

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 3-21

TO:

Jack

FROM: Staff Secretary

Shouldn't Potts get
talking points before
we throw phone numbers
his way?

Does he need info
about this case?

Ted

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 MAR 20 P 6 : 53

March 20, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Marcia L. Hale *MH*

SUBJECT: Governor Zell Miller and Speaker of the House Tom Murphy

Georgia Governor Zell Miller and Speaker of the House Tom Murphy called you last week to express frustration with the Justice Department's appeal of the U.S. Court of Appeals' decision regarding the drawing of Congressional district lines in Georgia. Because you were overseas, Harold spoke to the Governor and I spoke to the Governor and the Speaker. They were both upset with the appeal of this decision and asked to speak with you. I explained to both of them that you were out of the country.

Listed below are their telephone numbers. Neither of them have called back nor do I believe that they expect a return call but I thought you should be aware of their concerns.

Zell Miller	404.651.7715
Tom Murphy	404.656.5020

cc: Harold Ickes

FAXSR: 15-MAR-1996 11:13 Page 2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3 21 96



THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-2185

TELEPHONE: 202/797-6010 FAX: 202/797-6451

E-MAIL: JSTEINBRUNER@BROOK.EDU

FOREIGN POLICY STUDIES PROGRAM

Don/Sue

What do you think - terribly?

To: Cody Shearer

From: John Steinbruner

Date: March 15, 1996

Re: View from the Chorus

BC

At the end of our conversation yesterday, I promised to summarize the perspective on the Bosnian situation that I had outlined for you. I present this perspective solely as my own but I believe its main features are shared by a number of careful observers who are not directly implicated.

The central point is that a preventable disaster is looming. The international operation, as it is currently evolving, is clearly not adequate to master the conflict but is extensive enough to entangle the United States in its unfolding stages. That situation creates a grave strategic danger for the President. He is hostage to the political effects of sensational violence, and there are local actors who will attempt to exploit that vulnerability. We can expect the Bosnian peace process to be assaulted by radical opponents as has occurred in the Middle East and elsewhere, though the specific actions will undoubtedly take a different form. There is an uncomfortably large chance that the timing and design of this assault will be explicitly chosen to damage the President's reelection campaign. One does not have to posit any special personal or partisan vindictiveness to arrive at that conclusion. It is simply what the radicals are likely to do to maximize their leverage.

The radical threat is an unavoidable hazard of any situation of this sort and is not by itself an intractable problem. It is the incomplete design and internal tensions of the international intervention that makes the threat strategically dangerous in this instance, most notably:

- In practical terms the Dayton agreement is based on a three part separation along ethnic lines but the justifying logic of the agreement is premised on the Muslim-Croat Federation and a yet more comprehensive political structure for all of Bosnia. The Croats and Serbs are committed to the practical terms and not the formal ones. The Muslims are committed to neither. They still aspire to comprehensive sovereignty and, failing, that to a larger entity created by further expulsion of the Serbs.
- Under these conditions it is simply infeasible to hold viable elections on the set schedule and to establish functional political authority on that basis. The attempt to meet that

schedule virtually guarantees that the current nationalist parties will dominate the process and virtually precludes the possibility that more constructive alternatives might be formed. Moreover, the OSCE, which is formally charged with responsibility for the elections, appears to be bailing out of the assignment or at any rate bracing for predictable failure. Their contention is that they are simply advising and are not directly responsible.

- Nonetheless the process of international economic engagement and civil reconstruction, which is critical for the civilian side of the operation, formally depends on completing the election process. Hampered by this and by many other problems, the civilian part of the operation is not developing at a pace that would enable the military deployment to be responsibly withdrawn on anything like the schedule that has been suggested.
- Meanwhile, the inherent weakness of the civilian operation exposes the military to a severe dilemma. If the local commanders do not exceed their official instructions, they cannot reliably accomplish their assigned mission. If they do exceed instructions, they are subject to political recrimination and are themselves exposed to manipulation by radical elements. They are currently encountering a pattern of passive resistance -- that is, systematic refusal by the local parties to implement specific terms of the accord. That is a prelude to more active resistance.
- This dilemma is particularly severe in the Posavina corridor where Russian troops operate under American command. Muslim militants will attempt to cut the corridor as a prelude to an attempt to force the Serbs out of the entire area West to Banja Luka and Prijedor. The Serbs will defend it to prevent exactly that from happening. Formal jurisdiction was not resolved in the Dayton accord. It was remanded to international arbitration, a procedure that cannot be expected to handle a strategic situation of this sort.

There are at least two fundamental requirements for preventing the predictable misfortune that will occur if the situation is allowed to run on its current course.

First, a more robust statement of interest will have to be developed. To have any hope of succeeding the military operation will have to expand its scope to include some involvement in civilian reconstruction (to provide reassurance and motivate cooperation) and more assertive suppression of street gangs. It has not yet been given enabling instructions. It will also have to be given a longer time horizon -- in order to project a credible guarantee of security to the civilian population -- and better political preparation for the possibility of casualties. The civilian operation will have to be substantially energized and given more assets. If all that is to occur, there will have to be a stronger and more direct justification of the effort.

