thought that once the government was back under control, it ought to *do something*. Not much, maybe, but something.

Consider the way the group formulated its position on welfare. Participants accepted the idea that lots of welfare recipients abuse the system and should be made to work, but wanted the children protected. So they proposed to ask the candidates how benefits might go *directly* to children.

Gore was able to play expertly on this contrapuntal theme.

For example, on the widening income gap between rich and poor, Gore said the Clinton administration (like the Republicans) had no objection to people getting rich. However, he added, people at the bottom of the ladder should be helped up by raising the minimum wage, providing benefits for the working poor, and allowing tax deductions for job-training expenses.

Knowing the audience

It was also a matter of style. Gore understood better than the Republicans how to reframe issues for an audience that was eager to grapple with complexity. He had a knack, as well, for creating a sense of dialogue with the delegate-questioners (though some of them found this technique manipulative).

Lugar commented afterward that the format had a "beguiling way" of getting candidates to violate the usual rule of their handlers to stay "on message."

Steve Forbes, however, didn't grasp this. Fixating on his flat tax theme as if he were trying to wedge a sound bite onto the evening TV news, he repeated his excoriation of the current tax system seven times. By the fourth reiteration, the delegates were laughing.

The Republican message, in general, was that economic growth and greater dependence on private charities were the answers, not government involvement. And they may be right, but back in Group 14 the most conservative delegate summed up the problem.

Disputing the contention of others in the group that the Republicans had not answered the delegates' questions, he responded, accurately, that they definitely had.

"They just weren't happy answers," he said.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/26/96

January 22, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

You are the greatest. I am so proud of you. Keep the good work up. Keep to your convictions and don't look back. Forget '96 for the American people are pretty smart and know a hard working President when they see one. And you are one hard working President.

I saw Hillary the other day in Little Rock. She said something very nice to me and I really appreciated it. About my letters and all. Well, writing you these letters is a real pleasure. I am glad I help in my small way. I am praying for Hillary and you. I am praying that you keep the faith, do what you truly think is best and lead this country and this world where it needs to go. You have it in you. You were born to do this and you must.

The American people want a President that doesn't stop working and making decisions just because it is an election year. The American people want a President that is courageous and will take a chance by doing what he believes in.

My new job is requiring that I travel a lot. At night when I am on the road I can do radio interviews. That is the most I can do for now. So have your people get with me on my schedule and I will be glad to do interviews at night. I do a pretty good job at that kind of stuff.

About tomorrow night, I want to hear about what is going on now. I want to hear the truth about the budget. I want to hear that ALL of us must sacrifice to make this country better, I want to hear that Pericles (? Spelling) from the ancient Greeks in a speech said that a society must take care of their own. Even back then the founders of democracy knew the importance of working together. We at the same time must practice tough love. We must demand the best out of all in our society. Instead of schools that separate those who supposedly can't learn we must challenge ALL children. We must demand from all children instead of saying, "you can't do the work so we will put you in a class where you can mark time and put the others in GT classes". If we give up on young kids they will never have a chance. But if we say you can and will do this and I will get off my ass and help you, then many will succeed and many will develop a positive self concept. For the young teachers and parents are the future. To those adults who are down we must pull together and help them back. We must help them realize the positives we all have in us.

I think you need to talk about the budget. You need to raise your fist and tell America that there are certain issues you have been fighting for all of your personal and professional life. People, dignity, humanity, and you will not stop now. It is time politicians stand for what they believe instead of what their party has always believed. Maybe things have changed and the party must change. Maybe the Republicans are right sometimes and the Democrats are right sometimes. Right is right and wrong is wrong. Opinion polls are out what is good for the whole is in. Popularity is out and leadership is in. Expediency is out and what's in your gut is in. Compromise is good when handled honestly, but not when personal agendas are the end. Only true compromise for the good is in.

I want to know what you are going to do about healthcare. It was so important two years ago - what about now and did the projections you made about more and more people being without healthcare come true and why had nothing be done in a whole year. Didn't the republicans say wait till 1995 - don't rush it and all that stuff in 1994?

I want to know that tit for tat politics is not in your vocabulary. You are sick and tired of the old way Washington is run. That the people must be involved more in decision making. That a few consultants and lobbyists are not smart enough to run this country. That money should not be the motivation for the Presidency. That you will work as hard this year to create the correct type of change that will be good for

Crava Smith / Ann Lewis
 CBS / Ann Lewis

by Ann Mally good
 interviews - that's all he
 can do now but he's good

Be

ac David
 Ann Lewis

all Americans. You will not stop and make decisions a different way just because it is an election year. There are very important issues that can't wait for the political games.

Everyone that is able must donate some time and energy to help others in their community. That volunteerism is the catalyst for a healthy society. That churches can augment the family. And that there is no substitute for the family if possible.

We all must be willing to sacrifice something for the whole. Our time, our money, our energy. The poor must be willing to give their energy to become self sufficient, the middle class must be willing to give some of their money and time to help others, and the rich must be willing to give back to a country that has provided such an opportunity to them. To those who never have enough -- how much is enough -- especially if dishonesty is how they acquire their fortunes. The government needs to sacrifice also. The departments that are outdated need to be closed - period. Etc.

You should be very proud and need to tell me what you have done. You must be honest about the successes and the failures. You must take the blame when you deserve it and brag when you deserve it. It is ok to brag when you have done a good job. After all if you don't point out your positives, who will. You are the first American leader that has served in the new era of foreign affairs. All the rules are now different. True diplomacy is needed. You must be willing to communicate with almost anyone to work in situations. E.g. Ireland. Bold chances must be taken - Bosnia - Haiti etc. Constant fighting solves nothing and ignoring your enemies will seldom work.

I will be in Milwaukee tomorrow and for the rest of the week. I will be watching tonight from there. I will be staying at the Hyatt Regency. My office has my number if you need me. Wish me luck. I am working with the Wisconsin Bar at their mid year Bar meeting.

I was in Madison several weeks ago and several people asked me about the personal rumors that is used to make you look bad. They agreed with your basic policies, but were concerned what type of person you are. Once I straightened them out about you personally they felt much better.

I am rambling now. I hope this gives you a feel for how I feel. Maybe it will translate into something helpful. Oh, Linda has read several letters from all ages that are behind your fight for the budget.

The flat tax sound good but Joe says he is for cutting all exemptions and people paying a graduated income tax.

You are a Great American.

Linda ran 15 miles yesterday in her grueling training for Boston. She is getting into shape now and will do well on April 15th. Why don't you come up and watch her. HAHAAHAHA.

Your friend,

David L.

Phil

fax # 6-2215

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 25, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FIRST LADY'S STAFF (MELANNE VERVEER)
✓ TODD STERN (PHIL CAPLAN)
JACK QUINN (JAMES CASTELLO)
KITTY HIGGINS
PAT GRIFFIN
CAROL RASCO
DOUG SOSNIK
ALEXIS HERMAN (DANA WYCKOFF)
JODIE TORKELSON
ANNE WALLEY/STEPHANIE STREETT - FYI

FROM:

Lana Dickey/Julia Bator
for JIM DORSKIND

SUBJECT:

(Draft Proclamation)
National African American History
Month

Attached for your review is the above-mentioned proclamation designating February 1996, as "National African American History Month."

It was drafted and edited/revised by the Presidential Letters and Messages Office.

IMMEDIATE ATTENTION REQUIRED. Written or oral response required by no later than noon, Monday, January 29, 1996. IF WE HAVE NOT HEARD FROM YOU BY 12:00 p.m., WE WILL ASSUME THAT THE DRAFT IS ACCEPTABLE TO YOU.

For questions, discussion, or routine clearance, contact Lana Dickey, extension 67487, or Julia Bator, extension 65518, via phone or interoffice mail, in room 91. Thank you.

cc: Tim Saunders

Jim D.

See edit 3.

Ted

NATIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY MONTH, 1996

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

materials never sources have been developed in recent some years to tell the story

Today's schoolchildren are fortunate to grow up in classrooms where an understanding of American history includes appreciation for all of its many contributors and heroes. While previous generations read textbooks that told only part of our Nation's story, students now find that ^{a fuller picture} ~~story~~ more fully told -- textured and deepened by new characters and themes. African American History Month provides a special opportunity for teachers and schools to celebrate this ongoing process and to focus on the many African Americans whose lives have shaped our common experience.

[What ongoing process. Antebellum isn't clear. - Edits above this I think.]

This year, our observance emphasizes black women and the strides made to bring their achievements to the fore. From Sojourner Truth's sermons, to Mary McLeod Bethune's speeches, to the contemporary novels of Nobel laureate Toni Morrison, the voices of African American women have called attention to the twin burdens of sexism and racism and have invited listeners to discover the richness of traditions kept alive in back kitchens and workrooms. In churches and communities, and more recently in universities and statehouses across America, these women have fought extraordinary ^{battles} ~~challenges~~ ^{for} ~~to gain~~ social, economic, and political empowerment. *[You don't gain empowerment - you gain power but we don't want to say that in those words.]*

[You can fight a battle or meet a challenge but not fight a challenge.]

Barbara Jordan once wrote, "We the people"; it is a very eloquent beginning. But when the Constitution of the

United States was completed on the seventeenth of September, 1787, I was not included in that 'We the people.'" As we mourn the loss of this great public figure, let us honor her by seeking to further the progress made since those early days toward true equality and inclusion. During African American History Month and throughout the year, we must embrace the diverse strands of our story so that all children can see themselves in our Nation's past and know that they have a role to play in seizing the future's countless opportunities.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim February 1996, as National African American History Month. I call upon Government officials, educators in schools, colleges, universities, and libraries, and all the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies, activities, and programs that raise awareness of African American history and invite further inquiry into this area of study.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this
day of , in the year of our Lord
nineteen hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of the
United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-25

TO:

~~Frank~~
Alice

FROM: Staff Secretary

FYI,



cc: ~~Jim~~ Daskin

VP

96 JAN 24 P12:13

January 10, 1996

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Trammell Crow Company

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

National Realty Committee has been supportive of a variety of policy initiatives undertaken through your leadership to help revitalize the nation's commercial and multifamily real estate markets -- markets which in the early 1990s had become seriously dysfunctional. You and your Administration have steadfastly understood that our national economy cannot achieve long-term, job-creating growth without policies in place to ensure stabilized, healthy real estate asset values.

We appreciate these past Administration efforts, in particular a series of much-needed tax initiatives adopted in the 1993 tax bill, as well as an enlightened approach to addressing a variety of environmental issues. Today, however, we must alert you to a very real threat to our nation's still fragile real estate markets that recently surfaced in the context of the budget negotiations relating to Congressional efforts to reduce the current capital gains tax.

