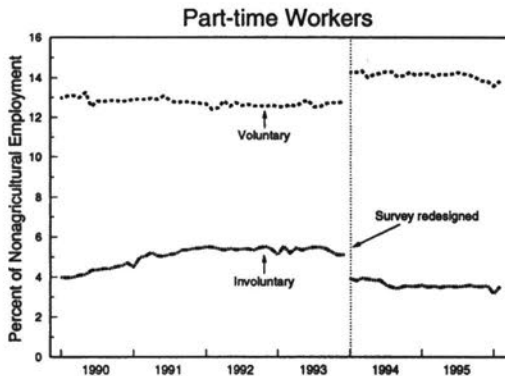


CURRENT DEVELOPMENT

False Claims About Part-time Jobs

The Republican National Committee recently claimed the 8 million jobs created since January 1993 are primarily part-time jobs. Evidence from the two main sources of employment data, however, shows most of these jobs are full-time, not part-time.



Household survey. The household survey includes data on part-time employment. Unfortunately, the redesign of the survey in January 1994 makes it impossible to compare figures before and after that month. But part-time employment did not rise much in 1993, and since January 1994 has declined. Furthermore, the number of people working part-time who would like full-time jobs remains small relative to all part-time workers (see chart).

Payroll survey. Data from the payroll survey do not directly measure full-time versus part-time employment but can be used to compute the number of full-time equivalent jobs. This calculation suggests that the gain in annual hours between January 1993 and December 1995 was sufficient to generate roughly 7 million full-time equivalent (40 hours per week) jobs. This total is more than double the recent incorrect claims of the Republican National Committee and is just shy of the net increase of 7.9 million jobs through December.

The payroll survey also shows that average weekly hours were virtually unchanged between 1992 and 1995. Because part-time employees average fewer hours per week, average hours should have fallen if job creation was mainly in part-time positions.

Summary. The evidence supports the view that most of the jobs created over the past 3 years are full time. And, to the extent part-time jobs have been created, they are being filled primarily by people desiring part-time rather than full-time jobs.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-26-96

MUSKINGUM COLLEGE
NEW CONCORD, OHIO 43762
(614) 826-8211
THE PRESIDENT

Duplicate

March 20, 1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

This letter is to invite you to be the commencement speaker at Muskingum College. Our commencement is usually held at 2:00 p.m. on Mothers' Day, which this year is Sunday, May 12, but we would be glad to move commencement to anytime from Saturday, May 11 to Sunday, May 19, in order to accommodate your schedule.

Muskingum College is a four-year liberal arts college affiliated with the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. It is ranked in the top 10% of regional colleges in the Midwest by *U.S. News & World Report* and is included in Peterson's new publication, *Top Colleges for Science*, which lists the nation's outstanding public and private college science programs.

The college has a number of nationally recognized alumni. There are none of which we are more proud than U.S. Senator John Glenn and his wife, Anna. Both are active members of our Board of Trustees. John announced his first campaign for the U.S. Senate and his campaign for the presidency from Muskingum's campus.

Muskingum recently received widespread public recognition for its precedent-setting approach to addressing the spiraling costs of higher education, namely cutting our tuition by \$4,000 for students entering the college next fall. Your positive comments about our initiative in your address to the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities on February 7 was greatly appreciated.

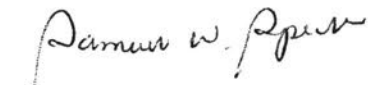
We would be delighted to have you on campus to give the commencement address and to receive an honorary degree. I would anticipate that if his schedule permits, Senator Glenn will be present to introduce you and participate in the honorary degree presentation.

Senator Glenn's office will be in touch with you regarding this invitation. If your office has any questions, feel welcome to call Senator Glenn's office or to call me at 614 826-8115.

We will be glad to work with your office in every way possible to meet your needs and expectations.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Samuel W. Speck
President

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New fare wars at college

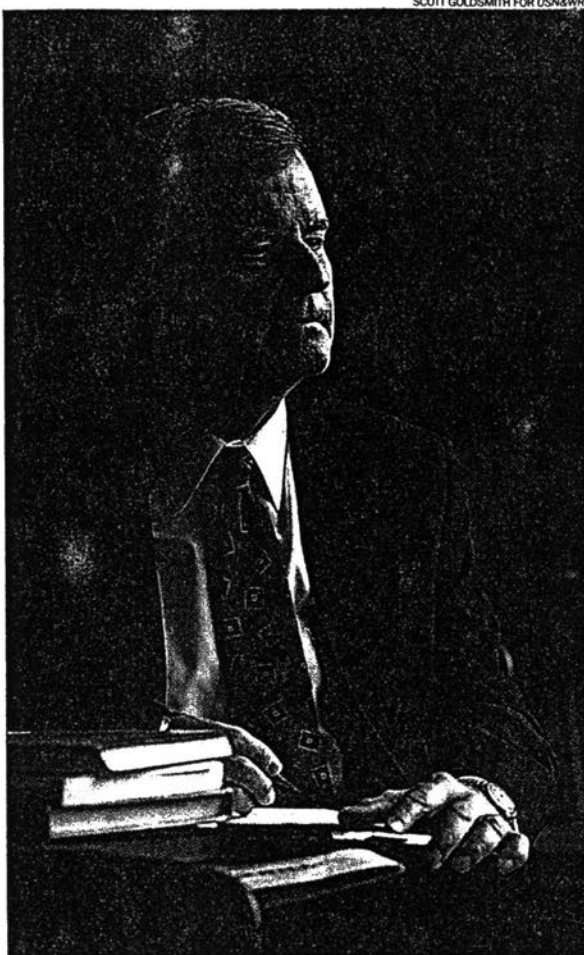
Muskingum College tries something radical: a \$4,000 price cut

Management guru Peter Drucker noted not long ago: "There are two marketing crimes that will never be forgiven, and colleges commit both. One is buying customers, and the other is pretending that your merchandise costs a lot more than it does."

This week, Muskingum College in New Concord, Ohio, will strike a blow for marketing simplicity when it announces a move that is virtually unprecedented in academia: a 29 percent cut in tuition for incoming students, from \$13,850 to \$9,850. The 158-year-old college aims to slash its institutional aid budget, boost its enrollment by about 100 students and attract more middle-income students who have been scorning the private college in recent years for the cheaper public alternatives. "Our goal is to make college more affordable to a broader cross section of potential students," says Muskingum President Samuel Speck.

Pressures. Muskingum's move is the most dramatic of several in recent years that show some private colleges are feeling competitive pressure from good public colleges. Moreover, they have tired of the traditional strategy of jacking up tuition while pumping up aid programs—decisions that have turned the hunt for college aid into a free-for-all where every student tries to cut the best deal and the range of pricing options is as complex as the federal tax code.

The overall bill for incoming students at Muskingum (fees, room and board are estimated to rise slightly to \$4,680) will be around \$14,530. That makes its



President Speck. Striking a blow for marketing simplicity

price competitive with the cost of Ohio public schools for out-of-state students and falls well below many other private colleges in the region. Most current students will be unaffected by the tuition drop—70 percent of the student body now receives discounts exceeding \$4,000. For those paying more than the new rate, the college will split the difference.

Despite its visceral appeal, Muskingum's move is not without hazard. Colleges that cut rates risk being regarded

as cut-rate institutions. But Muskingum, which *U.S. News* ranked this year in the top 10 percent of regional liberal arts colleges in the Midwest, insists it is not acting out of desperation. Enrollment has been steady at about 1,100 for the past 10 years, and Speck just completed a \$35 million capital campaign.

While Muskingum has had no trouble filling its seats, it was find-

ing that the usual pattern of annual tuition hikes made less sense. The portion of the student body receiving institutional aid had climbed in recent years above 85 percent—meaning that a greater share of increased tuition fees was simply being pumped back into the financial aid budget and generating smaller gains in revenue. And as sticker price was going up, good middle-class students were turning to cheaper public institutions.

Muskingum's across-the-board price-cutting approach is unique. But many private schools, particularly in competitive regions like the Northeast and Midwest, have come to rely on a host of discounting schemes to lure desirable students. Monmouth College in Illinois offers discounts of up to \$8,900 off its total cost of \$18,450, based on a handful of factors including gross adjusted family income, state residency and number of children in college. In addition,

Monmouth offers about 80 merit awards of \$1,250 based on ACT scores and class rank. Since launching the program three years ago, the college has boosted enrollment from 670 to 925.