So far political justification has relied largely on appeals to alliance coherence and American leadership. Both are important but they are only indirectly related to the situation. These two arguments cannot by themselves carry the political load required. The rationale that has the potential to do so asserts that the Bosnian situation is a grave threat to the fundamental legal standards necessary for the general preservation of peace and the successful management of an internationalizing economy. That is not mere rhetoric. It is a deadly practical argument. It has not yet been developed, however, and without something of this sort we will not be able to mount a sufficient effort.

Second, in terms of political management of the operation, it must be understood that the Dayton agreement is a starting condition and not the complete design of a final settlement.

FAX: 15-MAR-1996 11:13 Page 4

The agreement has been extremely important in enabling the international operation to be deployed with the acceptance of the local parties and with a general claim to legitimacy. The leverage, momentum and immediate presence thereby acquired must be adroitly used to evolve the agreement very substantially; however, and that means to change many of its terms.

* This does not appear to be the current American attitude. Indeed the operational line coming out of the State Department seems to be that the terms of the agreement are all inviolable and that any change in any one of the major items will collapse the whole. The opposite is almost certainly true. The agreement will have to evolve in order to succeed and rigid adherence to the original terms probably guarantees its collapse.

The moral of the story is this: sometimes a President, to be worthy of his position or even to hold it, must produce an outcome; and this appears to be one of those occasions. Producing an outcome is not at all the same thing as taking a position. It is a much more demanding standard. Those of us out here in the chorus, wishing the current President well, do harbor our doubts about what we have seen so far in this situation. We are asking ourselves if he can do it. The good news and the bad is that the question is not yet answered.

In our
 coming
 for reply? Letter

To Dorskind for reply?

YES

NO

See NH note --
"ASAP"

Original
to J. n D

March 1996
Judy Collins

March 20, 1996

96 MAR 21 P5:28

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D. C. 20050

Dear Mr. President,

I hope this letter finds you well. I have just come from a very positive breakfast meeting with the New York Democratic Committee. I am thrilled to see the country is waking up more and more to the positive progress made by your Administration. We are proud of all you are doing and we are with you a thousand percent!

I am writing to discuss a subject that I know is close to your heart - anti-personnel mines. Of course, I was glad to read last week's headline in the **New York Times** about the Pentagon's willingness to consider a ban on *all* mines. That is fantastic news, but of course, the dangers of the millions of existing mines go on.

In an informal National Security Council memorandum on mines introduced the idea of educating children with animated, identifiable characters. At the request of Ambassadors Albright and Inderfurth, I brought my friend Jenette Kahn, President of DC Comics, to the US Mission to discuss what might be done.

The first meeting was exciting and creative, and in our second meeting, Jenette, along with members of her creative team at DC Comics, Tim Connolly from the Department of Defense, Matt Lorin from the National Security Council, Jody Williams from the Land Mine Campaign, and Lt. Colonel Feliz from the U.S. Mission, fleshed out a time-line of print and video projects:

1. Within eight to ten weeks, we will hopefully have an eight page Superman comic book on land mine awareness to be distributed in the former Yugoslavia to all children. It is good to know that interest in Superman tested very high in a recent focus group of young emigrants, who were asked if they and their friends know Superman in Bosnia.

DC Comics will also produce a Superman poster with land mine and safety guidelines on it in bold print. This will be distributed in Bosnia at the same time as the comic book.

2. Jenette mentioned that Warner Brothers Animation is producing an extensive series of Superman cartoons and suggested that Ambassador Albright call the division's president, Jean MacCurdy, to see if some of the animated material could be adapted to land mine awareness spots for television for broadcast in Bosnia. Jean was happy to help and Bobby Daly, Co-Chairman of Warner Brothers, gave his full support.

The animated spots should be ready to air in Bosnia in September of 1996. At this time, we might be able to release a second, longer Superman comic book if the funding can be found. Jenette feels strongly that the children of Bosnia, having suffered so much physical and emotional devastation, need to have a sense of a better future as much as they need to know about land mines. A second Superman comic would address both of these issues.

3. By October at the latest, Jenette has promised that DC Comics will produce a Batman comic* for the American market whose underlying theme will be the crisis of land mines around the world. Too few people in our country know that there are already 100 million active mines in sixty countries and that 80% of the casualties from the land mines are children.

DC Comics has had a very positive history in attracting press when a major popular icon like Superman or Batman gets involved in a serious issue. Several years ago, *Batman: Seduction of the Gun*, a thoroughly researched and powerful indictment of the proliferation of handguns in schools, was used by Virginia's former Governor Wilder in his campaign for stricter gun-control legislation. Governor Wilder sent the Batman comic to every member of the Virginia Legislature and brought it out wherever he spoke. The comic generated headlines

* Incidentally, Jenette, an old friend of Pat Leahy's, tells me he is a rabid reader of the Batman comic books.

page 3

and debate both in Virginia and nationwide. When the legislation passed, Governor Wilder attributed a large part of its success to the Batman comic book.

We are hoping that, with the right promotion and strategy, a Batman comic book on land mines will have a similar impact. You yourself might want to write an introduction for the inside cover both to underscore your concern and to add to the public's sense of the gravity of the issue.

By the way, the average reader of DC Comics is a college-educated 25-year old. Aside from the coverage we hope to get in the press, DC's core audience will also help to create a groundswell of outrage and activity.