Specifically, we are highly concerned with reports that at White House meetings with Congressional leaders last week a senior Treasury Department representative proposed that real estate's long-standing depreciation recapture rules be repealed or revised in conjunction with a capital gains tax cut. Depending on the approach, revising the depreciation recapture rules (part of tax law since the Kennedy Administration) could either: 1) result in a 40 percent tax increase on virtually all transactions involving improved real estate; or 2) at a minimum have the effect of preventing real estate from receiving the benefits that a capital gains tax cut is touted as providing (such as unlocking assets and/or increasing capital formation). Either such result -- that is, a tax increase or an illusory tax cut with little or no beneficial effect -- would be highly deleterious to a nationwide real estate market that you and your Administration have done so much to help crawl out of the severe crash in asset values that began in the late 1980s.

Those in favor of revising the current real estate depreciation recapture law argue that an owner of commercial or multifamily real estate claims a depreciation deduction which has the effect of reducing ordinary income tax liability. The depreciation deduction also reduces tax basis, thus increasing taxable gain on sale. Thus, the argument mistakenly concludes, by taxing upon sale the difference between adjusted basis and cost as capital gain, the owner has unjustifiably converted ordinary income into capital gain. Our response -- and the reason Section 1250 has been appropriate national capital gains tax policy for more than 30 years -- is that the current law properly recaptures and taxes as ordinary income any depreciation deduction that is *faster* than

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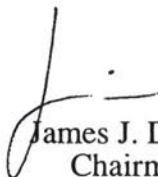
RICK H. SINGER
FRANK J. SULLIVAN
DOUGLAS A. THIBETTS

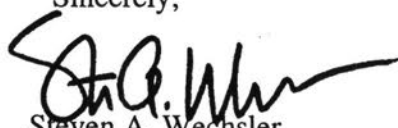
true economic depreciation. Since present law real property depreciation lives (non-residential: 39 years, straight-line; residential, 27.5 years, straight-line) are not faster than economic depreciation, there is no tax benefit to recapture on sale. The mere fact that a property may sell for more than the depreciation-adjusted basis is not an indication of a lack of economic deterioration of the building shell or its components, but is instead a reflection of other occurrences in the market, such as inflation, demand, location, or appreciation associated with the embedded (nondepreciable) land value.

In addition to having no supportable policy justification, we must point out that amending or repealing the current depreciation recapture rules for real estate would have severe economic costs. For example, for an individual in the top tax bracket, any property sold at or below its original purchase price would face a tax increase of nearly 40 percent! Given the significant decline in real estate asset values since 1990, such a tax increase would apply to a very large number of sales of commercial property, residential apartments and low-income housing, and would be particularly troublesome in depressed real estate regions like New England and California. To provide such a significant economic shock to an important sector of the economy that is only now beginning to recover from a multi-year "depression" should be unthinkable.

We believe that a fair capital gains tax cut, that neither discriminates against real estate nor against old investments in favor of new investments, could unlock embedded real estate capital, leading to more constructive and efficient economic activity in the real estate marketplace. Through the redeployment of existing capital, real estate assets would more likely be recapitalized and reengineered for a very dynamic and fast-changing marketplace in which the obsolescence factor associated with structures is increasing. Changing the current depreciation recapture law for improved real property, however, could undermine any of these potential benefits by both substantially increasing taxes on real estate sales, and seriously disadvantaging improved real estate relative to other investments. Either result would clearly set back the improving but still troubled real estate industry and retard potential economic growth.

For these reasons, we respectfully urge you to reject any revisions to real estate's depreciation recapture rules. Thank you for your time and attention to these matters of vital national interest to the real estate and overall economy.


James J. Didion
Chairman

Sincerely,

Steven A. Wechsler
President


Edwin N. Sidman
Chairman-Elect

original sent to
Maggie Williams

To Maggie Williams
Fyl-
Be

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-25-96

Gore: Republicans picking on Hillary

SIOUX CITY (AP) — President Clinton's success in office has left Republicans with little to complain about, so the GOP is turning to attacks on Hillary Rodham Clinton over the Whitewater land deal, Vice President Al Gore said Friday.

"They can't talk about the economy. They can't talk about domestic policy. They can't talk about foreign policy. So they go back and they say, 'I believe it's time to look back 10 or 15 years and see if we can attack the first lady's law practice,' he said. "They ought to cut that out, ladies and gentlemen.

"And the Republican candidates should tell them that, too."

GOP presidential candidates have been in Iowa almost daily since last month, campaigning in the hopes of doing well in the Iowa caucuses Feb. 12. Gore's appearance in Sioux City marked his second visit to the state this month as the Clinton-Gore team attempts to balance out the Republican attacks.

During his speech Friday morning to Democratic activists at the Sioux City Convention Center, Gore singled out two Republican candidates — frontrunner Bob Dole and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm — and U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

The three were full of criticism after Congress passed Clinton's budget and deficit-reduction plan in 1993, Gore said. Dole described Clinton's plans as "job killing," Gingrich said they'd "force a recession," and Gramm said that overall, "American people will be worse off," Gore said.

He said they were so far off "if they were working for the Weather Channel, they would have been fired right away."

"Our economy is moving in the right direction, and we need to keep it moving in the right direction. Suddenly, those Republican Chicken Littles aren't squawking so much," Gore said.

Gore credited Clinton with bringing the U.S. economy out of a recession, creating a safer country with more police on the streets and brokering peace in foreign countries.

"Against the wave of public opin-

Vice president in Bluffs today

Vice President Al Gore will make a campaign appearance on behalf of President Bill Clinton in Council Bluffs this afternoon.

Gore will rally Democratic caucus-goers at the Best Western Crossroads motel at 12:30 p.m.

Camille Johnston, a spokeswoman for the Re-elect Clinton-Gore Campaign in Des Moines, said the purpose of Gore's visit was to remind voters that Democrats would also hold party caucuses on Feb. 12.

The caucuses are about party-building and activating Democrats," she said. "The general election is going to be a battle, and this sets us up well for the election."

Clinton is currently the only candidate running for the Democratic presidential nomination.

ion, he did the right thing and made our country proud by putting the United States of America in a position to keep the peace that he engineered and negotiated in Bosnia," Gore said.

Gore said the Republicans are trying to gain ground against Clinton by creating "an extremist agenda" to cut Medicare and balance the budget. That is what has led to the government shutdowns, he said.

"They said to America and to our president, 'If you don't swallow this extremist agenda, we will shut down our government. And we don't care about the consequences,'" he said. "They were so devoted to this extremist ideology that they were willing to do harm to the American people in an effort to get their way."

Gore said that's not the way to lead a country.

"Solving problems is what it's all about. And again, Bill Clinton is taking our country in the right direction and making progress," he said.

Nonpareil/Keith Thorpe

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an election year in both

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noted that the American
raguan cultures were some-
odds, but he did find one
e U.S. of particular interest
sion. He said there were few
choices in his home country,
e was much to learn from
television here, including

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HAS PREPARED YOU FOR THIS

to battle the blaze. Clarion firefighters numbered 20 and at least 15 came from the Belmond fire station. With their assistance, the fire was

weather related. "Ice and cold were our biggest problems," said Riley. "Weather conditions were the worst I've seen

Jim Larick echoed Riley's words. "S. Larick was one of the many firemen who battled the fire through the night. By Friday afternoon, Larick walk warm

Gore to GOP: Turn bullets from Hillary

SIOUX CITY (AP) — President Clinton's success in office has left Republicans with little to complain about, so the GOP is turning to attacks on Hillary Rodham Clinton over the White-water land deal, Vice President Al Gore said Friday.



Al Gore

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"And the Republican candidates should tell them that, too."

GOP presidential candidates have been in Iowa almost daily since last month, campaigning in the hopes of doing well in the Iowa caucuses Feb.

Gore arrives in F.D. today

Vice President Al Gore is scheduled to make an hour-long public appearance in Fort Dodge today.

Gore will speak at 4 p.m. at the Holiday Inn on Highway 169. The event is open to the public.

His Fort Dodge stop is the last in a two-day campaign swing in western Iowa. The vice president is scheduled to arrive at the Fort Dodge Regional Airport aboard Air Force II around 3:30 p.m. and will depart at 5:30 p.m.

12. Gore's appearance in Sioux City marked his second visit to the state this month as the Clinton-Gore team attempts to balance out the Republican attacks.

During his speech Friday morning to Democratic activists at the Sioux

See GORE, Page 2



Students Gary Young, left, and Bran right, share a laugh with nurse consul

Sondra Price School Nurse

By MOLLY BATES
Messenger staff writer

For Sondra Price, being named the Iowa School Nurse of the Year was an award for school nurses statewide.

"There's some recognition that school nurses do count," she said. "I represent a lot of people with this award. With my colleagues at the AEA, all of the projects we undertake are done together. I feel that I only represent all of the school nurses that work with children daily."

Price was notified of the award late last year; she will meet with Gov. Terry Branstad to make the honor "official" Tuesday morning in the governor's office.

Price has been with the Arrow-

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Clinton signs order requiring federal buildings

Restaurant

Continued from Page 1

state."

But on Jan. 3, 1996, Matthaide said the foundation learned that the Alvarados would not be re-opening.

She would not say why the Alvarados made that decision other than to say, "It didn't work out. But I do know they are staying in town."

The Alvarados could not be reached for comment. The couple told The Messenger in May that they were confident that the new restaurant would do just as well, if not better, than the one in Plover. "We have a big following in Plover which is only an hour away," said 54-year-

old Pat.

Al, 68, who originally is from Monterrey, Mexico, also said of the restaurant on Highway 71, "You just wait. Pretty soon you're gonna see a lot of semi's line up out there on the highway."

The foundation is working to finalize the termination of the lease agreement.

Matthaide said, "We've already received two phone calls from people expressing an interest in the building. We haven't even advertised it because this all happened so fast."

Gore

Continued from Page 1

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Gore said that's not the way to lead a country. "Solving problems is what it's all about. And again, Bill Clinton is taking our country in the right direction and making progress," he said.

'Taunting Robbers suspects behind bars

KANSAS CITY, Mo. (AP) — Two men were behind bars Friday on suspicion of being the bandits who have held up 18 bank branches over the past couple years while taunting the FBI and couldn't catch them.

At a news conference here, the FBI showed off bombs, masks of President Clinton and Richard Nixon they said were the pair. The items were seized in a raid Thursday night in Kansas City.

Peter Langan, 37, was arrested Thursday on a federal fugitive warrant after a shootout with authorities in Columbus, Ohio. Richard L. Jr., 37, was captured on Monday in Cincinnati.

Authorities believe the two have hit at least 18 Midwestern banks since January 1994, stealing more than \$250,000 and writing newspapers making fun of the bureau.

Guthrie and Langan are believed to have "extremist philosophy" and have expressed hatred for blacks, Jews, the FBI and the government, said David Tubbs, special agent in charge of the FBI in Kansas City. There was no indication of any link with the 1995 City bombing, he said.