New York's University of Rochester last year began offering \$5,000 grants to in-state applicants, whom the school had been losing to cheaper New York public colleges. The result: The portion of incoming in-state students jumped from 49 percent to 57 percent and average SAT scores climbed 35 points.

The public's increasing hunt for value in higher education lies behind the trend. For instance, in 1991, the median family income of students at the public University of Minnesota was \$3,000 higher than that of students at the state's private colleges. "In the 1980s, higher price tended to be perceived as higher quality," says educational marketer John Lawlor. "Today, consumers are asking to see why the higher price is worth it." At Muskingum and other private schools, that's the new standard—and the new challenge. ■

BY THOM GEIER

AID AND COSTS

■ **Est. college aid last year: \$46.2 billion, up 68% from a decade ago**

■ **Avg. yearly cost of tuition/fees at private 4-year colleges: \$13,812, up 102% since 1985**

■ **Public colls.: \$2,822, up 104% since 1985**

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Campaign's Big Winner: Mediocrity



■ *We're in trouble when the only people addressing real issues are hateful extremists.*

By Roger Flaherty

So why not a Buchanan-Farrakhan (alphabetical order) presidential ticket? They are soul mates, a perfect match for some third party of America's disaffected, the default program of an electorate starved of worthy leaders.

Consider Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam. He urges economic self-sufficiency and empowerment for blacks and devilishly (a favorite word of his) exposes the rawness of American race relations. He tells people pained by their sense of victimhood to be proud. And he offers them courage with his own outrageous nose-thumbing at the U.S. government.

Consider Pat Buchanan, the putative leader of white conservatives. He harps on the trials of workers dispossessed of jobs in de-industrialized America and plucks the strings of their fear and anger on everything from immigration to abortion. Like Farrakhan, Buchanan offers listeners courage with martial metaphors and nose-thumbing at the Establishment.

Both have other qualities. They love to scapegoat, often with a flavor of anti-Semitism. They are race-baiters and xenophobes.

In recent weeks, I've read newspaper columns about both men, suggesting voters take them seriously because they are raising real issues. Well, so could the Devil. Buchanan and Farrakhan cannot be redeemed by their willingness

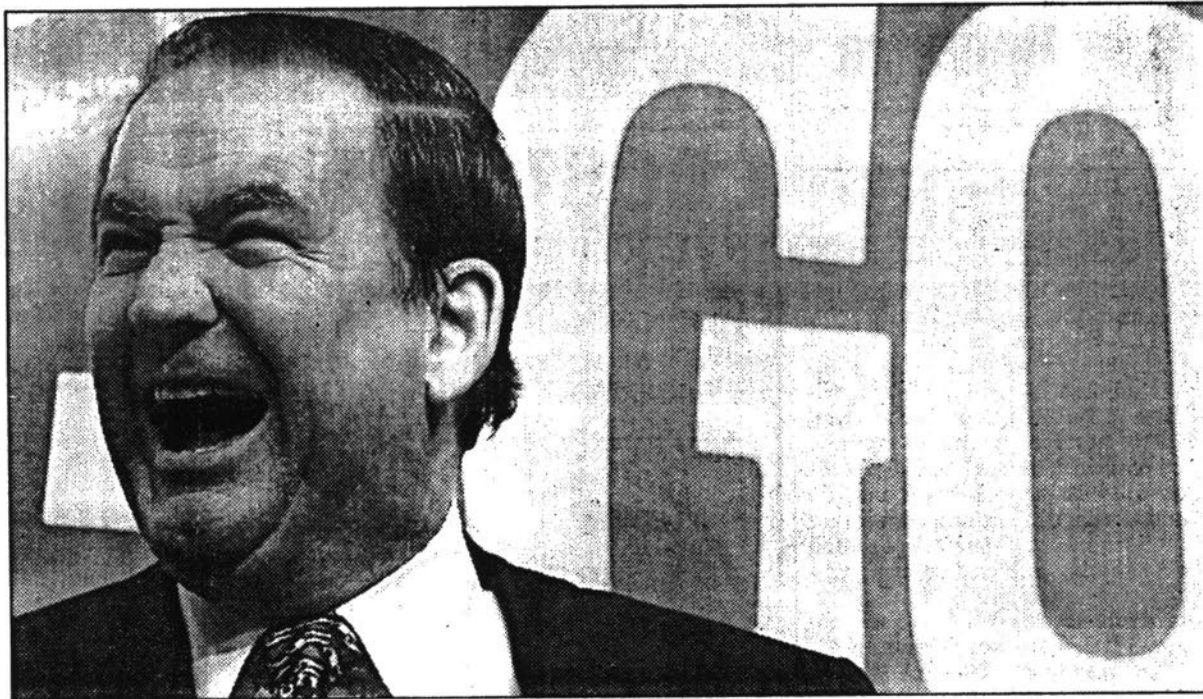
Carl Rowan is on vacation.

to talk about issues that threaten and divide us, because both offer solutions based on hate, the ultimate divider.

Unfortunately, I can't find any presidential candidate who is addressing their issues with special insight or promise.

With all the silly rhetoric of getting government off our backs, no one is suggesting what government should be doing about continual corporate downsizing, longer workdays destructive of family life, wages slipping behind even the moderate inflation of recent years, lack of industrial jobs, loss of health insurance and fear of such loss, out-of-control inflation in college costs and declining pay-off for those who get a degree. Buchanan sniffs the beginnings of class warfare and turns it into a campaign tool. His competitors pretend it isn't happening.

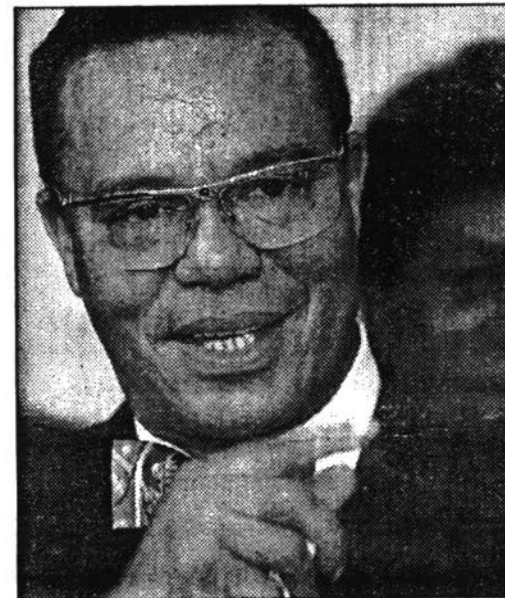
I can't think of a candidate who has tried to grapple with the octopus of American race relations. Can you? And why can't we have a presidential candidate with the courage to say that a society in which abortion is just another form of birth control is inhuman? And also say that a society that denies the right of a woman to seek one is repressive?



A great deal has been said in the last year about reform in immigration, welfare, Medicare and Medicaid and taxes. But where are the really "new" thinkers willing to consider that the economic Darwinism celebrated by the University of Chicago is as bankrupt as the Keynesian economics it has nearly replaced? Or are we simply to discard the people who can't compete? What we've got in the current presidential campaign is one candidate who would take us back to a falsely remembered past, and a host of others who act as if the path we're on is inexorable.

What a crowd! No wonder some people think Buchanan or Farrakhan is worth listening to.

Roger Flaherty is an assistant city editor of the Chicago Sun-Times.



Pat Buchanan (top) and Louis Farrakhan (left) are race-baiting, xenophobic anti-Semites. But their messages are, sadly, more substantial than anything else heard on the campaign trail.

THE NEWS HOUR
with Jim Lehrer

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/26/96

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2700 S. Quincy St.
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The
**NEWS
HOUR**
with Jim Lehrer

Charlayne Hunter-Gault
National Correspondent

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-26-96

THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1996

THE WASHINGTON POST

AQUARIUS (Jan. 20-Feb. 18): Color coordination, music figure prominently, domestic adjustment might involve change of status. Break relationship with one who takes you for granted, is mostly self-ish.

PISCES (Feb. 19-Mar. 20): You'll be consumed by ambition to earn more money. Ambition could be fulfilled! Perfect techniques, contact individual who once promised "Call me any time for a favor." Virgo involved.

THE MARCH 21 IS YOUR BIRTHDAY: You are capable of loving more than one person simultaneously—You read more than one book at a time, are versatile, charming, super-sensitive concerning body image. Gemini, Sagittarius persons play leading roles in your life. During April, you could be involved in big business deal. Organize priorities, marital status involved, relationship serious. Travel indicated for May. You might get better distribution for product in foreign land.

This could only refer to the interview on "Rights & Wrongs," the Human Rights television news magazine that I anchor. That you said you would do this years ago. NEED to do LEASE?!