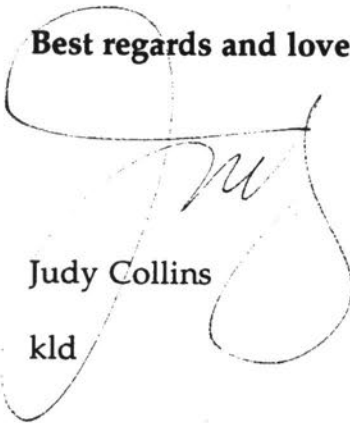
4. There are many other things we could do if we had underwriting for this campaign. For instance, the comic books and poster could be translated into other languages for distribution in those countries where land mines are killing and maiming our children. The animation too, could be dubbed. However, there are many costs associated both with publishing comics and creating prints for the television spots.

I am writing on behalf of all concerned to ask if you might know someone from the Coca-Cola Company, or one of the other international companies, perhaps, even a government entity which could support this effort. Do you think you might help us find an angel?

page 4

We would like to launch all of the mine awareness timeline with an announcement from the White House, perhaps even a press conference in the Rose Garden (DC Comics could do a mock-up of a large Superman poster for the event). It would be so appropriate for you as the international champion for children to ring the curtain up on this new phase of hope.

Best regards and love from me, as well as from my groom to be!



Judy Collins

kld

PS: In addition to the work on the comic books and animated spots, I will be putting together a record to benefit UNICEF and the land mine educational fund--the record will be called *Flowers of Destruction* and will include "Song For Sarajevo", which I wrote for the children of Bosnia, as well as the songs of other artists. I feel the mine awareness issue is of paramount importance. I feel certain you agree with me. If not all of us, then who? If not now, when?

LAT

3/20/96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-21-96

A Clinton Waffle That May Blow Up

By CATHERINE O'NEILL

Land mines are a clear example of President Clinton's well honed skill of being on both sides of an issue: saying one thing and then doing another.

In the fall of 1994, the president gave an address at the United Nations, greeted with much applause, in which he promised to work to rid land mines from the earth. I believed he meant what he said. So did many others. We were wrong.

When it came time to actually draft the policy, Clinton, influenced by Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, decided to support "smart mines." Smart mines are designed to self-destruct after 30 to 90 days. The U.S. policy supports the elimination of "dumb mines", the lethal ones that now pock the earth by the millions and remain dangerous years after the wars are over and the soldiers have gone home.

This virtually assures that millions of land mines will continue to pollute the earth, because smart mines are expensive. Dumb mines cost just a few dollars. So we are saying to other countries that we will keep land mines, the expensive kind; but they will have to get rid of their land mines. This is a policy designed not to make any difference at all.

There are a number of angry, disappointed and outraged groups following this administration double-talk on land mines. Human rights groups, religious groups, Vietnam veterans organizations and relief agencies have all joined together in a campaign to ban the use of all land mines. The United Nations leadership supports a ban on land mines. The Senate, led by Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), has adopted a one-year moratorium on land mines to begin in 1999. The ban land mines campaign has picked up powerful support in Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. On a recent visit to Angola, Albright was distressed by the maimed land mine victims. She has written other Cabinet members urging a change in U.S. policy. All of these efforts are aimed at a constituency of one, Clinton.

Even Shalikashvili has called for a Pentagon review, saying he now is inclined to oppose all land mines. But Clinton has not yet agreed to a change in land mine policy. Renowned for sticking like glue to whatever the military recommends, Clinton should have the courage to put into practice what he promised two years ago.

A conference on limiting land mines is planned for April in Geneva. Canada and many European countries have taken strong anti-land mine positions. Clinton should not dilly-dally, waiting for a further military blessing. He should do what's right: Promise to implement and extend the Leahy bill banning land mine use. Further, he should pledge to prohibit land mine manufacture in the U.S. and to destroy existing stocks of land mines. It's time to be commander in chief, not follower in chief.

*VP Tony
Agnew will
This is going to be a
problem and could be a
great opportunity
BS*

TO: TODD STERN
EVELYN LIEBERMAN

FROM: JIM DORSKIND *[Signature]* DATE: March 21, 1996

COMMEMORATIVE PROCLAMATION REQUEST

Commemoration Title: Education and Sharing Day, U.S.A., 1996
Commemoration Date(s): March 31, 1996
Requestor Name(s): Rabbi Shemtov (through George Stephanopoulos)
Organization: Lubavitch Movement
Request Date: March 19, 1996
Congressional Support: None

**Contact Telephone
Number:**

History: Proclamations issued since 1984, all at the request of Congress, except in 1994 and 1995, when issued on the President's initiative. The observance date varies each year, as the proclamation is issued to commemorate the birthday of the late leader of the Lubavitch movement, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson (known as "The Rebbie") in accordance with the Jewish calendar. (Last year, the observance date was April 11.)

NOTES: Although the request is quite late, in view of the history, I recommend that we issue a **PROCLAMATION**, based substantially on the language we used last year. (Sara Ehrman had recommended that, in the absence of a request, we not do a proclamation this year; now that we have received a request, she recommends that we issue one.)

Please indicate approval or disapproval of a **PROCLAMATION**, or another recommendation:

EL _____

TDS *[Signature]* _____

3-21-96

3/21
Taken to
Lieberman's
ofc



Education and Sharing Day, U.S.A., 1995

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

As we move toward a complex and challenging new century, excellence in American education is more vital to our Nation's success than ever. We live in an era when advances in science and technology create new questions and demand more of our citizens each day. Only a national commitment to high-quality education can prepare our young people to meet the great responsibilities and opportunities of the future.