The material seized outside Kansas City included a semiautomatic rifle and pistol, a booby-trapped wooden crate, a military gas mask, a Claus suit, a copy of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf," two jackets with "FBI" lettered on the back and literature from the Aryan Nations supremacist group.

FBI officials had previously speculated that the bandits, who used FBI logos while holding up banks and used agents' names while getting away cars, had a grudge against the government.

Various charges have been filed against them in several jurisdictions including bank robbery, assault on federal officers and weapons charges, Tubbs said.

Economy

Continued from Page 1

growth. He said it should put to rest worries that the economy was flirting with recession.

"These numbers show strong and broad-based job growth," he said. "The economy continues to operate at full capacity with steady growth and low inflation."

In addition to the unemployment report, the Commerce Department released revised figures for overall growth. During the July-September quarter, the gross domestic product, the total output of goods and services, was expanding at an annual rate of 3.2 percent, slightly better than the previous estimate of 3 percent. The new-found strength was led by higher export growth.

But analysts widely believe

income growth.

The unemployment rate that department stores and retail establishments laid off workers during December when they ordinarily were hiring extra help for Christmas.

This decline was offset by 52,000 in factory jobs, an increase since February 1995. However, the gain followed the monthly declines and was the return of 31,000 striking workers. In addition, employment at auto plants rose by 10,000 as workers laid off because of export plant closures were brought back.

Overall, business payroll rose 151,000 last month following a 166,000 payroll job

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1/25/96

TO: Mike McCurry
Don Baer
Michael Waldman
Rahm Emmanuel

FROM: Staff Secretary

FYI - good stuff. Probably want
to look for good places to beat the
drum on this.



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

MEMBER

January 24, 1996 96 JAN 24 P 6 : 45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MARTIN BAILY

Mart. N. Baily

SUBJECT:

Japan's Trade Statistics for 1995

The Japanese Government released trade statistics for December and all of 1995 today. They show an 11 percent fall in the overall trade surplus in 1995, and a 17 percent drop in the bilateral surplus with the United States.

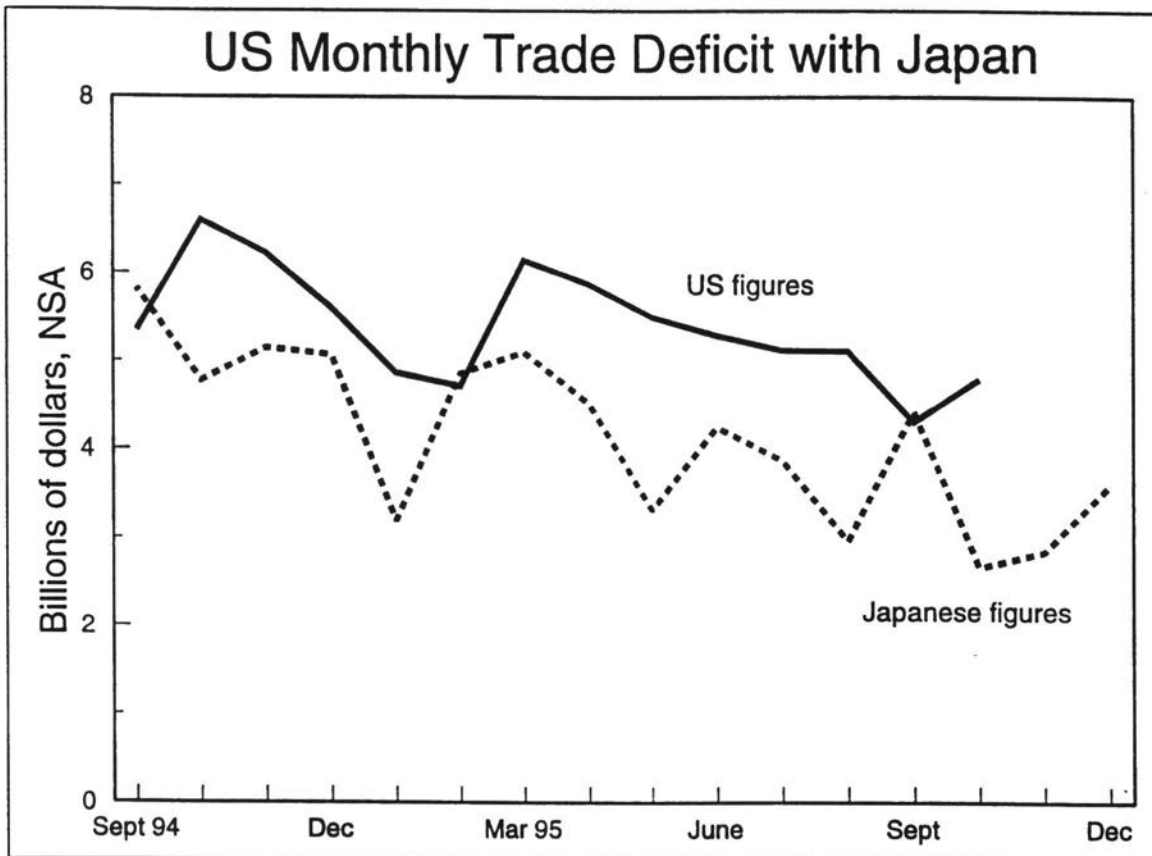
Japan's Merchandise Trade Statistics (billion dollars and percent)			
	1994	1995	% chng
Total			
Balance	120.9	107.1	-11.4%
Exports	395.6	443.0	12.0%
Imports	274.7	335.9	22.3%
Trade with the United States			
Balance	54.9	45.6	-17.0%
Exports	117.6	120.9	2.8%
Imports	62.7	75.3	20.1%
Source: Japan, Ministry of Finance			

Japan's exports were up 4.0 percent in volume, while import volumes rose by 12.9 percent. The rise in imports was primarily due to exchange rate effects, since the Japanese economy is estimated to have grown by only about 0.5 percent last year.

Japanese imports of finished automobiles, while still small, rose by 31 percent to 362,265 vehicles, according to the Japan Automobile Importers Association. U.S. light vehicle imports from Japan have dropped by 17 percent through November due to weakening U.S. auto sales and the continued movement of Japanese production to the United States.

Japan has now published trade statistics for two more months than has the United States. U.S. trade data for November will be released on February 7. **Census has not said publicly when it will release December data, but is tentatively planning for February 28.**

The correlation between our monthly numbers and Japan's is evident, but not perfect (see chart). Based on these figures, and an expected recovery in the Japanese economy in 1996, we expect the bilateral deficit with Japan to continue to shrink during this year.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

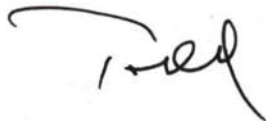
DATE: 1-25

TO:

 George -

FROM: Staff Secretary

look ok?



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

His Eminence James Cardinal Hickey
Archbishop of Washington
Post Office Box 29260
Washington, D.C. 20017

Dear Cardinal Hickey:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter. I understand how you feel about the difficult issue of the so-called "partial birth abortion."

As you know, I have long believed the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her faith. Abortions should be safe, legal, and rare -- and I'm working hard toward those goals. I have opposed late-term abortions, except where they are necessary to protect the life or health of the woman. Since currently proposed legislation fails to provide for consideration of the woman's health or, in the case of the House bill, even her life, I cannot support it.

This issue demands careful reflection and prayer, and I am fortunate to have your insights.

Sincerely,



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST 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.

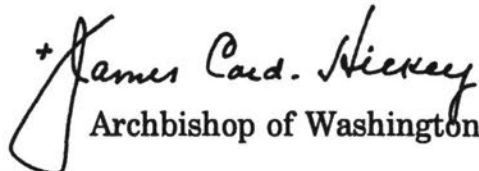
It is my understanding that you will soon be asked to sign the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, which has been passed in both the House and the Senate (with a few minor differences between the bills which will likely be settled in favor of the Senate version). As both of us are aware at this point, the 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,


Archbishop of Washington

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1996

Ms. Eleanor Smeal
The Feminist Majority Foundation
Suite 801
1600 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, Virginia 22209

Dear Ellie:

Thank you for your recent letter.

As you know, I have always maintained that the decision to have an abortion should be between a woman, her conscience, her doctor, and her faith. I also believe that abortions should be safe, legal, and rare. I have consistently opposed late-term abortions except to protect the life or health of the woman. Since H.R. 1833 -- contrary to Roe v. Wade -- fails to provide for consideration of the woman's health or, in the case of the House bill, even her life, ~~I cannot support it.~~ *it is unacceptable.*

I appreciate your counsel on this difficult issue as well as your continuing commitment to help ensure the health and safety of women across the country.

Sincerely,

1 11 30 12.40 PM FROM FEMINIST MAJORITY 1002

The Feminist Majority

January 9, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20050

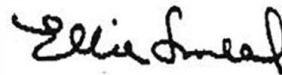
Dear President Clinton,

I am writing to urge you to veto the D&X abortion legislation which, if it becomes law, would outlaw a procedure necessary-- albeit rarely-- to save a woman's life, health, or future fertility, or to prevent severe fetal abnormalities. The criminalization of a medical procedure necessary to save a woman's life or fertility represents the first step in dismantling *Roe v Wade* and a woman's fundamental right to decide.

Since you have taken office you have advanced a woman's right to choose. Your Executive Orders to reinforce the gag rule, to facilitate the licensing of RU486, to repeal the Mexico City Policy, to restore abortion services in the military and to end the ban on fetal tissue research have helped and will help countless millions of women. Although vetoing the D&X procedure will help but a few hundred American women and their families yearly, it is still exceedingly important. We must stop extremists from foisting their radical agenda on women and must preserve the fundamental rights of a woman to choose a safe medical procedure without unprecedented government interference.

Thank you for your consideration and your support of women's rights.

Sincerely,



Eleanor Smeal
President

2108 Belclaire Drive
Carrollton
TX
75006

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate
the reply.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1/25/96

to Mike Myers (B.)

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Clinton

Thank you for
inviting me to The White
House. I wish I could
have met you. There
were so many trees I couldn't
find my ornament.

When you take down the
tree call me and I'll
help take it down.

P.S. about calling your friend,
me, my phone
number is

416-5632. Christopher Arnold
Salinas.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/25/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-25

TO:

Anty Sens

FROM: Staff Secretary

As we discussed,

Doel

DAVID PRYOR
ARKANSAS

RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510
(202) 224-2353

ARKANSAS OFFICE:
3030 FEDERAL BUILDING
LITTLE ROCK, AR 72201
(501) 324-6336

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0402

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND
FORESTRY
FINANCE
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

January 17, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our strongest support of Vernon Weaver for appointment to the post of U.S. Representative to the European Communities. Vernon is an important and highly respected figure in national and international circles. His extraordinary talents and decision-making ability will ensure that your interests are well represented as the process of change continues in Europe. We recommend him to you enthusiastically.