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RACE
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POLITICS

POLITICS

Robert Huckfeldt
and Carol Weitzel Kohfeldt

Race and the Decline of Class in American Politics

Robert Huckfeldt
and
Carol Weitzel Kohfeld

University of Illinois Press
Urbana and Chicago

Race and the Decline of Class in American Politics

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CC: GS/BW/Ann Lewis

'Anxiety' headlines have it all wrong

Americans appear caught these days in a blizzard of news reports on how insecure we're feeling about our jobs, our state of well-being and the chances for our children doing better than us in the future.

Business Week trumpets "Economic Anxiety." *Fortune* asks "How Safe Is Your Job?" *USA TODAY* explores concerns about corporate downsizing. And TV, almost daily, tells us how edgy we all are.

Much of the angst is triggered by the latest wave of layoffs by blue-chip companies. And GOP presidential candidate Pat Buchanan bashes corporate greed, Wall Street avarice, illegal immigrants and Washington trade sell-outs.

Together, they're perfect ingredients for media madness.

Yet, polling data suggest that as we move toward the second quarter of this election year, Americans are not as down-in-the-dumps as they are being

portrayed. And that could be good news for incumbents, President Clinton and congressional Republicans in particular.

A *USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup* Poll a week ago showed 41% were satisfied with how things are going in the country; 56% were dissatisfied.

Sounds bad, but it's not.

Four years ago, with the country in recession, 80% registered dissatisfaction. President Bush took the fall. Just before the 1994 elections, 66% were dissatisfied. Democrats lost control of Congress for the first time in 40 years.

This latest 56% reading is the best since March 1991, after the Persian Gulf war, when just 43% were dissatisfied.

The poll also asked whether



Politics

By Richard Benedetto

Americans were satisfied with the way things are going in their own lives. Here, 86% were satisfied, again the best since March 1991, when 87% were satisfied.

And people were asked whether they are financially better off than they were a year ago. Nearly half, 49%,

said yes. That's the best since February 1990, when the effects of the 1980s boom were still being felt.

Never in the past 20 years has the poll measured more than 49% who thought they were better off.

Also, two of three Americans said they expect to be financially better off a year from now. That's the most optimistic measure, again, since the heady days after the gulf war,

better than at any time during the go-go Reagan years.

A CBS News Poll last week asked whether Americans were generally optimistic or pessimistic about the country's future over the next few years. Fifty-nine percent said optimistic; Republicans were as optimistic as Democrats.

Everett Ladd, of the nonpartisan Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, says that while there is a lot of economic displacement, and worry about jobs in the face of corporate downsizing and layoffs, the media tend to overstate the case.

"There is a constant battle between media coverage and personal experience," he says. "People may not be ready to go to the barricades manning pitchforks, but when they are constantly being told the sky is falling, there is an inducement of concern."

Thus, he adds, when the public is forced to continually

weigh its own personal experience against what the media says is happening in the world, it's easy to see why people always say things are better in their own lives.

If there was as much economic anxiety afoot as the media are currently touting, Buchanan's storm-the-castle message would be expected to have much broader appeal than his paltry 15%-30% vote in the GOP primaries.

In fact, Super Tuesday exit polls showed that of those most concerned about the economy, a majority voted for Bob Dole.

Given that, rather than another "throw-the-bums-out" election, as in 1992 and 1994, maybe the stage is set for one that will turn on who has the best answers for solving real problems. And that can only be good for the country.

Richard Benedetto's political column appears on Mondays.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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William D. Matthewman

The Racial Disparity On Federal Death Row

I recently served as lead defense counsel in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida on behalf of a young black man against whom the United States of America sought the most severe penalty possible: the irrevocable sentence of death. The case was tried in Miami federal court from September 1995 through February 1996 under the federal "drug kingpin" statute, and the allegations in a nutshell were that a gang of young African American men in Miami engaged in the distribution of crack cocaine and committed two murders to protect their drug business.

The client and his co-defendants were acquitted by the jury of both homicides, and the federal government's attempt to obtain the death penalty was beaten back. This was the first federal death penalty case ever taken to trial in the state of Florida, and it was the first acquittal in any federal death penalty case in the country to date.

My involvement in the case, however, brought to my attention some very disturbing and unsettling facts regarding federal death penalty cases in this country. Since 1988, when the "modern" federal death penalty was enacted in the United States, our government has authorized 61 capital prosecutions under various federal death penalty provisions. Of the 61 defendants against whom the attorney general has authorized the government to seek the death penalty, 12 have been white, seven Hispanic, two Asian, and 40 African American.

A review of those numbers shows that a full 80 percent of the 61 defendants approved for capital prosecution by the attorney general to date are members of minority groups. Incredibly, 66 percent of the federal death prosecutions have been brought against African Americans.

How is it that the federal death penalty, which was initially designed in 1988 to target "drug kingpins," and then was broadened in the 1994 Crime Bill to include the death penalty for 50-odd categories of federal crimes, has so refined its focus as to enable our government to seek to use the death penalty in such a lopsided fashion against minorities? If you are alarmed and troubled by these statistics, as I am, then I think you will agree that the application of the federal death penalty in this country needs to be investigated, and now.

Why the rush? Because the pace is quickening. There are now at least seven persons in our country on federal death row who await their fate while their cases are being appealed. In the fall of 1995, our country saw five separate federal death penalty trials underway, three under the 1988 drug kingpin statute and two under the more

recent 1994 crime bill, as follows: two separate Texas cases that began trial in October and resulted in imposition of the death penalty against both defendants; a Detroit case that began Sept. 6 and resulted in a plea without the death penalty; the Miami case that began Sept. 18 and resulted in acquittals of the three capital defendants on the two charged murders, and a New York case that began Oct. 16 and resulted in a recent murder conviction and life sentence rather than death. All eight of the capital defendants tried in these five cases were African American. What is going on here?

Lest you get the wrong idea, I am not a flaming liberal or an ivory tower idealist. Before becoming a criminal defense lawyer, I was a sergeant with the Miami Police Department. I worked on the street as a police officer in Miami, and I know firsthand the fears and problems occasioned in our cities by the crime problem. But I do believe, perhaps naively, that our government, and especially our federal government, should not be using the awesome power of the federal death penalty almost exclusively against minorities, and certainly not overwhelmingly against African Americans.

Government functionaries, I am sure, would be quick to argue that the federal death penalty laws are being fairly applied without regard to the racial background of the defendants and without any discriminatory intent. They would say that the skewed 80 percent minority rate is merely an unexplained happenstance. That is simply a shallow explanation, which is wholly unacceptable.

I do not know why the federal death penalty is being authorized by the attorney general against minority defendants in 80 percent of cases. I do not ascribe an intentional discriminatory motive to the attorney general, Janet Reno. In my many years in Miami, where I have lived my entire life, I have observed Ms. Reno to be a fair, honest and unbiased person. But something is wrong with the system and procedure that is authorizing these death-penalty prosecutions. The adoption of new death-penalty procedures and guidelines by the Department of Justice in January 1995 has not helped the situation.

Application of the laws in this country is supposed to be color-blind. It should be especially so when the federal death penalty is at issue. There is but one way to get to the bottom of what is going on with federal death-penalty prosecutions, and that is for Congress to step forward, hold hearings, and conduct a careful, in-depth review of all federal death-penalty prosecutions in this country since 1988. A congressional inquiry is needed and soon.

The writer is a lawyer in Florida.

William Raspberry

An All-Out Attack on Civil Rights Gains

There *must* be some noncynical reason for the legislation that was reported out of a House Judiciary subcommittee last week. Surely the bill's sponsors—presidential nominee-apparent Bob Dole and Rep. Charles T. Canady (R-Fla.)—aren't just being nasty with their archly titled "Equal Opportunity Act of 1996."

The obvious (and obviously intended) effect of this regressive legislation would be the utter destruction of "affirmative action," root and branch. Its title notwithstanding, it is manifestly not about improving opportunities for women or minorities. Nothing in the bill acknowledges even the existence of sexual or racial discrimination—except, implicitly, discrimination against white men.

It's hard not to view it cynically. Canady, who has never impressed me as a thoughtful man, at least is consistently conservative. I'm not surprised either to find him sponsoring this bill or to find him offering no remedy for America's real problems of discrimination. But what of Senate Majority Leader Dole, who used to be a supporter of affirmative action until that position became a threat to his presidential ambitions? Has some flash of philosophical insight turned him into an all-out opponent of what he lately backed?