Yet an education that prepares a child for a lifetime is more than an accumulation of facts or single-minded preparation for a career. It is also a set of ideals and ethics that unites all Americans and allows us to work together for a just and honorable society. Teachers, families, and communities play vital roles in passing on these shared values and common hopes for a better tomorrow.

Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, well understood the importance of nurturing the heart along with the mind. Throughout his long and rich life, he believed that the education of our young people would only be successful if it sought to build character as well as intellect, if it taught the lessons of honesty, tolerance, and good citizenship, as well as language, math, and science.

This year, let us rededicate ourselves to teaching the love of learning that was championed by Rabbi Schneerson and is strengthened by caring leaders like him throughout our Nation. As we provide our students with the information and practical tools they need, let us also pass on to them the capacity for understanding that can help to give fuller meaning to their lives.

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 April 11, 1995, as "Education and Sharing Day, U.S.A." I call upon Government officials, educators, volunteers, and all the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

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

William J. Clinton

CODY P.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3.21.96

SHEARER

SYNDICATED COLUMNIST

TO: Bill Clinton
FROM: Cody Shearer
Topic: Heads Up



March 20, 1996

I spent a delightful evening last Friday with Chelsea and Devin. You and Hillary should be really proud of her. What an articulate, fun-loving, natural, bright, inquisitive child you two have raised. She told me all about her summer plans in Kentucky and elsewhere. Sounds great !

Here's some pending troubling news on the liberal front. The U.S. Campaign to Ban Land Mines has been recruiting high-ranking military officers, hollywood stars, disabled veterans, leaders of the African-American community (Africa is the most-mined continent), and people in the arts and entertainment community. They're planning all kinds of activities: an open letter signed by ranking military officers on land mines in the NY Times, rock concerts, shipping children's shoes to the White House, etc.

The person who is behind the current push is Bobby Muller, the president of Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, a group that runs prosthetic clinics in Cambodia, Vietnam, El Salvador and Angola. He tells me he's willing to bring all of his allies to the table in support of you when, and if , you sign an executive order banning mines. He is in touch with Madeleine Albright's office, as well as the Pentagon, on this issue (see L.A. Times article from today 3/20/96).

I've also enclosed a memo I received recently on Bosnia from John Steinbruner at the Brookings Institution.

Laura

Thru good, especially
info on ambiguous
results of downsizing

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 6, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3 01 96

96 MAR 6 8:05

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alexis Herman *AH*
RE: Business Community

Per our conversation, attached is background paper I wrote a couple of years ago and updated for a Business Roundtable (BRT) seminar last year. The paper explains the issues of downsizing, restructuring, etc., and the business challenges for the future.

As we explore the Corporate Citizenship Conference, I believe the meeting represents an enormous opportunity for you to clarify a vision of a new corporate social contract for the next Century.

In my discussions, CEOs are looking for a way to have a thoughtful dialogue on the issues of restructuring and what is the expectation of corporations going into the next millennium.

I had a private conversation with John Snow, President of CSX and President of BRT at the February BRT Meeting. He stated that he believed the business community would welcome presidential leadership in this area.

I have detailed my thoughts in a memo to Laura Tyson on the substance of the conference, which included my suggestions to consider the following:

- 1. provide an action oriented agenda
- 2. provide measurable outcomes
- 3. reflect the human side of change.

Given my direct experience with these issues prior to my years in Government, obviously, this is a subject I care about a great deal. If these issues are positioned properly before the American people, I believe, there is real payout.

Attachment

cc: Leon Panetta
cc: Harold Ickes
cc: Evelyn Lieberman
cc: Laura Tyson
cc: Kate Carr

Corporate Change and The New Social Contract

An Historical Synopsis

In recent years, business in the United States has confronted constant change.

During the past two decades, the nation's shift away from a manufacturing-dominated industrial base toward a more high-tech, service-oriented economy has irrevocably changed the dynamics of the American workforce. With the disappearance of economic borders, an international employee pool has emerged, presenting lower-cost options for those labor intensive production industries which remain. Dependency on people -- an issue that has traditionally defined the limits of business -- has been greatly reduced. The globalization of the marketplace has opened up new business frontiers, and advanced technology has generated a boom of entirely new industries. Yet increased competition in this rapidly evolving environment has meant that only the strong survive. Business has been compelled to become more competitive by increasing both productivity and efficiency. As American companies have struggled to stay fit and trim, many have chosen to start from within: reducing their employee rosters and attempting to do more with less. Reliance on technology has increased, while reliance on human resources has declined.

During the past twenty years, the corporate community has gone through many transitional stages while trying to bring its workforce needs into balance. The nomenclature has changed dramatically with the times. In the late 1970s and early 80s, the simple descriptor 'reduction in force' or 'RIF' was used to describe attempts to reduce staffing levels. During the early eighties, the term 'downsizing' was coined to soften the images associated with drastic cutbacks. It also emphasized the critical business imperative of reducing unnecessary and costly overhead in order to survive. 'Restructuring', framed as a more creative and comprehensive approach to the same issue, captured the corporate imagination during the middle and late eighties. The emphasis here lay not only on downsizing, but on reorganizing the basic approach to core work processes, supplier and customer relationships, and the globalization of the marketplace. Restructuring gained added significance with the advent of big business mergers, takeovers, and buy-outs. Companies were forced to find creative ways to retire debt, yet remain current and competitive. By the early 90s, 'reengineering' was the technical term of choice. Reengineering is defined by organizational experts Hammer and Champy as 'the fundamental rethinking and radical redesign of business processes to achieve dramatic improvements in contemporary measures of performance, such as cost, quality, service and speed.' To many companies, this notion was far too radical, and most felt it could not be accomplished while effectively maintaining an ongoing business. Thus, the core principles of reengineering became bastardized.