Vernon is extremely well qualified for this position. His impressive leadership of a major corporation with extensive business concerns in Europe and Asia will make him a real asset as your representative to the European Communities. Vernon will use his extensive management experience as Administrator of a cabinet-level agency to fulfill your interests in maintaining the ability of the United States to lead Europe and the United States toward prosperity and peace.

We know your friendship with Vernon dates back to 1976 in Arkansas. In August 1991, he was one of the first members of your Mid-Atlantic Steering Committee. His active campaigning and support of you has continued and will continue throughout the years. Vernon also has supported and campaigned for many of our Democratic friends in Congress.

Knowledge and the experience to handle business, government, and military issues will be crucial assets to any U.S. Representative to the European Communities. Vernon possesses all three in abundance. He was graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in the famous Class of '47. After several years of military service as an officer, Vernon took over management of Union Life Insurance Company in Little Rock. Under his leadership as President and Chief Executive Officer, the company's net worth grew twenty fold and Union Life achieved the highest insurance company rating.

President Carter then asked Vernon to resurrect the U.S.

Small Business Administration as its Administrator. Vernon managed 4,000 employees. He pushed for passage of legislation to create never before attained opportunities for minority and women-owned businesses (P.L. 95-507). He inaugurated special loan programs for disadvantaged business owners and initiated the Certified Bank Program, which transferred administration of government-guaranteed small business loans from SBA to certified private banks.

During the past 15 years, Vernon has continued his leadership in the business community, expanding his international experience. He has supervised international operations of a major international investment banking enterprise in Germany, France, and Great Britain. At the invitation of the British Delegation, Vernon served as a key advisor to the British Delegation of the European Economic Community. His ties to the Asian Pacific rim are strong. As President and CEO of a major investment banking corporation, he directed financial institutions in Indonesia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

Vernon Weaver possesses the highest level of integrity. For the past 20 years, Vernon has commanded great respect and developed lasting friendships with many of our colleagues. We believe his nomination would easily pass the strongest tests in the confirmation process. His confirmation as your representative to the EC will assure you of the highest caliber leader who has demonstrated great loyalty to you.

Vernon's vision, drive, and experience will make him an outstanding U.S. Representative to the European Communities. We urge you to give him your utmost consideration.

Sincerely,

David Dwyer
Bert Johnson
Vale Brynson
John Allen

John Breaney
J. J. Egan
Michael J. Ryan
Ching S. Lee

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT JAMES LUENSMAN
Control Center, Rm. 058 OEOB

FROM: TODD D. STERN ^{TS}
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Access to Offices

The following individuals should be given access to the offices of Todd Stern and Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty, III. These offices are located on the Ground Floor of the West Wing.

Todd Stern	Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty, III
Phillip Caplan	Patty McHugh
Helen Howell	Molly Varney
Sharon Wagner	
Carol Cleveland	
Debbie Bird	
Jessica Arons	
Gertrude (Trudy) Roddick	

cc: Post E1
P. McHugh
C. Cleveland

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. memo	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	01/24/1996	b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7693

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files January 14-20, 1996 [1]

2019-0774-S
rs3303

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 24, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR JODIE TORKELSON

Assistant to the President
for Management and Administration

FROM: TODD STERN ^{TDS}
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: White House Pass for Gertrude (Trudy) Roddick

Gertrude (Trudy) Roddick, presently with Correspondence (Mail Analysis), will soon begin working in our office every other weekend and in a fill-in capacity during the week replacing Shelley Walker in these duties. Trudy presently has an OEOB pass. The duties that Trudy will be performing for the Staff Secretary's office will require her to have access to the West Wing, Residence and East Wing. Therefore, we would like to request that Trudy be issued a White House pass. Trudy's social security number is: (b)(6)

As always, thank you for your assistance.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
January 23, 1996ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM DORSKIND

FROM:

ANDREW SENS *ADS*

SUBJECT:

Response to Rabbi Sherman on Presidential
Participation in "The Joint Commission on the
American Promenade in Israel"

Rabbi Eliot Sherman, Director of the Joint Commission on the American Promenade in Israel, has written the President (Tab B) to request that he agree to join Prime Minister Peres as Honorary Chairman of the Joint Commission.

The American Promenade is a long-planned (but underfunded) project by private Americans and Israelis to construct a memorial park in honor of U.S.-Israel friendship outside Jerusalem. The site of the park is on pre-1967 Israeli territory and poses no question with respect to peace process-related issues. The Department of State and our missions in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem pose no objection to the President accepting Rabbi Sherman's offer to become American Honorary Chairman. Accordingly, we recommend that the response at Tab A be transmitted to Rabbi Sherman. The office of the White House Counsel has reviewed this proposal and poses no objection.

Attachments

Tab A Draft Response to Rabbi Sherman

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

*TO: PERES
Re: Food
I don't want
to do this. I
checked with Sens
& he's happy for
us to decline.
F*

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Todd Stern to Christopher Cerf re: Security Briefings (1 page)	01/24/1996	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7693

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files January 14-20, 1996 [1]

2019-0774-S
rs3303

RESTRICTION CODES

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 1-24

TO: Bob Damm

FROM: Staff Secretary

Bob - Are you
guy working this?

Indef

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JAN 24 P 2 : 29

January 23, 1996

NOTE TO TODD STERN

FROM: KITTY HIGGINS *Kitty*

Please forward the attached memo from Secretary Brown to the President. Thanks.

Attachment



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Office of the Secretary
Washington, D.C. 20230

MEMORANDUM FOR KITTY HIGGINS

SECRETARY TO THE CABINET

FROM:

William Ginsberg
Chief of Staff

SUBJECT:

The President's Export Council

The attached draft Executive Order adds the Small Business Administration to the membership of the President's Export Council. We would appreciate you passing this proposed amendment to the President at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Attachment



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

JAN 22 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Ronald H. Brown

SUBJECT: The President's Export Council

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT: Attached for your approval is a draft Executive Order that adds the Small Business Administration as an Executive Branch member of the President's Export Council, and amends Executive Order No. 12131, which established the President's Export Council.

II. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: Small businesses play a vital role in our economy. The Small Business Administration has also been recently elevated to Cabinet level status. Expanding the membership of the President's Export Council to include the Small Business Administration would demonstrate your interest in small business exports and improve the Council's ability to deliberate on small business export issues.

III. RECOMMENDATION: I recommend that you approve this action.

IV. DECISION:

☐ Approve ☐ Approve as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No Action

Attachment

DRAFT

EXECUTIVE ORDER

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I)[set out in Appendix 2 of this title], it is hereby ordered that Section 1-102 (a) of Executive Order No. 12131 of May 4, 1979, 44 Federal Register 26841, as amended by Executive Order No. 12551, February 21, 1986, 51 Federal Register 6509, which designates the heads of Executive agencies as members of the President's Export Council, is amended by adding a new paragraph as follows:

"(8) Small Business Administration."



THE CHAIRMAN

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

January 22, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR EVELYN LIEBERMAN
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF FOR WHITE HOUSE OPERATIONS

TODD STERN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ *JS*
SUBJECT: 1996 Economic Report of the President

I write to provide an update on the 1996 Economic Report of the President ("ERP").

The tentative date of release of the 1996 ERP is Wednesday, February 14. We are required by statute to transmit the ERP to Congress within 10 days after release of the budget. We considered asking Congress for an extension, given the government shutdown. We now believe that we can comply with our statutory deadline, assuming that some kind of budget document is released on February 5.

Traditionally, the President signs the ERP in an Oval Office ceremony with the CEA Chair and Members and then privately meets briefly with the CEA staff for group and individual photos (Attached is the appropriate scheduling request.). Last year, the official signing was followed by a speech by CEA Chair Laura Tyson at the Center for National Policy. Also, in the week prior to the formal ERP release, Dr. Tyson conducted a series of embargoed one-on-one interviews with leading business and economic writers on the contents of the ERP. I tentatively intend to follow a similar "roll out" strategy.

First and second drafts of the ERP Chapters (see below for chapter titles) have been circulated to all relevant executive branch agencies and to certain offices in the Executive Office of the President, including the DPC, NEC, OMB, OSTP and OVP. We have received comments back from all agencies on our first draft chapters. Most agencies have commented on the second draft of the chapters, although the shutdown and the snowstorm have cause some delays. There will be no further interagency circulation of these chapters.

EV - I'll circulate appropriate chapters as we've done past 2 years. I have met with CEA to go over suggested edits in the first & expect to do that too - Todd

96 JAN 23 11:56

At this stage, it is customary for the appropriate White House Staff to review two portions of the overall ERP--Chapter 1, which provides an overview of the Administration's economic strategy and its assessment of the state of the American economy; and the short statement signed by the President which appears at the beginning of the ERP. We are also submitting for review Chapters 2-8.

I will send Chapter 1 to your offices on Wednesday, January 24. Agency comments are still being incorporated in Chapters 2-6. I will submit these chapters to you over the next week.

I appreciate the cooperation the CEA has already received in preparing this year's Economic Report of the President. Please let me know if you have any comments or suggestions.

Chapter Titles:

- I. Economic Policy for the Twenty First Century
- II. Macroeconomic Policy and Performance
- III. Making Fiscal Policy Choices Within and Across Generations
- IV. Devolution
- V. Economic Efficiency and Regulatory Reform
- VI. Promoting Competition in Traditionally Regulated Industries
- VII. Investing in Education and Training
- VIII. The United States in the World Economy

Attachment

☐ ACCEPT☐ REGRET☐ PENDING

TO: Stephanie Street, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Scheduling

FROM: Joseph E. Stiglitz, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers

REQUEST: A brief signing ceremony with CEA Chairman Joseph E. Stiglitz, CEA Member Martin Baily, CEA Member-Designee Alicia Munnell and the CEA Staff

PURPOSE: To have the President sign the 1996 Economic Report of the President.

BACKGROUND: By tradition, the President meets with the CEA Chairman and staff for the official signing of his Economic Report prior to its transmittal to Congress

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: An Oval Office ceremony was held in both 1994 and 1995 for the signing of the Economic Report. Also, Presidents Bush and Reagan always had signing ceremonies.

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, February 13 or Wednesday, February 14

DURATION: 15 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: CEA Chairman Stiglitz, Member Baily, Member-Designate Munnell and CEA Staff

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: 1. President signs 1996 Economic Report of the President with Chairman Stiglitz and Drs. Baily and Munnell looking on (photo op).
2. President poses for group and individual photos with CEA staff.

REMARKS REQUIRED: yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: yes

1st LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

VICE PRES. ATTENDANCE: Yes

2nd LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

RECOMMENDED BY: Joseph E. Stiglitz

CONTACT: Michele Jolin or Alice Williams (ext. 5042)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1996

Harold --

I received your recommendation regarding a Presidential Medal of Freedom for Charles Kades.