The kindest thing I've heard from the Kansan's African American supporters is that now that the nomination is virtually secured, Dole will revert to his mainstream core. The problem is, if this bill is passed, it won't matter.

I ought to say here that I have no

It's hard not to view this bill cynically.

quarrel with principled objections to some of the manipulation and self-dealing that go on in the name of affirmative action. I have expressed my own objections often enough.

But this legislation isn't about fine-tuning principles. It's not a proposal for an alternative plan for securing rights and opportunities for those to whom they have been denied. It is an all-out, in-your-face attack, a walking away from hard-earned civil rights gains.

Not only does it forbid any federal agent to discriminate in hiring or contracting on the basis of gender or race; it even outlaws goals and timetables, long considered essential for measuring progress toward actual (as opposed to mere theoretical) fairness.

"Wiping out goals strikes at the very heart of equal opportunity enforcement," says Penda Hair of the Washington office of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. "The numbers were never binding—just a signal that if they were out of line, you ought to look for an explanation. The explanation might be benign, but at least you were on notice to look. This bill says you can't even do that."

It says more than that, in the reading of Barbara Arnwine, executive director of the National Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. "The FBI has been sued for discrimination in the hiring and treatment of women and blacks. This bill says that if the plaintiffs absolutely proved their case, you could not have a consent decree that required expanding opportunities for blacks or women. The language is quite clear: 'preference' means 'an advantage of any kind, and includes a quota, set-aside, numerical goal, timetable, or other numerical objective.'"

Again, since it's impossible to read the legislation as improving opportunity for those groups that historically have been denied opportunity, what noncynical purpose could its sponsors have in mind? Is it an assertion that racial and sexual discrimination have been conquered and are no longer a problem America need be concerned about? A declaration that the only discrimination worth remedying is the so-called "reverse" discrimination against white men?

I recall a frustrating exchange with Rep. Canady in which he simply could not bring himself to say that the government had any role in fighting discrimination beyond asserting that discrimination is against the law. What do you do, I kept pressing him, when the discriminators go on discriminating? Don't you, at some point, have to require evidence—yes, numerical evidence—that the discrimination has ceased?

Canady had no answer then. His answer now involves only what government must *not* do. As I read him, his idea is that government must not do anything that has any chance whatever of being effective.

And the philosophically flexible Dole? The suspicion is that he signed on to the legislation last fall as a sort of bookmark for proving his conservative bona fides and that he'd much prefer that it not be brought up for consideration now, while he's embarked on his party-healing trek back toward the political middle.

Maybe Canady, who is chiefly responsible for the present spurt of activity on the bill, is justified in refusing to let Dole have it both ways.

Still, it's a dreadful piece of legislation that, as far as I can see, can only do mischief. Is it cynical to suspect that that's what some of its supporters have in mind?

THE WASHINGTON POST

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3/26/96

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New Federal Rule Helps Intensify Smoking Fight in States

By BARNABY J. FEDER

Spurred by new Federal regulations requiring states to discourage teen-agers from smoking, antismoking advocates and tobacco companies are battling fiercely over a wide range of proposed state laws affecting the marketing, sale and use of tobacco.

Many of the proposed measures directly concern the new regulations, which threaten states with the loss of Federal grants if they do not block at least 80 percent of the efforts by those under 18 to buy cigarettes. Antitobacco groups like the Coalition on Smoking or Health in Washington say the tobacco industry and its retailing allies are pushing enforcement plans that are bound to be ineffectual, allowing them to continue to attract teen-age smokers. The industry says the measures it proposes will work while imposing fewer burdens on adult smokers and retailers.

But teen-agers' use of tobacco is just the latest focal point in the gradual intensification of the tobacco wars at the state level. It is now rare for a state legislature to go through a session without facing at least one tobacco debate. Indeed, a few of this year's most intense battles have been over issues with little or no connection to how teen-agers obtain cigarettes.

For example, in Florida, New York and New Jersey, legislators have been wrestling with whether their states should be able to sue tobacco companies to recoup Medicaid spending on tobacco-related illnesses, and what defenses the companies should be allowed to raise. Such issues could soon come up in several other states as a result of the news, announced on Wednesday, that Liggett Group, the nation's fifth largest cigarette company, was negotiating to settle with the six states that have filed such suits, according to lawyers involved in the cases.

On another front, Pennsylvania is weighing legislation to stop towns and cities from passing their own tobacco regulations, while Michigan has been debating a bill to restore that right, which it took away in 1993. New York is considering whether to pre-empt and do away with bans on cigarette smoking in restaurants passed by New York City and three counties.

And many of the tobacco tax increases on the agenda in 20 states this year are meant to discourage smoking in general and raise revenue for programs with no connection to tobacco.

State Battles On Federal Rule

The new Federal regulations on teen-agers' access to tobacco, named after the late Representative Mike Synar, an Oklahoma Democrat who sponsored the 1992 law authorizing them, leave states wide latitude on how they meet the 80 percent target. The tobacco industry has embraced the Synar regulations, vastly preferring those rules to ones proposed by the Food and Drug Administration that would regulate tobacco at the Federal level as an addictive drug. But antismoking advocates say that despite the industry's public support for the Synar approach, it is backing proposals that they say will have little impact.

The issues are not always clear-cut. In Kentucky, for example, the industry backed a measure passed this month that splits responsibility for complying with the Synar regulations between the state's Agriculture Department, which is closely aligned with tobacco growers, and its alcohol control agency, which does not even have agents in more than 80 counties that ban liquor sales. That bill was also supported by the Kentucky Medical Association, which took the position that it was the best that could be expected in a tobacco-growing state. But the measure was opposed by other tobacco critics.

Worse still, the critics say, state legislation to carry out the Synar regulations is being exploited by the industry to pursue its long-range goal of stripping towns and cities of their power to regulate tobacco, and reserving that power for the states, where the industry has more influence. An industry-backed measure in Pennsylvania, for example, would restrict the placement of vending machines, which attract younger smokers, but by pre-empting all local laws would also wipe out total bans on such machines in 15 communities.

"The tobacco industry has really honed its strategy, and it's gotten very effective at getting the grocers and retailers to carry its water with the legislators," said Robin Hobart, associate director of Americans for Nonsmokers' Rights, based in Berkeley, Calif.

Tobacco companies and retailers say changes favored by anti-smoking groups put too many burdens on business and too little emphasis on making teen-agers responsible for their own behavior. They also say smokers and smokeless tobacco users are unfairly being singled out to pay for many of the proposed antismoking measures through tax increases on tobacco. The proposed increases range from 4.5 cents a pack in Utah to \$1 a pack in Alaska.

"We are trying to preserve our right to sell tobacco products to adults and at the same time to promote reasonable regulations to prevent their sale to minors," said Walker Merryman, spokesman for the

Tobacco Institute, the industry's Washington-based trade group.

More than three million adolescents smoke cigarettes and another one million, almost all boys, use smokeless products, according to a 1994 report by the Surgeon General. Although all states forbid the sale of tobacco products to those under 18, research shows that no state has successfully enforced such laws. The vast majority of smokers say they were addicted as teen-agers.

"There's no more important battleground than the states," said William Novelli, director of the Campaign for Tobacco Free Kids, a Washington-based group that is about to announce a broad effort to track tobacco industry contributions to national and state legislators. "The industry can work more quietly there, and the money they put in can be more telling."

Well before the final Synar regulations were issued this February, tobacco companies and their allies had begun a coast-to-coast public-relations campaign to substitute their version of how the law should be implemented for that recommended by the Government and antismoking groups. Among the strategies they have favored: penalizing teen-age buyers as well as sellers; minimizing the liability of storeowners for the actions of sales clerks; restricting financing for enforcement, and assigning responsibility for enforcement to state agencies with less interest in it than health departments.

Taking the Onus Off Merchants

Industry proposals typically seek to bar private citizens from using teen-agers in "sting" operations to see which merchants are obeying the law. Antismoking groups around the country routinely run such tests, which usually result in reports of

high levels of sales to minors.

Merchants say the tests are unfair entrapment schemes designed to grab headlines. Industry critics say the real concern is that the results expose the weakness of the industry's arguments that it can and will effectively reduce sales to teen-agers without Government intervention.

The tactic of increasing penalties to minors for smoking has split the tobacco industry's critics. Some see it as essential to sending teen-agers a clear message that they should not smoke, and as a way to give those on the fence more reason to resist. Many of the measures backed by antismoking groups this year create such penalties or stiffen those already on the books. But some industry critics see punishing teen-agers as a doomed strategy that will divert attention from more effective measures.