Lessons Learned

American business learned a great deal as a result of these transitions. Initially, the catalyst for reducing staff was the realization that corporations had gotten too fat and costly. The ratio of managers to direct reports was very large. Thus, there was a surplus of people telling others what to do, and a deficit of people actually doing the work. The simplistic solution was to reduce the size of the workforce, particularly at middle management levels. There was little understanding of the relationships between organizational culture, entrenched work processes, employee morale and the attainment of business goals. It comes as no surprise that study after study indicates that reductions in force, restructuring, and reengineering have not on the whole been successful. Profit, productivity and efficiency have not improved.

And bottom-line indicators fail to reveal that change, as traditionally defined, works at all. A 1995 report issued by the business publication *Challenge* cites three alarming findings:

- Downsizing does not typically result in productivity gains;

- Downsizing increases profits only half the time; and

- Employee morale suffers greatly, with those left behind often manifesting symptoms of a painful 'survivor syndrome' that persists for as long as four years after downsizing.

Today there is increased recognition that corporate change is driven by the need to modify core work processes, leverage technology more effectively, and optimize the use of human resources. Some companies utilized this knowledge and committed to invest the time, resources and leadership to do it correctly. Many got good results: Kodak Corporation, for example, maintained a healthy long term strategy when it narrowed its focus to its core business, producing cameras. Ford Motor Company cast aside all operating assumptions and completely redefined its procurement process, streamlining it to the point where 125 people could do the work of 500. IBM Credit freed its financing services division from a bureaucratic quagmire by giving a staff of capable generalists more authority and better information technology. And Procter and Gamble has received national recognition for its innovative approach to restructuring workplace practices.

Companies most successful in implementing change used four key planning principles:

- Long term strategic planning;
- Rewarding managers for long-term results;
- Leveraging technology appropriately; and
- Recognizing the human side of change.

In sum, although some success factors have been identified, change-related goals have rarely been met under the traditional business operational models. Corporations now recognize that their very nature must be radically altered before programmatic changes can take effect. As the *Challenge* report states, " . . . Organizations have to change *in order to change*. Their present structures and cultures tend to disallow the successful implementation of change initiatives."

At the heart of organizational change today lies a fresher, broader concept: *transforming the organization*. Transformation may best be described as falling between restructuring and reengineering on the change continuum. It acknowledges the need to make a fundamental shift in the way business is envisioned, planned and conducted. Transformation takes the high middle ground: it obliterates the complacency of antiquated 'fat and happy' corporate models, but avoids taking a heartless 'slash and burn' approach to redefining business. It sees the organization as a complete, human-centered system with a clearly articulated culture and well-defined work processes. And it recognizes that "the only sustainable resource for competitive advantage is people," as stated in a 1994 report issued by The Conference Board. Other management trends can be projected for companies taking this new approach to transformation:

- Effectively matching business goals with human capital;
- Emphasis on reestablishing loyalty;
- Committed efforts to reassure, re-train and re-motivate 'survivors'; and
- Delivering a better product or service to consumers at a lower cost.

The Human Impact

The association between government and business must be reconsidered as the twenty-first century approaches. This is particularly important because it is mirrored in the relationships between business and citizens. The impact of change in the business sector touches every aspect of society; indeed, it can be argued that big business is a key determinant of the quality of life in the United States. And the experience of ordinary Americans today reveals that corporate changes have left deep scars. Mass layoffs have affected millions of people. Feelings of misery, disruption and anxiety are pervading families and communities. Issues of distrust, dashed expectations, and diminished hopes for the future undergird societal responses to the changing corporate environment. The backlash of this discontent will soon be manifested in other political and social indicators. Big business must be encouraged to stay on the proper social footing, while still responding to an atmosphere of increasing competition.

The Future

The future is now. The year 2000 is only three and a half years away. Americans are feeling uncertain about tomorrow, and their sense of entitlement to a good life has been shattered. People no longer believe that getting an education, working hard, and being loyal and committed to a company will automatically be rewarded with job security and a robust career. Job status and financial security are becoming even more elusive fantasies. The unwritten psychological contract that has undergirded the 'marriage' relationship between employer and employee has been destroyed, with devastating consequences. A groundswell of public outrage is developing, and its impact will soon be felt. The American corporation must now take a critical look at itself, its place in society, and its vision for the future. Corporate identity and responsibility must be reexamined. And the change process itself must be carefully evaluated in terms of its lessons, consequences and ramifications.