Here's the process: we receive a variety of recommendations and suggestions for possible award winners throughout the year. Sometime in the spring, I'll prepare memo for the President listing and discussing possible nominees, with a view toward an award ceremony in the summer or fall. This year, the ceremony was originally scheduled for July, but put off for various reasons until September. In '95 it was in August. In '93 it was in November.

Mr. Kades will go into the file now and will get serious consideration. I'll keep you posted.



Todd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

16 January 1996

96 JAN 24 P5:55

TO: Todd Stern
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary

cc: Gerald Crotty

FROM: Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff

RE: Recommendation for Charles Kades to receive
Presidential Medal of Freedom

Gerald Crotty forwarded to me the attached correspondence regarding the merit of awarding a Presidential Medal of Freedom to Charles Kades.

I strongly urge the most serious consideration of Mr. Charles Kades for this honor.

As the attached indicates, Mr. Kades was a central figure in the revising of Japan's constitution after World War II, and served both Japan and the United States with distinction and well-documented leadership.

Please keep me appraised of the status of the selection process for the next award.

To

1/24/96

Doriskind

original to Jim D

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 16, 1996

Mr. Gerald Crotty
Chairman, President and CEO
ITT Information Services, Inc.
1330 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10019-5490

Dear Gerry:

This acknowledges your 13 November 1995 letter regarding Charles Kades, Esq. and his nomination for the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I have sent a recommendation to Todd Stern, Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary, strongly urging consideration of Mr. Kades for the award.

Thank you for bringing this matter to my attention, I am glad to be able to help.

Sincerely,

H. Ickes

Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President
and Deputy Chief of Staff

cc: Todd Stern



ITT Information Services, Inc.

Gerald C. Crotty
Chairman, President and
Chief Executive Officer

November 13, 1995

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale
American Ambassador
American Embassy/Tokyo
10-5 Akasaka 1-chome
Minato-ku (107)
Tokyo, JAPAN

Dear Ambassador Mondale:

I am writing in connection with the case for awarding a Presidential Medal of Freedom to Charles Kades, Esq., who played a central role in revising Japan's constitution during the post-World War II American occupation of Japan.

Scholars both in Japan and the United States have recognized the critical nature of Mr. Kades' work and leadership as head of the coordinating committee charged with the responsibility for revising Japan's constitution. Enclosed are materials which represent some of that recognition and will also serve as background on Mr. Kades' pivotal role.

Mr. Kades had a stellar career in law and government and has always enjoyed a great reputation for service and integrity. I had the privilege of knowing Chuck Kades when I was associated with the law firm of Hawkins, Delafield & Wood in New York City. A tremendous lawyer, fine public servant, effective diplomat at a most crucial time, Mr. Kades is a great American who should be recognized for his enormous contribution to peace and prosperity both here and in Japan. The President could take pride in such recognition.

It would be most appreciated if you or your staff could bring this matter to the attention of the appropriate administration personnel. Of course, if you require further information, please do not hesitate to let me know.

On a different matter, since last I saw you, we completed negotiations for an extension of our successful joint venture with NTT Corporation. The negotiations were prolonged but reached a good result for both parties.

Please give my best regards to Mrs. Mondale.

Sincerely,

cc: Hon. Harold Ickes
Deputy Chief of Staff - The White House



Department of Government

Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
(413) 585-3530

Telefax (413) 585-3389

RECEIVED

OCT 28 1995

October 27, 1995

G. C. CROTTY

Gerald Crotty
Chairman, President & CEO
ITT Coins
100 Plaza Drive
Secaucus, NJ 07094

Dear Mr. Crotty:

I am writing because John Connorton thought you might be willing to bring the nomination of Charles Kades for a Presidential Medal of Freedom to the attention of Ambassador Walter Mondale, as well as the right people in The White House.

I am sure you are generally familiar with Chuck's role in Japan during the first phase of the American Occupation. (I have prepared the enclosed sketch to record some of the details.) You doubtless know more than I do about his achievements since then. I believe that, taken together, they merit the honor we are proposing.

There is, of course, some diplomatic delicacy here. It would be very important to emphasize the collaborative nature of Chuck's achievement. The facts establish that the political revolution that put Japan firmly on the road to constitutional democracy could not have been accomplished without American intervention, nor could it have been completed without principled and determined Japanese appropriation. The events that began in February 1946 were indeed a miracle of collaboration. To honor Chuck is not to claim that he "wrote" the Japanese Constitution. He drafted it, as a revision, within the Meiji framework, and he worked closely with Japanese political leaders to reshape the draft and fit it to Japanese needs. His success as an agent of American intentions is a testament to his firmness and tact, his deep understanding of constitutional principles, and his sensitivity to the dignity of his Japanese counterparts.

At a time when relations between Japan and the United States are often soured by confrontations over trade issues, it seems especially fitting to recall that our alliance rests on a shared commitment to constitutional democracy. Chuck Kades deserves to be honored for his role in helping to build that foundation.

In that connection, I call your attention to a letter of support we have received from a Japanese scholar, Professor Sodei Rinjiro, who reports that there is a similar move afoot

in Japan, led by the Speaker of the Japanese House of Representatives, Takako Doi, to gain a major honor for Chuck from the Japanese government.

John Connorton will be contacting you soon. I do hope you will want to join this effort.

Faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Donald L. Robinson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Faithfully,".

Donald L. Robinson
Professor

A Brief Sketch of the Life of CHARLES L. KADES

Charles Kades has had a long and distinguished career of public service, beginning in the Treasury Department during President Roosevelt's New Deal and continuing through his work as counsel to the New York Thruway Authority and the Municipal Assistance Corporation in New York City. The case for awarding Charles Kades a Presidential Medal of Freedom, however, centers on the role he played in the post-World War II American Occupation of Japan.

"Democratizing Japan" (to borrow the title of a recent assessment of the Occupation by leading American and Japanese scholars) required a **collaborative** effort by American officials and Japanese political leaders. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was the Supreme Commander of the Occupation for the Allied Powers. His contribution is widely acknowledged and has been recognized many times by both grateful nations. MacArthur had many faithful lieutenants, but none served more effectively, on a variety of assignments, than Colonel Charles Kades.

Of Kades' many contributions to the success of the Occupation, the most fundamental and enduring was his work on revising Japan's Constitution.

Japan's transformation into a powerful modern nation began in the last third of the nineteenth century. Through the third decade of the twentieth century, Japan made substantial progress, not only economically and industrially, but more importantly as a constitutional democracy.

This promising political development was arrested during the 1930s as Japan, reacting to the pressure of a worldwide depression, lashed out, first at its neighbors, particularly China, and finally at the United States. A terrible war ensued. When it was over, Japan lay in ruins, demoralized and broken in body, mind and spirit.

Against this awful background, the story of the Occupation, particularly in its early phases (through 1946), is one of magnanimity by the victors, resilience in the defeated, and a profound commitment on both sides to national reconstruction in accordance with the ideals of democracy and constitutional liberty.

Charles Kades was born in Newburgh, New York, on March 12, 1906. He graduated from Cornell University in 1927 (where he studied with Wallace Notestein and Robert Cushman) and Harvard University Law School in 1930 (where the teaching of Felix Frankfurter made a special impact). In 1933, he joined President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, first as assistant general counsel for the Federal Emergency Administration (1933-1937), then at the Treasury Department (1937-1942) under Secretary Henry Morgenthau.

Then came World War II. Already an officer in the Army Reserves, Kades undertook intensive training to prepare for service

with the Army's Civil Affairs Division. Graduating from the Command and General Staff School in 1943, he was assigned to the General Staff of the War Department, where he attracted the attention of General John Hilldring, one of the principal architects of American planning for the postwar reconstruction of Europe.

In early 1945, a call came from General Hilldring for Kades to join the group that was gathering in the Philippines to accompany General MacArthur to Japan.

The Americans regarded constitutional revision as an essential part of the reconstruction of Japan. In this project, Kades and his associates recognized that they could count on solid cooperation from Japanese allies. These men and women, having suffered disgrace at the hands of Japanese militarists during the 1930s, were eager to seize the opportunity for constitutional renewal. Kades welcomed their partnership.

Kades arrived (with the intrepid General MacArthur) at Atsugi air base, thirty miles southwest of Tokyo, on August 30, 1945. He knew very little about Japan at that time (though he had taken a crash course in Washington during July, 1945). Nor was he a specialist in constitutional law.

What he did have was deep confidence in democratic government, profound respect for constitutional traditions, quick intelligence, an open mind, and a candid spirit. He also had a keen eye for talent and an ability to inspire loyalty and effective service from those who worked for him. Soon he added one other vital asset: the confidence of Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, MacArthur's military aide and close confidant. In November, MacArthur installed Whitney as chief of the Government Section. Whitney, a conservative Republican, made Kades, a New Deal Democrat, his principal deputy. In that position, Kades was to play a key role in the conduct of Japan's first postwar parliamentary elections, the first, incidentally, in which women had the franchise.

Through the fall of 1945, Occupation authorities had taken the position that constitutional reform was a high priority for Japan, but that it needed to be accomplished by Japanese political leaders. MacArthur encouraged the cabinet of Prime Minister Shidehara to propose the necessary reforms. Japanese politicians were understandably distracted by the enormity of the task of leading a desperately weary and broken nation through the agony of postwar recovery. They were deeply divided about the extent of constitutional revision that would be necessary to undergird Japan's new commitment to democracy under the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

The men at MacArthur's headquarters, for their part, were equally preoccupied with other tasks. Consequently, during the fall and early winter in Tokyo, only a few gestures were made in the direction of considering what would be necessary in the way of constitutional reform. As late as mid-January, 1946, MacArthur told the somewhat impatient, even incredulous representatives of the Allied Powers that the initiative for constitutional reform must come from the Japanese. Kades himself underscored the same

position in briefings during this period.

By the end of January, 1946, however, the Americans were becoming concerned that the Japanese cabinet seemed to be making little progress on constitutional revision. Whitney asked Kades and two other military lawyers (Commander Alfred Rodman Hussey and Lieutenant Milo Rowell) to prepare a memorandum on the authority of the Supreme Commander to take the lead on constitutional reform. Kades and his associates concluded that the Potsdam Declaration and the terms of the Occupation gave MacArthur all necessary authority. On February 2, a leading Japanese newspaper published a "scoop," revealing the proposals that the Japanese cabinet was about to propose. The Americans, and many Japanese, quickly concluded that these changes were wholly inadequate.

MacArthur, on a Sunday morning (February 3), decided to take direct action, telling Whitney to have his staff prepare a draft of a new constitution for Japan by the end of the week. Whitney, emphasizing the need for total secrecy, put Kades in charge of the project. Kades organized about twenty members of the Government Section into a task force. Small subcommittees of two or three people were put in charge of parts of the draft: the emperor (MacArthur had directed that the emperor be retained); the cabinet; the legislature; the judiciary; the bill of rights; local government, and so on. Kades asked Hussey to draft a preamble, and he himself undertook to render MacArthur's terse directive for an article renouncing war and armed forces into constitutional language.