"Is it easier to regulate the behavior of 50,000 retailers or three million kids?" asked Bill Godshall, director of SmokeFree Pennsylvania, a Pittsburgh-based group that is fighting to fend off an industry-backed proposal that includes measures to punish teen-agers.

Pre-empting Local Action

But Mr. Godshall and other antismoking advocates are most concerned about the industry's effort to make tobacco regulation the responsibility only of the states, and pre-empt towns and cities from enacting their own measures. Pre-emption proposals are often attached to bills on teen-age smoking.

Laws that pre-empt local regulations have passed in 27 states in recent years. Industry-backed pre-emption bills are currently on the desks of the Governors of Utah and Indiana, with antismoking groups

begging that they be vetoed. Pre-emption measures have been defeated or withdrawn in Illinois, Minnesota and West Virginia in recent weeks, but remain on the legislative agenda in seven other states.

Surveys show that voters overwhelmingly oppose bans on local power to regulate tobacco, but the issue is rarely presented for an isolated vote. It popped up in Utah, when food industry lobbyists got it attached late last month as an amendment to a 4.5 cent cigarette tax increase aimed at raising \$4.8 million for drug-enforcement measures including compliance with the Synar regulations.

"Now we are asking the Governor to veto it and hoping he will make the tax an issue to take up again in our special session in April," said Dr. Robert Montgomery, a Republican who sponsored the original legislation in the Senate. Gov. Michael Leavitt has until March 19 to decide.

But the biggest state battle this year has been over Florida's efforts to sue tobacco companies for \$1.4 billion it says it has spent on Medicaid because of smoking-related illnesses. In 1994, antismoking advocates snuck through the legislature a bill that would prevent tobacco companies from defending themselves by arguing that smokers knew the risks, and would make it possible for the state to rely heavily on broad statistical evidence in its suit, which would vastly improve its chance of success.

That law is the target of a huge repeal drive to which the industry has assigned over 50 lobbyists, more than one for every state senator. The legislature voted to repeal the bill last year, but failed to override a veto by Gov. Lawton Chiles. On Wednesday the industry failed to muster enough support in the Florida Senate to override the veto.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/26/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1630

Handwritten notes:
They met with the
President (John-Pls
keep them from this
- BJS

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: IBN Commercial Venture on Russian Banking

IBN, a Delaware Corporation, forwarded a description to you of a commercial venture to create an electronic network among Russian banks that would provide a mechanism for inter-bank payments and automated teller machines. IBN would like you to intervene with President Yeltsin to encourage the Russian Central Bank's cooperation. While IBN's idea could benefit Russia's frail banking system, I believe it is premature to broach this issue with Yeltsin.

From what we know, the concept is attractive. IBN would create a network among Russian commercial banks that could support ATMs, inter-bank transfers and direct debits. The system would be linked by satellite to a central authorization and control center in the U.S. If it works, it could make Russia's slow and cumbersome banking system work faster and eliminate the need to settle transactions with bundles of cash. Moreover, if Russian public confidence in the banking system grows, people may be more inclined to put their savings into banks. Yeltsin should find these features attractive, but he may worry about the control center being outside of Russia, especially if it would be in the United States and particularly given the Russian elections.

IBN is looking for help with the Russian Central Bank. IBN's paper indicates that it wants the Central Bank to play a role in the inter-bank clearing system. We do not know what this role could be, since the network would be controlled from a center outside of Russia; moreover, the network IBN has proposed is far faster and more sophisticated than the official system under Central Bank control.

IBN also is interested in the Central Bank's advice on which Russian banks should join the network and be given preferential access to equity investment in the system. We confirmed with the Federal Reserve that, if they were approached for similar advice, the most they could offer is a list of licensed banks; going beyond that gets into advice on specific commercial transactions.

cc: Vice President

There are sufficient unanswered questions that we think it makes sense to have Treasury contact IBN directly to obtain more information on exactly what problems they are encountering with the Central Bank. We would then recommend an approach by Ambassador Pickering to the Central Bank Governor, which might take care of the issue without your intervention.

This approach would also obviate the risk that Yeltsin may respond to your entreaties on behalf of IBN with a complaint about the slow Federal Reserve process to authorize Russian banks to establish representative offices in the United States. This is a complicated issue that involves allegations of corruption in Russia's banking system that we cannot quickly resolve and is best avoided.

If you raise the issue directly with Yeltsin, below are suggested talking points:

- Wanted to share with you an interesting commercial project on Russian banking that has come to my attention. Objective is to create an electronic network among banks that could support automated teller machines, interbank transfers, other kinds of payments.
- Could make banking faster, eliminate need for bundles of cash, generate confidence in banking system, encourage people to save more if they know they can get money out of banks.
- Know the group behind the project -- IBN -- has been working with the Central Bank, but the process is going slowly. If this sounds like it's of interest, you may want to have someone look into it with the Central Bank.

Attachment

Tab A IBN Status Report and Project Description

1630

FEB 29 '96 12:56PM KAY COLLYER & BOOSE 212 940.8359 KAY COLLYER & BOOSE

P.2

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Bc

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/4/96

IBN LIMITED

Status Report - February 28, 1996

IBN's exclusive relationship with The Federal Agency of Government Communications and Information under the President of the Russian Federation ("FAGCI") is now codified in a formal agreement and is working well in all respects, except as to the Central Bank. (See discussion in Problem section below.) The strategic partnership between IBN and IBM has been broadened so that IBM will not only be exclusively related to IBN in the FSU as the technology supplier for IBN's Network, but IBM and IBN will co-market and co-sell IBM's products and services to all banks in the Network and IBM will share revenues of all such product and service sales with IBN. The Network project hardware and software development and testing is on schedule. Therefore, the pilot will be ready for implementation in March and the project rollout will proceed a few weeks thereafter.

Problem: The Russian Central Bank is moving very slowly and will retard project implementation unless the Central Bank's pace is accelerated. In order to diminish political risk, we believe it is essential to preserve the rollout schedule so that the Network is in place before the June Presidential elections. Rick Braddock (former Citicorp President, now an IBN Director and Special Consultant) and Sy Flug (IBN Co-President) met with the Central Bank Chairman last week, after prior lower level meetings indicated chronic bureaucratic paralysis at the Central Bank. The Chairman set a new meeting for March 7 at which he promised greater focus and decisiveness. Although FAGCI is responsible under its agreements with IBN to procure and coordinate all Russian governmental approvals and cooperation for the IBN Project, we believe top level intervention is required at this time to obtain prompt cooperation from the Central Bank. IBN wants the Central Bank to participate in the clearing system for the Russian banks which participate in the Network. IBN also wants guidance from the Central Bank as to which Russian banks should be invited to join the Network and which should be invited to purchase equity in IBN on favorable terms. We are concerned that unless Central Bank participates in the selection process, disreputable or unstable banks might inadvertently be included.

Objective: We believe the Central Bank will respond only to a Russian Presidential instruction to facilitate the IBN Project implementation on schedule. FAGCI advises that an expression of interest by the U.S. government to the office of the Russian President would accelerate the process and help to overcome the bureaucratic habits of the Central Bank staff. FAGCI recognizes that the interest of the U.S. government to see the IBN Project implemented prior to the June elections would be based upon:

- The desire to see the Russian depository structure reinforced. Since the IBN Network will allow...

FEB 29 '96 12:57PM KAY COLLYER & BOOSE 212 940 8359 KAY COLLYER & BOOSE

P.3

- The desire to see the U.S. dollar remain as a currency relied upon by the Russian population, since dollar use represents interest-free U.S. borrowing. Since the IBN Network will operate in U.S. dollars and rubles, it will perpetuate dollar reliance, but at the same time greatly reduce the counterfeiting problems affecting current dollar use because the dollars will be deposited in banks instead of being exchanged outside the banking system where counterfeiting cannot easily be detected and controlled.
- The desire to see an interbank clearance and communications system such as the one that is part of IBN's Network improve Russian interbank liquidity.
- The desire to see a successful Russian/American co-investment scheme, led by a major U.S. investment bank, such as Lehman Brothers, with cooperation from the Russian Central Bank, to encourage other Western investors to make similar infrastructure investments in Russia.
- The desire to see a state-of-the-art payment system installed across the FSU to facilitate stability and development through the region.

FEB 23 '96 04:26PM KRY COLLYER & BOOSE 212 940 8399 KRY COLLYER & BOOSE P.2

IBN, LTD.