However, all is not gloom and doom. The one indisputable fact emergent from the past twenty years is that business and the citizens of the United States are inextricably intertwined. The lessons of the past two decades have underscored this symbiotic relationship. It is reflected in the vibrant growth of the small business sector; now categorized as the largest employer in the nation. And it is affirmed by the dramatic efforts of many corporations to keep their employees happy and productive. Increasingly relaxed workplaces and innovative employment trends such as job sharing and telecommuting mean that many companies must reach to redefine what it means to be an employee. Ironically, the family-friendly nature of these

trends is not predicated on traditional employer-as-parent workforce models. Rather, companies today are becoming less paternalistic, viewing their relationships with their employees as mature partnerships in which the employer's contribution must remain competitive. In exchange for the employee's services and dedication, companies now offer a range of flexible benefits, which may include educational opportunities, flex time, child care, profit-sharing, performance incentives, and more.

Transformation therefore provides an unprecedented window of opportunity for companies willing to redefine traditional roles and relationships. Restructuring and the enhancement of the family-friendly workplace need not be mutually exclusive.

As I stated nearly a decade ago, companies have historically made enormous investments in the recruitment and retention of employees. Today's successful corporation must focus more on leveraging talent from within. Staying ahead of the game calls for constant innovation, which requires a work force capable of delivering extraordinary performance even as competitive standards rise. At Bell Atlantic, for example, employees are offered in-house seminars to help them evaluate their skill sets and consider non-traditional opportunities for growth. Many businesses, both large and small, are offering flexible tuition assistance plans. Creative approaches to education, training, and the provision of core benefits will become ever more essential to the development of core talent pools companies will depend on, and should be examined closely in the coming months and years.

Today, business and government face an ideal opportunity to forge a closer relationship and collaborate to make people and profitability compatible. Doing good while doing better can indeed become a palpable reality for the American corporation.

Alexis Herman is Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison. Prior to her government service, she was a business leader. She spent more than a decade working with corporations on the change process.

March 19, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3.21.96

MEMORANDUM

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Andrea Whitney

Re: Recent correspondence from Ambassador Derek Shearer

I. Ambassador Shearer wrote that you must further tackle the issue of "economic insecurity" with visits to more industries. In addition, you should give a "think" speech explaining what is happening to the economy and some possible solutions at prominent business school.

II. He enclosed Ruth's review of Mrs. Clinton's book from a leading women's magazine in Finland. She wrote that It Takes A Village is an explanation of Hilary Clinton. Mrs. Clinton's book will make people see beyond all the charges and see a dedicated, intelligent, self-disciplined First Lady.

III. He also sent a number of interviews Ruth did about International Women's Day. Ruth says that although she admires Finnish women, they need to be more assertive and progressive.

IV. He enclosed a review of Lester Thurow's The Future of Capitalism: How Today's Economic Forces Shape Tomorrow's World. Thurow's central message is that the economy is going through such dramatic changes that the metaphor "punctuated equilibrium" is the only way to describe it.

V. Ambassador Shearer's thoughts from an interview with the "Turun Sanomat" on March 7, 1996 are also included. He says that Russia offers increasing opportunities to Finns and he encourages Finnish businessmen to be more active in trade with Russia. He sees Finland as a region of great economic potential.

VI. Furthermore, Ambassador Shearer predicts that it will be a tight and aggressive battle between you and Dole this Fall, and the nature of your second term will depend on the size of your winning majority.

VII. He also enclosed an article by Simon Head which analyzes the U.S. economy as it enters its sixth year of recovery from the 1990-1991 recession. The economy is showing a rare strength, but the living standard of Americans has not improved. Lean production and reengineering have drawn the U.S. to an economy of mass production.

Review of Hillary's book for Women's mag. - 8/2/96

I'm sure that when Mrs. Hillary Clinton conceived of writing a book advocating the needs of children in the U.S., she wanted to find a new outlet for her considerable energy. She also sought a way to be socially active that would be more easily understood than her unsuccessful efforts to bring about healthcare reform. In addition, she probably hoped that a book published in early 1996 would be helpful in her husband, President Bill Clinton's reelection campaign. Perhaps, she should have anticipated that a number of controversies involving her might surface in 1996 just before the book's publication as part of the opening salvos of the Republican party's election campaign -- charges that she is a militant feminist, or the unelected, secretive power behind the presidency, and that she somehow behaved improperly in the Whitewater investigation and her legal work back in Arkansas. But new attacks that Mrs. Clinton is a "congenital liar" and that she did not write her own book are so wild as to have been totally unexpected. Now, Mrs. Clinton's very person and character are being questioned and her book, "It Takes a Village," has become a very important document in this year's national election. The book stands as the best, most complete explanation of Hillary Clinton, her personal values, motivation, political ideas, and her strengths and weaknesses.

I'm a longtime friend of Mrs. Clinton. I've been with her in many different social and political situations. But I think anyone who has spent even a half hour with her, or anyone who has seen and heard her give one of those remarkable speeches in which she speaks spontaneously, without reference to text or notes, always using impeccable grammar will instantly recognize the authenticity of her voice in "It Takes a Village." Mrs. Clinton's analytical, practical, emotionally-even, straight-forward way of thinking and speaking is unmistakable on every page. Take, for example, the paragraph

in which she summarizes her advice on how to deal with adolescent sexuality, teen pregnancies and drug use.

“I wish we could all take a deep breath and remember that sex has been around for a long, long time and we are all here because of it. It is an important part of who we are and how we live, and there should be no shame in our children’s curiosity about it. If we could accept that, we could begin talking to children, as soon as they could understand what we were saying, about the importance of honoring their bodies and entering into relationships responsibly. As children grew older, we could explain that there are stages in each human being’s life, and that sex is an appropriate part of an adult’s life, something that comes with maturity and readiness for commitment.”