The subcommittees reported by mid-week, and Kades, along with Hussey and Rowell acting as a steering committee, refined the drafts and drew them together into a single document. By week's end, the product of these intense labors was forwarded to Whitney and MacArthur. The following mid-week (February 13), the draft was presented by Whitney, Kades, Hussey and Rowell to the astonished and profoundly agitated leadership of the Japanese cabinet (a group that included Foreign Minister Yoshida Shigeru and constitutional specialist Matsumoto Joji).

For two weeks, under intense pressure, the Japanese cabinet deliberated what to do. At first the Allies seemed open to a counter-proposal, a Japanese draft. As the days passed without any substantive response, however, Whitney grew more insistent that decisive action be taken. (Part of his reasoning was that, by early March, the Far Eastern Commission would assume a supervising role over the Occupation, and MacArthur would be forced to justify his actions to that body, including a Soviet representative. The Supreme Commander wanted constitutional reform well initiated by that time.) Finally, on February 22, General Whitney informed the Japanese cabinet that, unless they agreed to accept the Occupation's version as a working draft, MacArthur would have to publish it on his own.

Reluctantly the cabinet accepted this ultimatum. On March 4 representatives of the cabinet met with Kades and his staff to work out a Japanese translation of the draft. On March 6, the two versions (Japanese and English) were issued by Emperor Hirohito as the cabinet's draft. (The Japanese version was incomplete at this stage, but the critical chapters, those dealing with the emperor

and with war and armed forces, were released, along with the emperor's formal endorsement of the whole text as his government's draft.)

There ensued many months of the most careful consideration of the draft, first by the Privy Council (a small body of the emperor's closest counsellors), then by the newly elected House of Representatives and its special committee on constitutional revision, and finally by the House of Peers (a body comparable to the British House of Lords, containing many distinguished jurists and legal scholars).

Colonel Kades played a critical role at this stage, through the summer of 1946. MacArthur and Whitney designated him to receive any proposed revisions offered by the Japanese cabinet or by the House of Representatives and to decide whether they conformed to the "fundamental principles of democracy," MacArthur's criterion. If so, Kades was to authorize the change.

Summarizing Kades' role at this stage, Sato Tatsuo, one of the leading Japanese officials throughout the drafting and deliberative process, wrote:

They [the GHQ staff] were very strict about the Preface [that is, the Preamble] and the chapter on the emperor. They would make no concessions. Only a few minor wording changes were allowed. But they granted a great many of our points and objections about other parts of the draft... Unlike their attitude at the stage when we were preparing the government draft [based on the GHQ draft], the GHQ applied hardly any direct pressure on the Diet's deliberations on the constitution. Indeed they seemed to have great respect for the Diet as the supreme representatives of the [Japanese] people. With the revisions as well, they needed SCAP's approval, but 80 or 90 percent of our changes were allowed to stand.

In his role as arbiter of proposed amendments, Kades approved the change in Article 9 that seemed to qualify the renunciation of war and armed forces, and he accepted other important modifications (such as deleting the requirement that all persons in Japan, not just citizens, would enjoy the full protection of the bill of rights). In all these decisions, he had the full backing of MacArthur and Whitney.

There were, of course, others who took part in the negotiations that shaped the final version of the Showa Constitution. But Colonel Kades' role was central and crucial. General MacArthur relied on his deep understanding of constitutional democracy and of Allied policy, and his firmness and tact in dealing with Japan's political leaders.

Colonel Kades was actively and centrally involved in other Occupation reforms as well: the purge, land reform, the break-up of the zaibatsu (powerful interlocking directorates of Japan's

corporations), and the rest. Many of these reforms contributed materially to the reconstruction of Japan's postwar economy and politics.

Kades resigned from the Occupation in 1949 and returned to New York City and his partnership in the law firm of Hawkins, Delafield and Wood. There he played important parts in the New York State Thruway Authority and in the City's municipal finances.

He also maintained contact with his many Japanese friends and accompanied several high-level delegations of his former associates in Japan (including Chief Justice Tanaka and many leading parliamentarians) on their American tours. Gradually the truth about the process of constitutional reform became better known. In 1964, after several years of hearings in Japan and abroad and much intensive study, a public commission chaired by Japanese legal scholar Takayanagi Kenzo described the American role with candor and precision and concluded that there was no need to revise the Constitution.

Kades felt somewhat liberated by the Takayanagi Report. As the American role gradually became better known to the Japanese public, he spent many hours with Japanese scholars and journalists who sought a deeper understanding of how the constitutional revision of 1946 had come about.

Colonel Kades retired from his law practice in 1976 and moved to Heath, Massachusetts. In 1989, he published a memoir of the framing and ratification of the Constitution in *Political Science Quarterly* (September, 1989).

A poll conducted in 1985 in Japan and the United States queried respondents about the effects of the Occupation. The Americans thought its main achievement was to help Japan build a spectacularly successful economy. The Japanese thought the Occupation's main legacy was freedom and democratic rights. (Cited in Richard Finn, *Winners in Peace: MacArthur, Yoshida and Postwar Japan*, published by UCal Berkeley, 1992).

Charles Kades had a hand in both aspects, but his greatest contribution was to the establishment of constitutional liberty and democracy. It is time to recognize the importance of his achievement and to grant him his rightful place among the architects of the postwar world.

[sketch prepared, October 1995, by Professor Donald L. Robinson, Smith College, Northampton, MA 01063]



HOSEI UNIVERSITY

17-1, 2-chome, Fujimi, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo Japan

Dept. of Political Science
October 3, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing this letter at the suggestion of my respected academic colleague, Prof. Donald L. Robinson of Smith College. Prof. Robinson is among a group proposing to you that Mr. Charles L. Kades be awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom or similar honor in recognition of his service with the Occupation of Japan.

As a long-time student of the history of the Allied--American, in essence--Occupation of Japan, I think this is a splendid idea.

As you are well aware, Japan the staunch foe was transformed into a strong and stable ally of America through the reforms initiated by the Occupation led by Gen. MacArthur.

Mr. Kades was, I believe, perhaps MacArthur's most able lieutenant in his GHQ, particularly in his role of the head of the coordinating committee in drafting the revised constitution of Japan.

Without his efforts and leadership, the present Constitution of Japan could not have taken its shape as it did. While most of the Japanese people appreciate the wonder-working contribution of the Constitution in revolutionizing Japan and building a free and democratic nation out of the ashes of defeat, the role Mr. Kades played in that endeavor has never been officially recognized on either side of the Pacific.

I believe it is high time that Mr. Kades should be recognized for what he did in and for Japan, thus contributing to the lasting relationship between your country and ours and, in fact, reshaping the post-war history of the world for the better.

Again let me say that credit to Mr. Kades has been long overdue. In this regard, I am happy to be able to report that there is a strong, still confidential, move in Japan to award Mr. Kades the highest honor possible by the Japanese government before the 50th anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution of Japan.

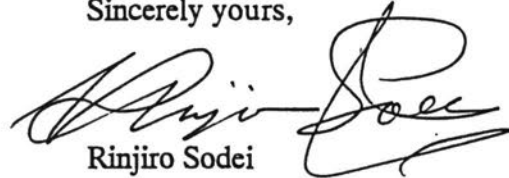
I have learned that this move has been led by none other than Ms. Takako Doi, Speaker of the House of Representatives, who has officially declared herself "to be married to the Constitution of Japan" because of its beautiful and yet practical principles. House Speaker Doi's "love" for the present constitution, which Mr. Kades successfully engineered, is most genuine and solid. And I believe the efforts of her and her colleagues who share her view will come into fruition.

In order to show my own high appreciation to the Constitution of Japan , I am hereby enclosing a copy of my speech delivered for the Japan-America Society of Washington on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the coming into effect of the Constitution of Japan.

If both governments could reciprocate in honoring Mr. Kades for his invaluable, yet hitherto buried, contribution, I believe that the relationship between our two countries will be put on much more secure and sound foundation.

Thanking you very much in advance for your kind attention, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rinjiro Sodei', written in a cursive style.

Rinjiro Sodei
Prof. of Politics & History

Inc: Text of my speech on the Constitution of Japan delivered for the Japan-America Society of Washington



BULLETIN

The Japan-America Society of Washington

606 Eighteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Vol. XXXI, No. 10

Established 1957

December 1986 / January 1987

1987 — The Year of the Rabbit

The rabbit has traditionally been regarded as a cunning animal and is a familiar trickster figure in Japanese folktales, the earliest example being the "White Hare of Inaba" in the Kojiki (712). It is believed that a rabbit pounding rice can be seen in the full moon.

JASW Third Annual New Year's Party

The third annual JASW New Year's Party will be held Sunday, January 11 from 1 p.m. at Bacon House, 1801 F St., Washington. This year's event will feature classical Japanese dance and modern "kara-oke," as well as a New Year's Buffet. See enclosed invitation for details.

Japanese Archeology

The JASW is sponsoring a lecture on "The State of the Art of Archeology in Japan Today," with Prof. J. Edward Kidder on January 12 at 6:30 p.m., Brookings Institution, 1775 Mass. Ave. in the auditorium. Dr. Kidder is Professor of Art and Archeology at the International Christian University in Japan and is author of: *The Jomon Pottery of Japan*, *Japan Before Buddhism*; *Masterpieces of Japanese Sculpture*; *Japanese Temples*; *Early Japanese Art*; *The Birth of Japanese Art*; *Prehistoric Japanese Arts*; *Early Buddhist Japan*; *Ancient Japan*; and *The Art of Japan*. Dr. Kidder will give a slide lecture on recent

archeological excavations in Japan which have prompted historians to change or modify some traditional views. A separate flyer with details will be mailed to members.

JASW Welcomes Two New Members to the Board

At the last meeting of the 1985-86 Board of Trustees, the Board elected Ms. Veronica Haggart and Mr. Robert A. Perkins to fill vacant positions on the Board.

Ms. Haggart is Vice President and Director of International Trade Relations for Motorola Inc., responsible for the development and implementation of global trade strategies and marketing support for Motorola's products around the world.

Prior to joining Motorola, Ms. Haggart had been appointed to the International Trade Commission by President Reagan in 1982, and was a senior partner in the law firm of Heron, Haggart, Ford, Burchette & Ruckert.

Mr. Perkins is Vice President—Washington Office of Chrysler Corporation with responsibility for directing government relations and legislative matters, media relations, federal fleet sales, and public/military electronic sales for the Huntsville (Alabama) Electronics Division.

Prior to coming to Washington, Mr. Perkins served as Director, Managing Director and Vice President in the Far East, Argentina, and Australia and was Director of Japan Operations in 1976. He is a former Chairman of the Asian Pacific Chambers of American Commerce.