IBN, LTD., A DELAWARE CORPORATION, HAS DEVELOPED AND ORGANIZED AN INTERNATIONAL BANKING TRANSACTION NETWORK (THE "NETWORK") THAT WILL BE INSTALLED AND WILL COMMENCE OPERATIONS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION ("FSU") IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1996. THE NETWORK COMPRISES AUTOMATED TELLER MACHINES ("ATMs") AND POINT OF SALE DEVICES ("POSS"), WHICH ARE COMPATIBLE BOTH WITH CARDS THAT CONTAIN EMBEDDED MICROCHIPS ("SMART CARDS") AND CARDS SUCH AS THOSE PRESENTLY USED BY MAJOR WESTERN BANKCARD AND PAYMENT SYSTEMS (E.G. VISA, AMERICAN EXPRESS, DINERS, ETC.) WHICH CONTAIN ONLY A MAGNETIC STRIPE ("MAG-STRIPED CARDS"). IBN WILL ISSUE IBN SMART CARDS TO RESIDENTS OF THE FSU WHO ARE CUSTOMERS OF THE FSU BANKS WHICH JOIN THE NETWORK.

THE OPERATION OF THE NETWORK WILL PERMIT THE CARDHOLDERS TO ACCESS ATMs THROUGHOUT THE FSU TO OBTAIN WITHDRAWALS FROM THEIR BANK ACCOUNTS OF LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL CURRENCIES AND TO MAKE TRANSFERS OF FUNDS WITHIN THE FSU. A CARDHOLDER WILL ALSO BE ABLE TO USE AN IBN SMART CARD AS AN ELECTRONIC PURSE BY INSERTING THE CARD IN A NETWORK ATM, DOWNLOADING FUNDS FROM THE CARDHOLDER'S BANK ACCOUNT INTO HIS OR HER SMART CARD AND THEN USING THE SMART CARD AT A POINT OF SALE IN A POS TO CHARGE GOODS OR SERVICES.

BY THE END OF 1997, THE NETWORK WILL COMPRISE 4000 INTERCONNECTED ATMs, 240,000 POSS AND 8.25 MILLION SMART CARDS USABLE IN 87 CITIES OF 14 REPUBLICS OF THE FSU. BY THE END OF 2000, THE NETWORK IS EXPECTED TO EXPAND TO 12,600 ATMs, 744,000 POSS AND 25 MILLION SMART CARDS.

THE NETWORK WILL OPERATE ITS OWN COMMUNICATION SYSTEM USING VERY SMALL APERTURE TERMINALS ("VSATS") TO LINK THE ATMs BY SATELLITE TO A CENTRAL AUTHORIZATION AND CONTROL CENTER IN THE UNITED STATES. THE OPERATION OF THE NETWORK WILL SUBSTITUTE FOR A PAPER CURRENCY EXCHANGE SYSTEM, THE INADEQUACIES OF WHICH ARE SEVERELY HAMPERING DEVELOPMENT IN THE FSU. THE NETWORK WILL ALSO PROVIDE ELECTRONIC LINKAGE OF BANKS THROUGHOUT THE FSU, THEREBY FACILITATING INTERBANK CREDIT AND LIQUIDITY.

THE NETWORK WILL USE A ROBUST, STATE-OF-THE-ART TECHNOLOGY, EVERY ASPECT OF WHICH HAS BEEN USED SUCCESSFULLY IN ACTUAL APPLICATIONS. IBN'S TECHNOLOGY PARTNERS FOR THE NETWORK OPERATION ARE IBM, AS SUPPLIER OF ATMs AND PC WORKSTATIONS; HUGHES, AS SUPPLIER OF VSATS; VERIFONE, AS SUPPLIER OF POSS; DATACARD, AS SUPPLIER OF SMART CARDS; AND OASIS AND CARTE MEDICAL, AS SUPPLIER OF SOFTWARE.

IBN'S INVESTMENT BANK IN THE U.S. IS LEHMAN BROTHERS. EACH OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AZERBAIJAN, GEORGIA AND ARMENIA HAS INDICATED ITS INTENT TO SPONSOR INVESTMENT IN THE IBN NETWORK BY ITS RESPECTIVE BANKS OF CAPITAL AGGREGATING U.S.\$150 MILLION IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE IBN TO CONNECT SUCH BANKS TO THE NETWORK. THESE GOVERNMENTS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE NETWORK WILL SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVE THE RELIABILITY AND STABILITY OF THEIR BANKING SYSTEMS AND THEREFORE ARE WILLING TO GRANT PERMISSION FOR AND EVEN ENCOURAGE EXTERNAL INVESTMENT IN A U.S. ENTITY BY THEIR CITIZENS TO OBTAIN THE BENEFITS OF THE NETWORK. LEHMAN BROTHERS CONTEMPLATES UNDERWRITING A U.S. INITIAL PUBLIC OFFERING OF IBN'S SHARES OF APPROXIMATELY U.S.\$50 MILLION IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1997 TO ESTABLISH A LIQUID TRADING MARKET FOR IBN SHARES IN THE U.S.

IBN'S BOARD OF DIRECTORS INCLUDES:

- RICHARD S. BRADDOCK, FORMER PRESIDENT OF CITICORP/CITIBANK
- GEORGE BUGLIARELLO, CHANCELLOR OF POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY; U.S. MEMBER OF THE SCIENCE FOR STABILITY STEERING GROUP OF THE SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS DIVISION OF NATO
- SEYMOUR FLOOD, FORMER MANAGING DIRECTOR OF CITICORP/CITIBANK; CO-PRESIDENT OF IBN
- ROBERT B. KAY, PARTNER KAY COLLYER & BOOSE LLP; CO-FOUNDER OF IBN
- JULIE KROLL, CHAIRMAN, KROLL ASSOCIATES, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND INVESTIGATION SPECIALISTS
- VASSILI V. PATARKALISHVILI, CO-PRESIDENT AND CO-FOUNDER OF IBN
- JEROME J. POMERANCE, PRESIDENT, J.J. POMERANCE & CO., INC.

IBN'S PROFESSIONAL ADVISORS ARE:

LEGAL COUNSEL: KAY COLLYER & BOOSE LLP AND AKIN GUMP STRAUSS MAUER & FELD LLP
AUDITOR: ARTHUR ANDERSEN & CO. SC (NEW YORK)

J 26-96

congregations from throughout the District. WIN's primary goal is to create a fund to: 1) generate low income housing, and 2) keep D.C. public schools open from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m. to provide a safe environment for academic, recreational and cultural activities for the District's young people. WIN's founding convention will be held on May 28 at the Metropolitan A.M.E. Church and 2000 WIN members are expected to attend. Henry hopes the First Lady can participate in their kick-off event.

We also have received the following items:

Ann Lewis memo on Doris Kearns Goodwin. Ann spoke with Doris about her comments on the Charlie Rose show. Apparently, it was an old show, taped last fall. Doris was surprised that it was re-run and says she would not speak in the same way today. She believes that your fighting the budget and choosing to become involved in Bosnia are major events in your Presidency -- experiences comparable to Lyndon Johnson's support for the 1964 Civil Rights Act and FDR's New Deal -- actions where the President used the power of the Presidency to do what is right and found himself strengthened/transformed. About Whitewater -- she hadn't thought about the difficulty of finding and compiling the records, and said after reading the excerpts of Blood Sport in Time Magazine, "It is clear there was no wrongdoing..... There is nothing to this." Ann adds that Doris is a friend who wants to stay well informed about you and your leadership. Ann wants to send Doris one or two of your speeches. Do you have a preference?

Ickes/O'Connor update on Stanton Glantz tobacco study. Dr. Glantz is studying the extent and nature of tobacco industry influence on state tobacco policymaking. Congress had expressed concern about the portion of the study analyzing the relationship between tobacco industry contributions and state legislative voting patterns. Because of this concern, Dr. Glantz applied to the American Cancer Society to fund this portion of his research, and last month they agreed to provide the \$75,000 he needed. The balance of the funds needed for Dr. Glantz' research, \$200,000, will be awarded to him by the National Cancer Institute in July 1996.

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Thank you note from Dan Rather. He thanks you for your letter of congratulations for the "15 years-as-anchor" celebration. "You were most generous, and I am very appreciative. I have not earned such praise. But your words inspire renewed effort to try harder to deserve at least some of them, sometime."

Follow-up from Leon on Arkansas water projects. Sens. Bumpers and Pryor, Rep. Blanche Lincoln-Lambert and Marion Barry have all been informed that your FY 97 budget request will include funding for the Grand Prairie Corps of Engineers project.