While Mrs. Clinton does call for comprehensive age-appropriate programs of sex education in America’s schools, including information on contraception (what some would consider a liberal position), she clearly states her own preference for abstinence (what most conservatives would agree upon). Her general approach to solving children’s problems is to rely on good parenting. She encourages parents to emphasize honest, direct, unemotional verbal communication with their children -- very much in the way she talks to her public audiences and addresses the readers of this book.

My friends in Finland who are familiar with Mrs. Clinton’s reputation as a forceful spokesperson on women’s and family issues and who may have seen Mrs. Clinton acting in the international arena and heard or read her inspirational speeches at the United Nations’ world conferences in Copenhagen or Beijing, will probably be surprised by how moderate are the proposals that she puts forward in “It Takes a

Village.” Because the level of government support for children and the family is so much greater in Europe than in the States, Mrs. Clinton’s calls for programs such as free vaccines for needy children may seem disappointingly modest in the European context. But Mrs. Clinton focuses on the practical, what can be done given American political reality.

Mrs. Clinton’s weekly columns, available in Finnish in “Me Naiset” magazine, express the same kind of approach and style of writing. In both her articles and her book, she has a clever way of using anecdotes about her own, the President’s or her daughter Chelsea’s personal experiences and mentioning the trips she has taken or the community programs she has visited recently. For instance, in her chapter on child safety and crime, Mrs. Clinton tells a poignant story about a teenage boy who wrote to President Clinton asking him to stop the killing in his city. The boy was killed in a drive-by shooting incident just a few days after the President read the letter. She then discusses the importance of the Brady Bill of 1993 and the Crime Control Act of 1994 which limit the availability of hand guns and assault weapons. But with the Republican-controlled Congress threatening to repeal even these modest controls, Mrs. Clinton does not bother to call for additional gun control legislation. Rather, she focuses on what can be done by local communities with examples such as a successful Kansas City neighborhood crime prevention program and a New Haven, Connecticut project that gets police and health professionals to counsel children who have been traumatized by witnessing violent crime.

While Mrs. Clinton has always spoken out for programs to help children in need, the positions she takes and the government programs she supports in this new book are -- with the exception, perhaps of a much reduced emphasis national health insurance --

consistent with her past positions and what is realistic in the U.S. Mrs. Clinton never was the “radical reformer” that her Republican opponents claimed, only a more compelling advocate than others in the field, one who was more likely to be listened to and, therefore, one who was more likely to be attacked.

Her political enemies will find very little in “It Takes a Village” which they can attack. Her positions on requiring reconciliation counseling prior to any divorce proceedings, criticizing the media for too much sex and violence, supporting strict dress codes and even uniforms in public schools, and emphasizing the importance of organized religion are often claimed by conservatives as their exclusive domain. To bolster her arguments, Mrs. Clinton cites, among others, Republicans Margaret Chase Smith and William Bennet as well as President Franklin Roosevelt and Labor Secretary Robert Reich from her own party. Moreover, Mrs. Clinton never exercises an author’s privilege of engaging in one-sided attacks on her opponents. She chooses not to point out that both Senator Bob Dole and Congressman Newt Gingrich are themselves divorced. In her book, as in person, she never seeks to win an argument by raising her voice or resorting to personal attacks.

The real Hillary Clinton is most clearly revealed in her chapter on the importance of religion. In her chapter entitled “Children are Born Believers,” she explains how her childhood beliefs developed as she participated regularly in the Methodist church, in its Sunday school and in its youth programs, especially those involving helping people less fortunate than herself. Most readers, who tend to see Mrs. Clinton as a high-powered intellectual, will be touched to learn that she keeps a scrapbook of simple prayers and quotes from the Scriptures to which she refers regularly for inspiration and comfort. It is

her fundamental religious beliefs that have shaped her work on behalf of society. The media in the U.S. are paid to be skeptical and only a minority of Americans are as actively involved in religion as is Mrs. Clinton. There is a general cynicism about the likelihood of a modern, educated careerwoman's religious devotion. Mrs. Clinton says, "Some of the best theologians I have met were five-year-olds." Clearly, she finds a deep consonance in the natural wonder, spontaneity and hopefulness of young children and her own spiritual and religious feelings. I believe that is why she chose to study child development in college and why she has made child advocacy issues so much a part of her life's work.

"It Takes a Village" is a serious, thorough, professional overview of the problems children in the U.S. are experiencing and a call for every member of American society to share some responsibility in the care and nurturing of America's new generations.

Surprisingly for a First Lady, Mrs. Clinton's approach is not at all political. She does point to many local, state and national government initiatives that are successful and should be expanded, but she doesn't -- except on a chapter about the insidious impact of media and consumerism -- discuss the influence of lobbyists, nor does she ask readers to write letters to their legislators or change their votes in coming elections. Instead, she discusses children's needs in terms of the processes of child development and most of her recommended solutions emphasize improving parenting skills and how parents can act to increase the potential of their own children. Whether Mrs. Clinton is advocating an increase in the standard length of a hospital stay at childbirth from 24 to 48 hours, or urging businesses to expand parental leave opportunities for mothers and fathers, or supporting voluntary public service efforts like the President's Americorps program, or

asking parents to turn off their TV sets for an hour or a week, she calls for the change because it will improve the physical, neurological, emotional and moral development of the youth involved. And while she offers some easy to comprehend examples from her own experiences as a child or as a mother, she refers to an impressive array of the most up-to-date studies in child psychology, sociology and physiology, as well as quotes from numerous well-respected physicians and university professors to carry her argument and convince the reader.