JASW Board Elects Officers for 1987

At the first meeting of the 1987 Board of Trustees the Board elected the following officers of the Society:

President Marshall Green
Vice Presidents .. G. Edward Reynolds
Rodney E. Armstrong
Haruhiko Chizawa
Shinzo Kobori
Secretary Akimasa Sano
Treasurer Von C. Williams
Executive Committee
Chairman Carl J. Green
Executive Committee
Vice Chairman Ellen Frost
Counsel Noel Hemmendinger, esq.

The JASW welcomes the following new corporate members:

American Telephone & Telegraph
Kornmeier, McCarthy,
Lepson & Harris
Latham & Watkins
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley
& McCloy
U.S.-Japan Forum on
High Technology Exchange

Beyond Survival: Four Decades of Japan's Constitution

Rinjiro Sodei

There are many examples of what it means to be an optimist. My favorite one goes something like this: An optimist is someone who goes to a fancy restaurant, without having any money — or credit card, for that matter — and orders a dish of oysters hoping in one of his oyster shells he will find a pearl by which he can pay the check.

I not only envy this man's optimism but also admire his bravery. For I am no scholar of constitutions and only a curious mixture of historian and political scientist. Standing here on this much celebrated podium to speak about such an important and delicate subject as the Constitution of Japan, I need all the more his courage as well as his optimism.

The Constitution of Japan, promulgated forty years ago on this day of November third, has not only survived four decades of rapid domestic and international change, it has also withstood recurring domestic and international challenges in and out of the country. To this day, the Constitution has never been revised or amended. Now it is a living document, part and parcel of the life of the Japanese people.

That is no small accomplishment, considering the fact that the document was originally drafted by a small group of an occupying foreign military power, and seemed alien, revolutionary and new in the context of Japan's history and culture. In order to understand the novelty of the principles embodied in the draft of the constitution of 1946, one needs only to take a brief look at the then existing Meiji Constitution, which had been promulgated in 1889. The first modern constitution of Japan, it was modeled after the Prussian type of autocratic government. Sovereign power resided with the Emperor, who was sacred and inviolable. The Imperial Diet, a kind of parliament, existed only to help the throne in his ruling the nation. The rights of the people, who were mere subjects of the Emperor, were severely constricted and offset by an oppressive emphasis on obligations.

The Meiji Constitution did not come into existence in a political vacuum. It was preceded by a national upheaval and waves of popular agitation for the establishment of a national assembly. The people were clamoring for representative govern-

ment. They even drafted hundreds of model constitutions that embodied very liberal sentiments. The guiding principles of this movement for Freedom and Popular Rights were, needless to say, those of the American Revolution and the French Revolution. Their ideological mentors were, among others, John Stuart Mill and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Their patron-saint was Patrick Henry.

"Give me liberty, or give me death!" was the battle cry of this movement. They did not get liberty; the Meiji government gave them instead the harshest suppression, if not outright death. Thus the Meiji Constitution, like its successor, was promulgated "from above" — and reflected a strong foreign influence. The course Japan followed, however, was quite different from that followed under its postwar successor. Guided by the slogan "Rich Country, Strong Military," the Meiji oligarchs and succeeding leaders went about their imperial adventures in Asia. And the rest is history.

The Empire failed. Into this power vacuum strode Douglas MacArthur, his GHQ, and occupying forces of a half-million strong. The Japanese people were in terrible shock at the defeat of their nation — the first time in their 2,000 year history. They were in a way looking for strong political leadership for their rehabilitation, if not for the new orientation that Japan should take. The Japanese leaders, including two prime ministers — Prince Higashikuni and Baron Shidehara — either did not understand the scope and true meaning of the Potsdam Declaration which Japan had accepted as the terms for surrender, or they had deceived themselves that *kokutai*, or "the national polity," had in fact been preserved. *Kokutai* was the very essence of Japan's national polity symbolized by the Emperor.

It was a well known fact that the Shidehara Cabinet did not feel the need for a new constitution. Only minor revision of the Meiji Constitution would be sufficient, they thought. MacArthur was expecting the Japanese government to come up with a plan for a liberalized constitution, but to no avail. When, on February 1, 1946, the *Mainichi* newspaper made a historic scoop disclosing a government's draft of revised constitution, the

blue-eyed Shogun dismissed it as, in his own words, "nothing more than a rewording of the old Meiji Constitution." By this time, MacArthur was convinced that a liberalized imperial institution was essential to the task of building a New Japan. The government's conservative position, he feared, would encourage irresistible international pressure against the Emperor and the throne. With such considerations in mind, the Supreme Commander ordered his staff to take the initiative in constitutional revision.

Time does not allow me to dwell on the "constitutional convention" inside MacArthur's GHQ. But, let me mention just a couple of historical facts. The basic principles of the new draft constitution were laid out in the so-called "MacArthur Notes" given to his most trusted deputy, General Whitney, Chief of Government Section. These notes set forth three principles: 1) "Emperor is at the head of the State. His succession is dynastic. . . 2) War as a sovereign right of the nation is abolished. Japan renounces it as an instrumentality for settling its disputes and even for preserving its own security. . . No Japanese Army, Navy or Air Force will ever be authorized and no rights of belligerency will ever be conferred upon any Japanese force."

Compared to this extraordinary, novel concept of renunciation of war as a sovereign right, MacArthur's third principle, i.e., "The feudal system of Japan will cease," seems simple common sense.

The fact that MacArthur believed that he could lay down the constitutional principles for his former enemy seems extraordinary. Or, does it really? For this extraordinary figure, few things were extraordinary. Did not Rousseau say in his *Social Contract*, "It would take gods to give men laws?" MacArthur was a self-styled Law Giver, "the wonder-working magician. . . whose mission is to lead man from the ideal to actual. . ."

One may charge that it was sheer hubris for MacArthur to think he could give a constitution to the people he conquered. Certainly it was hubris. But, in fact, the basic idea came as a directive to him from Washington — only the timing and the manner of executing the directive was in his own style.

There has been much talk for almost thirty-five years that the present constitution was imposed by the Occupation upon a reluctant Japanese government.

draft may not have been necessary had the Japanese government been enlightened enough to have prepared a more liberal draft revision. At the same time, however, many Japanese outside the government were indeed in favor of a drastically revised national charter. In giving the SCAP draft to the Japanese side, General Whitney conveyed MacArthur's feeling that "this is the last opportunity for the conservative group, considered by many to be reactionary, to remain in power." There is small wonder that the then Foreign Minister Yoshida, who was present at the occasion and soon to become Prime Minister, maintained throughout his life that the constitution was not imposed upon the Japanese by the GHQ. Still this "imposition theory" persists among conservative groups in Japan.

Another important fact is that the draft constitution did not come out of the blue. Not only did the best brains of the Government Section labor for ten full days and nights, but they also had been studying various plans for a new constitution drafted by several private Japanese groups. The Government Section draft even incorporated in spirit, if not exact wording, revisions proposed by the Kenpo Kenkyu-kai, or Constitutional Research Group, a group of liberal Japanese scholars who had studied the constitutions proposed by more progressive groups in the Meiji era. In other words, the principle of fundamental human rights was not so alien or novel to an enlightened segment of the Japanese people. After all, it was a universal principle.

As for the controversial issue of renunciation of war, it is entirely possible that the original idea came from Prime Minister Shidehara and through MacArthur into the Constitution. MacArthur denied he was the originator of the idea, but if he had not put it into his Notes to Whitney, it would never have become part of the supreme law of the land of Japan. No doubt, it was a novel idea. But until the Korean War broke out, even the leaders in the government were promoting the idea with much enthusiasm and the people were excited about this peace constitution.

The last, but not the least, important fact is that there was much give and take over the original draft between GHQ and the Japanese government. Only then did it go through a lengthy deliberation in the Diet. Some more changes were made, but

the basic framework remained intact. Thus, the Constitution of Japan was born. Certainly, it went through an abnormal birth. Professor John Maki says that it took a Caesarean operation with GHQ/SCAP as a midwife. However, I always wonder if the SCAP played no more than the role of a midwife: they may have played a paternal role in its birth. In any case, the Constitution of Japan promulgated in 1946 was the joint product of Americans and Japanese.

Once they had a truly liberal constitution in their hands, the Japanese rapidly adapted it to their political, social and cultural milieu. Popular enthusiasm for the new constitution was remarkable and for good reason. Most Japanese accepted Article 9, the "no war, no arms" clause, wholeheartedly because they had suffered so much from the war and its devastation. In abandoning the sovereign right of belligerency, they sincerely agreed with Prime Minister Shidehara that they were "assuming moral leadership among other nations of the world toward lasting peace."

To the Japanese people, who felt betrayed by their own government after all those sacrifices for nation-building and war, the guarantee of fundamental human rights seemed to be the most precious gift from heaven. No wonder they welcomed MacArthur's troops as liberating soldiers.

The people were even comfortable with the new status of the Emperor, no longer sovereign but a mere symbol of the unity of the people. They were tired of the excess and abuse of the power of the throne, particularly during the war. All in all, the people were happy with the new constitution and the document rapidly became part and parcel of their national life. This time it is a cultured pearl.

This reminds me of another story about a pearl. Do you know how they are made? Oysters are inoculated with a nucleus—a very thin bead of calcium carbonate—and left under the sea for some years. The cultured pearl is the final product of a process of reaction to this alien stuff inseminated into oysters. Interestingly enough, at the world-famous Mikimoto Pearl Farm, they use as nuclei or "seeds" pieces of clam shells imported from the Illinois River in the United States. In the case of the making of Japan's constitution, again the seed came from the U.S.A. What a wonderful, albeit alien, stuff it was that was inseminated into the shell of the Japanese milieu. The people more than welcomed this, and covered it with

respect and care for the last forty years. However, this pearl theory reveals only one side of the story of the Constitution of Japan. For over 35 years, the Constitution also has been the subject of severe attacks. Conservative efforts at revision continue to strengthen, and a variety of social and political changes have eroded the spirit of the document. The first crisis came in 1950 with the outbreak of the Korean War. When MacArthur, the Law Giver himself, saw the worsening situation in the Far East threatening Japan's security, he ordered Japan to establish an embryonic national defense force of its own. Here came a direct conflict between the Constitution and the acquisition of war potential.

The Japanese government has maintained to this day that any country has a right to defend itself, and the postwar military forces do not constitute war potential. Therefore, their logic goes, having Self Defense Forces (SDF) does not violate Article 9. However, the overwhelming majority of Japan's constitutional scholars do not accept this logic. In their view, the Self Defense Forces are unconstitutional, pure and simple.

The U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty of 1952, which Japan signed as the price of regaining her independence, made the matter more complicated. One provision of the treaty says in effect that Japan is expected to assume increasing responsibility for her defense. The revised Security Treaty of 1960 and other subsequent agreements obliged Japan to increase her defense capability. These developments came to conflict more and more with the letter as well as the spirit of the "no war, no arms" clause of the Constitution.