DAN RATHER

Dear Mr. President, ^{96 MAR 19 P12:43}

That was a wonderful letter of congratulations you wrote for the "15 years - on - anchor" celebration.

You were most generous, and I am very appreciative.

I have not earned such praise. But your words inspire renewed effort to try harder to deserve at least some of them, sometime.

Again, my deep gratitude.

Please give my best to The First Lady.

Jean sends her best to you both.

Respectfully,
Dan Rather

12 March 1991

014

RATHER
524 WEST 57TH ST.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500



3-26-96

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To: The President

From: Ann Lewis ✓

96 MAR 20 A/I : 15

Date: March 16, 1996

Re: Doris Kearns Goodwin

I spoke with Doris Kearns Goodwin about her comments on the Charlie Rose show. You should know:

- This was an old show, taped last fall. She was surprised that it was re-run and would not use the same terms today.

Doris believes that your fighting for the budget and choosing to become engaged in Bosnia are major events of your Presidency - experiences comparable to Lyndon Johnson's support for the 1964 Civil Rights Bill and FDR's First New Deal. Those were actions in which the President uses the power of the Presidency to do what is right and finds himself strengthened/transformed.

She finds a similar process in McCollough's history of Truman - a difference between the Truman of '45-'46 and later when he came into his own.

- About Whitewater and "getting the records out" - she had not thought about the sheer difficulty of finding and/or compiling the records, or how long such a process would take, but it made sense to her as we talked, especially as she has learned more about Jim MacDougall and his method of doing business. She has read the excerpts from *Blood Sport* in Time and said "it is clear there was no wrongdoing....there is nothing to this."
- Doris is a friend, who wants to stay well informed about you and your leadership. As you know, she talks often about the Presidency; I gather her current comments about you are framed by the comparisons listed above.

I thought I would send her the text of one or two of your recent speeches or interview transcripts. Do you have a preference?

DATE: 3-26

TO:

Jack R.

FROM: Staff Secretary

Jack - these come
in via Nancy H. Can
you guys draft reply?
I'll take care of processing
if you let me know.

TRH



YALE LAW SCHOOL

P.O. Box 208215
New Haven, Connecticut 06520-8215

STEVEN B. DUKE
Law of Science and Technology
Professor

203 432 4959

203-432-1040 fax

203-432-1040 fax

96 MAR 25 P 7:15

*through
Sgt
(Folus
asap
de Euelin
jzt*

March 22, 1996

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I urge you to repudiate, clearly and forcefully, the remarks Mr. McCurdy made yesterday about Judge Baer. McCurdy hasn't read Judge Baer's decision and if he did would not have the expertise to describe it as "stupid." You haven't read it either, so how can you "regret Judge Baer's decision"?

Far worse, it is simply outrageous for you or a representative of yours to suggest that you may ask Judge Baer to resign if he doesn't reverse his decision. As a former teacher of Constitutional law, you know as well as anyone how destructive such remarks are to the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary.

Mr. McCurdy's statements about Judge Baer were far dumber than any decision rendered by Judge Baer, and you know it. For you to stand by such remarks would be nothing short of corrupt. It would also, in the long run, be stupid.

Sincerely,

SD/jzt

LOUIS F. OBERDORFER
1423 KIRBY ROAD
MCLEAN, VIRGINIA 22101

March 25, 1996
58 MAR 25 P 7:13

Monahan
Ex-100
(Also sign)
Q-100
cc. Evelyn
Jack Q

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I was very disappointed to read in the **Washington Post** this morning that "President Clinton could ask U. S. District Judge Harold Baer to resign," but that "the administration is 'interested in seeing how he rules in this upcoming [re]consideration of the case.'"

Before you go further with such an ill-advised intrusion on judicial independence, please read the portion of **Federalist No. 78** in which Alexander Hamilton says, in part: "The complete independence of the courts of justice is peculiarly essential in a limited Constitution." See also Chandler v. Judicial Council of Tenth Circuit of U.S., 398 U.S. 129, 141-143 (1970) (Black, J., dissenting).

Sincerely
(and more in sorrow than in anger),

Louis Oberdorfer

DATE: 3-25

TO: 124 Mcginty

FROM: Staff Secretary

Do you want to put
a short career ~~note~~ memo
on this?

1000



AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE

1225 EYE STREET, N.W. • SUITE 300 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TELEPHONE (202) 408-9494 • FACSIMILE (202) 408-0877

March 22, 1996

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Bill Clinton
FROM: Peggy Hudson
SUBJECT: Cement Industry's Proposed Enforceable Agreement with EPA

It was great to see you at the DNC dinner this week. Per your request for a memo, I am writing to follow up on our conversation about the cement industry's efforts to craft an enforceable agreement with EPA for the management of cement kiln dust (CKD), a by-product of cement manufacturing. I am attaching, for historical purposes, prior correspondence with you on this issue.

One year ago--acting on one of your suggestions for "reinventing environmental regulation"--the cement industry submitted an Enforceable Agreement to EPA for consideration. Our proposed Agreement is a contract between the cement industry and EPA for the purpose of implementing a set of tailored standards to manage CKD.

EPA expressed considerable enthusiasm for the draft agreement, particularly for the set of management standards which we appended to the Agreement. However, the Agency researched whether it has legal authority to use Agreements in lieu of rules and determined that no clear statutory authority exists. This is the only significant obstacle to the Agreement at this time.

The cement industry has discussed this problem with EPA, Democratic and Republican Members of the House and Senate, and with your staff at the Council on Environmental Quality. Most agree that the appropriate solution is a "rifle shot" amendment to the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) to grant EPA the discretionary authority to enter into such Agreements.

Soon you will sign into law H.R. 2036, the first RCRA "rifle shot" addressing the land disposal restrictions program--introduced by Republicans. However, the concept of Enforceable Agreements emanated from your Administration, and you suggested it as an alternative in your "reinventing environmental regulation" speech in March 1995. Now, the Republicans claim credit for moving forward with the first RCRA "rifle shot." Today, we are asking your help in enacting one of your own ideas--one to which no one has claim, so far. We have discovered in our outreach that Enforceable Agreements will not become a reality until you step forward.

We have met with EPA regarding RCRA "rifle shot" language authorizing EPA to enter into Enforceable Agreements, and we have incorporated EPA's suggestions. We are asking you to elevate the importance of this issue with Carol Browner and make the Enforceable Agreement a reality. Thank you for your attention to this matter. I can be reached at (202) 408-9494.

cc: Mack McLarty



**AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE
CEMENT KILN RECYCLING COALITION**

1212 New York Avenue, N.W. • Suite 500 • Washington, DC 20005



April 18, 1995

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. President:

The last time I spoke with you, I told you about a impending decision the Environmental Protection Agency was about to make relative to cement kiln dust (CKD), the by-product of the cement manufacturing process. Despite the industry's best efforts, EPA elected to regulate CKD as a hazardous waste.

Obviously the cement industry is adamantly opposed to this determination. The science doesn't support it and for all previous Bevill regulatory determinations issued prior to 1995, EPA found that the flexible provisions of RCRA for industrial wastes were sufficient to regulate the waste stream.

In an effort to work with the Agency to resolve our differences, the cement industry has submitted an Enforceable Agreement to EPA for the management of CKD. We believe the Agreement approach is preferable to the regulation of CKD as a hazardous waste under Subtitle C of RCRA. The Agreement, if accepted by EPA, would be a legally binding contract between the EPA and cement companies nationwide for the management and disposal of CKD. The Agreement has already been signed by companies representing nearly 95% of the production capacity in the U.S.

Cement companies that sign the Agreement would be required to file a statement of compliance with EPA, certified by a registered professional engineer. This statement would detail specific steps required to manage CKD. Among other things, the terms of this Agreement protect ground water monitoring systems designed on a site-by-site basis at each cement plant location. The EPA would maintain authority to enforce the specified management practices and could seek monetary damages against non-complying practices and could seek monetary damages against non-complying companies.

The industry believes that the proposed Agreement accomplishes your goal of reinventing environmental regulation as outlined in your March 16 Presidential Proclamation "Reinventing Environmental Regulation." Although we have not

Page 2 -- Mr. President

yet received confirmation that EPA will accept our proposed Agreement, we are optimistic that our efforts to work cooperatively with the Agency will not be rejected.

I am grateful for your interest in the CKD issue. I will keep you informed of EPA's disposition of the enforceable agreement.

Sincerely,



Peggy Hudson
Vice President

PH:ml

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 29, 1994

Ms. Peggy R. Hudson
Vice President
American Portland Cement Alliance
Suite 500
1212 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Peggy:

Thank you for your letter regarding the Environmental Protection Agency's proposed regulations for cement kiln dust. I enjoyed seeing you recently at the White House.