Because of my own interests in urban planning and my experiences serving as the mayor of my home town, I had expected that Mrs. Clinton's title "It Takes a Village" would refer less to child development and more to defining what a good village ought to be, or to building better villages (cities and towns), or would analyze the cultural and economic disparities in the U.S. that make it hard for our nation to think like a village. On hearing of her book, I thought that if only Mrs. Clinton had been able to visit Finland she would know what a village needs to be if it is to take good care of all its children. After I read the book and noted that she had learned a lot from a brief 1989 visit to study French day care programs and had appreciated the sleeping babies in carriages who are routinely left alone outside shops in Copenhagen during her UN. conference visit in 1994, I knew the book would have been more comprehensive had she visited Finland. Then she would have seen firsthand the young children's play areas that are incorporated into new housing blocks and in most stores, the well-maintained libraries, cultural centers and sports halls available to children in every community, the bicycle paths and convenient public transportation, and, of course, the integrated health service clinics that provide innovative maternity, prenatal and early childhood programs. Most importantly, she

would have seen the social consensus on health and education that springs quite naturally out of a homogeneous society in a small country with a history of shared sacrifice.

In the U.S., with our history of racial diversity and waves of immigration, where so many people with different cultural values and approaches to childrearing live side by side, it is very difficult to establish a consensus for social service programs at the community level, much less national programs. I have found more success in developing programs for the built environment. As Mayor of Santa Monica, I worked to install new street lights to help with the safety of people on the sidewalks and in the parks as well as the cars on the streets. Our city government built bicycle paths, supported youth service programs to paint over graffiti, created walking streets with shops, restaurants and movie theaters where young people could gather, restored an amusement park on a waterfront pier, developed architectural and land use controls to create a sense of physical homogeneity, created non-profit private enterprises to build affordable housing, and stabilized and controlled the rents in existing housing at a time of skyrocketing inflation.

There is a young man living in Finland this year who grew up in Santa Monica, whose story exemplifies my point. William plays for one of Helsinki's pro-basketball teams and is a friend of my son Anthony. William told me one day that his grandmother with whom he lived as a child said that he, William, owed his success in life to me because I fought for rent control when I was mayor. William's grandmother believed that he would not have finished High School if she had not had a safe, affordable apartment in which to live during his formative years. William also tells me that he never would have completed his University degree or found his basketball job in Finland without the special

care and attention he received from his University basketball coach who promised William that if he graduated university, he, the coach, would find a place for William to play professionally. A complete review of the needs of children would address both these types of assistance from which William benefited.

“It Takes a Village” reveals a lot about who Mrs. Clinton is: her special abilities, moral strength, and lifelong interests. Mrs. Clinton studied child development in college and took an extra year while at Yale Law School to study child development on a graduate level. One of her earliest professional accomplishments was her work with the staff of the Yale-New Haven Hospital to help draft guidelines for the treatment of abused children. One of her mentors to whom she refers many times is Dr. Sally Provence, who, before her death, was a child development expert at the Yale Child Study Center. Inadvertently I think, Hillary Clinton offers readers a clearer insight into herself than she intended in this description of Dr. Provence.

“I remember standing behind a one-way glass, watching her work with a mother whose baby kept crying and arching his body away from her. The child looked as if he was trying to propel himself into space. I observed how Dr. Provence soothed the baby, speaking to him the same way she touched him, gently but firmly. She translated what she did into simple instructions, for instance showing the mother how to hold the baby less stiffly by using her whole hand instead of just her fingertips. If that kind of hands-on instruction were readily available to parents, many behavioral and emotional problems could be prevented.”

Mrs. Clinton is herself gentle, but very firm. She does not care for nor believe in sweet talk. She values patience, self-control and consistency. Throughout her life, she has been

able to learn from the wisdom of experts and then act responsibly. She hopes and expects others can do the same. Often, I think, she sees her critics, both the cynical media and the demonizing politicians who attack her, as unhappy babies who have lost their moral footing. For better or worse, Mrs. Clinton seeks to address the controversies surrounding her in the way she learned from Dr. Provencher more than 20 years ago. This is who Hillary Clinton is.

The description of Dr. Provencher reminded me of a discussion I had with Mrs. Clinton during the 1992 election campaign. Because I was her friend, I was asked by several campaign staffers who thought she would better listen to my advice than theirs to urge her to work on softening up her image. I suggested she try talking more about her feelings for her husband and daughter in her campaign speeches. Hillary took a deep breath and patiently answered me by saying she knew that it was hard for the public to get to know her and that it had taken a long time for the people of Arkansas to appreciate her and trust her, but she was convinced that she should just keep speaking about her issues and in the style with which she was comfortable and that in the long run it would work out for the best. She was proven right in 1992. I hope that she's proven right once again in 1996. With "It Takes a Village" as a guide to help them, people should be able to see through the murky charges and innuendoes swirling around Hillary Clinton and find the dedicated, intelligent, reserved, religious, self-disciplined defender of children who is the First Lady.

by Ruth Goldway, Helsinki, 2/2/96