In 1953, the then Vice President Richard Nixon made a speech in Tokyo at the America-Japan Society and declared that "the United States did make a mistake in 1946" to have insisted that Japan be disarmed. "It was an honest mistake," he maintained. Mr. Nixon's message was clear: The United States wanted Japan to revise Article 9 in order to accommodate and accelerate the fait accompli of Japanese remilitarization.

Such pressure for revision came not only from the United States. As Japan regained her independence, there arose vocal Japanese opinions favoring revision of not merely Article 9, but of the entire Constitution. This was a natural reaction to a military occupation, no matter how benevolent, which had lasted seven long

grudge against foreign rule and its legacies, the Constitution included. Here is an example of such sentiments.

One young Diet member of the Liberal Democratic Party, in 1956, wrote a song for a national campaign to promote wholesale revision of the Constitution. Let me read three of the stanzas:

Alas, we lost the war, and
Enemy troops marched in.
In the name of Peace and Democracy
By imposing an Occupation constitution
They tried to dismantle our fatherland,
In the sixth month after the war ended.

The Occupation Forces told us:
"Unless you adopt this constitution,
We cannot guarantee the Emperor's
status."
Crying deep in their hearts, and
Worrying about the future of the nation
Our countrymen accepted the Mac
Constitution.

The song continues:

As long as this Mac Constitution is
with us,
We continue to be under unconditional
surrender.
Those who defend the Mac Constitution
Are the servants of General MacArthur.
We who are committed to the destiny
of our fatherland,
Let us promote the nation with high
spirits.

Incidentally, the name of this Young Turk was Yasuhiro Nakasone, the present prime minister.

In the previous year, Mr. Nakasone's Democratic Party and the much larger Liberal Party merged to become the Liberal Democratic Party. The LDP party has been in power ever since. Mr. Bukichi Miki, the key engineer of the merger, openly declared that the most important task of the new party would be to revise the Constitution. In the charter of the new Liberal Democratic Party one provision stands out: "We aim at independent revision of the present Constitution." This provision still stands in the party charter today, 31 years later.

From the beginning, the LDP was determined to accomplish this aim. The

Party President, Prime Minister Hatoyama, officially disclosed his conviction that "Japan's Constitution was made under the Occupation; now it should be null and void." To prepare for revision, in 1955 the party established its Council to Study the Constitution. At the same time, many LDP Diet members organized themselves into the League of Diet Members for An Independent Constitution.

To this day, however, the ruling conservatives have not been successful in revising a single provision of the Constitution. One obvious reason is that the LDP has never captured the necessary two-thirds majority in both houses of the Diet which constitutional revision requires. The Hatoyama Cabinet even tried, unsuccessfully, to change the entire electoral system of the lower house, where the real power lies. Their idea was to introduce a system of single-member districts, so that the LDP could capture most of the lower house seats. This was successfully opposed, however, not only by the opposition parties in the Diet, but also by the mass media, the strong labor union federations and various citizen's organizations including women's groups.

Undaunted, in 1957, the government established a national Commission on the constitution which was clearly intended to pave the way for revision. The opposition parties refused to participate and most of the nation's leading constitutional scholars stayed away from the Commission. (They instead formed their own private study group, the Kenpo Mondai Kenkyu-kai, a sort of academic watchdog.) Following seven years of intensive investigation and deliberation, in 1964 the Commission submitted an enormous report to the Cabinet and the Diet. Contrary to conservative hopes and expectations, the report was neutral and even scholarly. This was largely due to the able and well-balanced leadership of its chairman, Dr. Kenzo Takayanagi. The Commission made no recommendation. Thus, the government again failed in its efforts to revise the Constitution.

In this situation — with the movement to revise the Constitution stymied, while Japan steadily built up her war potential and the United States kept steady pressure on the Japanese to assume a larger share of their defense burden — what would be the way out? The only way out seemed to lie in reinterpreting Article 9 in the courts.

There have been at least three landmark cases.

1.) Sunagawa Case

In 1959, the Tokyo District Court declared the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty unconstitutional on the grounds that the American military forces stationed in Japan constituted "war potential" which the Constitution expressly prohibited. The Supreme Court, however, ruled that the constitutional reference to "war potential" applies only to military forces the Japanese government itself commands and controls. Therefore, it does not apply to foreign troops on Japan's soil. By this decision, the constitutionality of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty was established. The highest court also stated that the Security Treaty is so highly political in nature that it should not come in the domain of the judiciary. It is primarily a matter to be decided by the Cabinet and the Diet, the court ruled, and ultimately by the people who are sovereign. This ruling based on the doctrine of "political questions" is clearly helping the government to keep the status quo.

2.) Eniwa Case

In 1962 two farmers who were brothers in Hokkaido challenged troops of the Ground Self Defense Force — we don't call it the army — that were engaged in military exercises next to their meadow. They claimed that the exercises were a nuisance to their cows and cut off telephone wires. They were charged with destruction of an installation of the Self Defense Forces for which there is an especially tough law. This was the first time the lower courts faced a case that involved the constitutionality of Japan's defense forces. But the court decided that those farmers were innocent because what they damaged was not equipment directly related to national defense. Thus the court avoided the issue of constitutionality.

3.) Naganuma Case

The ultimate case came, or so it seemed, in 1973, when a local court, again in Hokkaido, declared outright that the Self Defense Forces were unconstitutional. The government claimed, that the Self Defense Forces were the minimum defense potential necessary to prevent foreign invasion or unjust attack from outside. The court, ruling against the government, concluded that the SDF did indeed constitute the war potential which the second paragraph of Article 9 prohibited. However, this momentous decision was overturned in 1976 by the Higher Court on the

grounds that "the SDF cannot be said to be apparently aggressive forces, and therefore, the court should not judge their constitutionality." This is another example of a "political question."

Put into simple terms, the major reason Article 9 has survived is that, basically, most people do not want revision: No matter how much it has been diluted in spirit, Article 9 still remains as a barrier against the rapid or drastic increase of Japan's military build-up.

In addition, thanks to the very cautious stance of the Supreme Court in refusing to make judgment on so-called "political questions," the government has been able to "reinterpret" Article 9 in ways that allow it to gradually expand its military capability. The official position of the government now is that Japan could possess even nuclear weapons for defense purposes under Article 9, although as a policy she will not do so!

Thus the letter of the Constitution has survived its first four decades, but what about its spirit?

So far I have been talking about Article 9. But there are many other provisions of the Constitution that also have been challenged and even diluted in spirit. I will mention just one case: the principle of separation of religion and state, which has been threatened by Prime Minister Nakasone himself. He made an official visit last year to Yasukuni Shrine, where the nation's war dead are enshrined. It is understandable that Mr. Nakasone wished to pay respect to those who sacrificed themselves in the war, but as long as Yasukuni is a religious institution — Shinto in this case — an official visit by the prime minister raises serious constitutional questions.

Still the Prime Minister's action has been widely supported by people who want to see the Constitution amended in various aspects, including ways that will sanction state support for Yasukuni Shrine. They include those Japanese who regard the post-war reforms, symbolized by the Constitution, as the source of all the social evils Japan now suffers. Rapid increase of juvenile delinquency, for example, is attributed by these people to the educational reforms made during the Occupation. One former Minister of Education, Mr. Setoyama, once officially said, "the aim of the Occupation was to destroy all of Japan's morality, tradition, and customs, thereby molding our children into the kind that American prefers." Mr.

Setoyama and like-minded Japanese argue that younger people are paying less and less respect to their elders because the post-war civil code destroyed Japan's beautiful family system. They blame young people for claiming too many rights for themselves while accepting too few obligations. Therefore, they reason, the Constitution should be amended to de-emphasize human rights and place greater stress on the obligations.

Above all, however, the critics of the Constitution claim that Japan should revise Article 9 so that Japan can become fully armed. Only then can Japan regain its sovereign right, their logic goes, and become a truly independent nation. As a rich country, Japan needs a strong military to defend itself. They say this as if they don't realize that the key to Japan's economic prosperity has been the Article 9 because of which Japan has been able to restrain rapid increases in the defense budget. (If Japan should fully rearm, abandoning the no war-no arms principle, then the sky will be the limit.) Our economy will be depleted, and our best brains wasted.

I am not saying this only for selfish reasons. If Japan, the second largest economy in the free world, becomes a heavily armed country, then the world's military balance will shift and East-West tensions will likely increase. The fact that under Article 9 and the ideals it embodies Japan failed to become a large military power has been, I believe, an enormous contribution to world peace. Perhaps America did not make a mistake in 1946, and should be commended for her foresight. **vs. Nixon, 1953.**

This is no time to go back to the obsolete nationalism of the past, when military hardware was necessary to sustain the nation's prestige. Still, some voices in Japan now strongly advocate the wholesale revision of the Constitution which they or their parents once warmly embraced. Perhaps Japan's economic prosperity has something to do with it. Yes, we are rapidly becoming rich as a nation; our economy swollen. And many, if not most, Japanese have become arrogant, turning their long-time inferiority complex into a superiority complex. Even our deep-rooted racial prejudice is raising its ugly head again, I am afraid.

As the Bible teaches, swine cannot appreciate the value of a pearl, although this pearl, the Constitution of Japan, was not thrown to our countrymen. It was the

beautiful product of collaboration between the Americans and the Japanese. We see the document not only as a renunciation of our hated past, but also as a contract for the future of mankind. It can still glow like a pearl and help guide us toward a peaceful world.

Internationalization And Its Social Costs: Emerging Trends In Japan Today

(The following is a report of a talk given by Dr. Sadako Ogata, Professor of Diplomatic History and International Relations, Sophia University, Tokyo of the Japan-America Society of Washington on November 24, 1986.)

A great deal of attention has been paid to the economic relationship between Japan and the United States but of equal importance are the social changes which have resulted from the internationalization of Japan. Social change in Japan has not been rapid but it has not been stagnant. . . it is moving very, very slowly, according to Dr. Sadako Ogata, Professor of Diplomatic and International Relations, Sophia University.

Speaking to members of the JASW, Mrs. Ogata said that everybody is talking about internationalization of Japan, but this is not the first time Japan has experienced "internationalization." The first case was the Meiji era when Japan experienced not a desire for international cooperation but a desire to acquire science and knowledge from the West in order to strengthen Japan.

The second case was at the end of World War II when Japan started to build a democratic nation under the document of the new constitution, which aspired to remake Japan as a new country.

The second case goes beyond making Japan international but changing social institutions is difficult, Mrs. Ogata said. To effect social change and to open social institutions to change requires a cooperative effort. In the case of business, the efforts of the company, the educational system and the employee are required.

Unless Japan can open up its institutions, however, it will not achieve inter-