As you know, my Administration is working hard to improve both the economic and environmental health of our nation. Please be assured that Administrator Browner recognizes the sensitive nature of the regulatory decision regarding cement kiln dust and will carefully consider all available data before making the final determination. I am confident that working together, we can continue on a course of sustainable economic growth and responsible environmental protection.

I appreciate your input and have shared your letter with my staff. Best wishes for a healthy and happy New Year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.



AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE

1212 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W. • SUITE 500 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TELEPHONE (202) 408-9494 • FACSIMILE (202) 408-9392

December 12, 1994

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was so nice to see you at the recent DLC events. Thank you for the opportunity to give me a few minutes to talk to you about my industry and its current concern over cement kiln dust.

As I indicated to you, the Environmental Protection Agency is scheduled to make a regulatory determination relative to cement kiln dust (a by-product of the cement manufacturing process) by January 31, 1995. We understand from various sources that the Agency will probably decide to regulate the dust as a hazardous waste, subject to Subtitle C regulations under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.

The industry's dust is currently considered a high volume, low toxicity waste and has been included under the Bevill amendment to RCRA, which mandates that EPA perform a study of the waste before regulating it as a hazardous waste under Subtitle C. To date, EPA has conducted four studies on high volume, low toxicity wastes. In every case, EPA has determined that Subtitle C regulation is not warranted and that the special "Bevill waste" status should remain. EPA recently completed their study of cement kiln dust and concluded that, "cement kiln dust waste generally presents a low inherent toxicity is only rarely characteristically hazardous, and, in most cases based on risk modeling, does not present a risk to human health and the environment."

An independent analysis, which was conducted by an outside contractor, concluded that, "The Report to Congress' costs for Subtitle C and other options under Subtitle C threaten 40% to 60% of the plants in the domestic cement industry with closure. Associated job losses at these cement plants and related job losses could amount to 15,000 jobs."

Using the Report to Congress' risk estimates the population risks posed by current CKD management practices amount to about one thousandth of a cancer death per year or about one cancer death every 700 years.

We have talked to a number of key people in your Administration, including: Sally Katzen, Mack McLarty, Kathleen McGinty and Greg Simon, as well as several EPA officials including Carol Browner. In addition, our industry has met with Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle. I would appreciate your help in looking into this matter.

It is always wonderful to see you, and happy holidays to you and your family. Also, Tommy and Danelle send their best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Peggy', is written over a horizontal line.

Peggy Katzen Hudson
Vice President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1995

Ms. Peggy R. Hudson
Vice President
American Portland Cement Alliance
Suite 500
1212 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Peggy:

Thanks for your letter of April 18. I appreciate your keeping me updated on the cement industry's efforts to work with the EPA on the issue of cement kiln dust. I look forward to hearing of your progress.

As we work to address the many challenges our nation faces, I remain grateful for your involvement.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

apca

AMERICAN PORTLAND CEMENT ALLIANCE

1212 NEW YORK AVE N.W.
SUITE 500
WASHINGTON, DC 20005
PHONE (202) 408-9494
FAX (202) 408-9392

*Potter has
not
seen*

96 MAR 25 P5:44

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To: Nancy Hernreich
Company: White House
Phone: 456-1414
Fax: 456-2883

From: Peggy Hudson
Vice President, Legislative Affairs

Date: March 22, 1996

Pages: 7
(including cover)

Comments: Nancy, I discussed the attached with the President at Tuesday's DNC Dinner and he asked for a memo on the status of this issue. I have also attached previous correspondence. Please bring this to his attention.

Thanks always for your help.

JIM DORSKIND:



PLEASE COORDINATE
THE REPLY.

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-26-96

96 MAR 22 09:30

March 21, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. MCGINTY
CC: LEON PANETTA
RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

*Great report
let's try to get the
report to the President
that will be in the
meeting in the office
for a sign
R*

DeLAY AND THE PCSD

Earlier this week Congressman Tom DeLay (R-TX) gave a speech (attached) to a conference of the Global Environmental Management Initiative in which he tried to wrap himself in the report of the President's Council on Sustainable Development. Because the report has such strong support from both business and environmental leaders, Congressman DeLay attempted to use quotes from the report to justify irresponsible Republican attempts to roll back environmental regulation. I spoke to the same conference on Wednesday and strongly disabused them of the notion that there is any similarity between what we've said and what they've done.

UTAH WILDERNESS

The Utah delegation's current effort to move their wilderness bill in a Senate omnibus public lands bill attracted considerable attention in the past week.

Editorials appeared in the New York Times, Salt Lake Tribune, and Seattle Post-Intelligencer sharply condemning the delegation's proposed legislation. The Salt Lake Tribune urged the delegation to withdraw and restructure the bill to roughly double the protected acreage (from 1.8 million acres to at least 3.2 million) and delete so called "hard release" language. The New York Times linked the bill to Senator Pete Domenici's (D-NM) grazing legislation and Senator Larry Craig's (R-ID) logging bills as part of the overall Republican anti-environment agenda. In urging you to veto the bill if it reaches your desk, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer said the bill "robs the nation of its patrimony in southern Utah...." and called it, "the largest and most brazen attempted theft of public property in the Lower 48."

On Monday, a group of approximately 50 of Utah's leading citizens ran a full-page ad in the Salt Lake Tribune calling on the delegation to withdraw the bill. Signers included former Senator Frank Moss, former Governor Calvin Rampton, former Congresswoman Karen Sheperd, Brent Scowcroft, Leucadia National Chairman Ian Cumming, former First Lady of

Utah Norma Matheson, former Salt Lake Mayor Ted Wilson, and former University of Utah President Chase Peterson.

Greg Sanders, the Democratic challenger to Congressman Jim Hansen (R-UT), sent a letter this week asking that you veto the bill if it includes Utah wilderness.

Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) has indicated that he plans to filibuster the omnibus public lands bill because of the Utah wilderness provision, despite the fact that the overall bill contains the Sterling Forest provisions on which he has placed great emphasis.

As I mentioned in our conversation on Thursday, I believe that our best position on the Utah wilderness legislation is adamant opposition to the delegation's bill, even if that means a veto of the omnibus public lands bill.

ELWHA DAM REMOVAL

✓ The Seattle-area media gave a very strong positive coverage to the provision of your FY 97 budget calling for removal of two old dams on the Olympic Peninsula's Elwha River. The Seattle Times editorialized: "Removal of the dams and restoration of once-great salmon runs is in the economic and environmental interest of the state. . . . President Clinton has made it one of two top environmental priorities. Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) is a strong supporter of dam removal. . . . This is not a partisan issue. It is a regional concern that should be embraced by our entire congressional delegation. . . . Restoration of salmon runs on the Elwha would provide an economic boost by increasing tourism for the Olympic Peninsula. . . . Congress has a rare opportunity to reverse an injustice to nature by removing the dams. Gorton should be leading -- not opposing -- that effort." The Seattle Times outdoors writer reacted this way: "Bravo. Clinton deserves one."

REGULATORY REFORM

The Bond bill on regulatory reform, which provides relief to small business and requires a Congressional review of major rules, passed the Senate this week 100-0. If the House agrees to attach the bill to the debt limit measure, the Administration will support signing it. It is also possible that passage of this measure will remove regulatory reform legislation from the Congressional agenda for now.

ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

As you know, much work has been done in your Administration to promote the development of Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs) as a reasonable way of implementing the ESA on private lands. Until now, however, the primary beneficiaries of HCPs have been large corporate entities. Recently, Department of the Interior reached agreement with the first small landowner in the Pacific Northwest (90 acres) to take advantage of this program. It got

great press: "We are just happy that [the Fish and Wildlife Service] was willing to help us solve our problem.

They are going out of their way to try help the small private landowner", the Wenatchee World, 3/14/96) this comes at an important time in the ESA debate when Congressmen Don Young (R-AK) and Richard Pombo (R-CA) are saying that our reforms don't really benefit "the little guy"!

Also, the Habitat Conservation Plan for the Stephens' Kangaroo Rat mentioned in last week's report was approved by the Riverside County Board 8-0.

ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

Several environmental groups issued strong statements of support for your FY 97 budget as it relates to the environment. The statements are attached for your review.

TIMBER COMMUNITY

The logging town of Oakridge, Oregon has come to grips with the past and is looking to the future. The community in southeast of Eugene has relied on the two sawmills for employment for generations. The last mill closed in 1986 but several small, thriving businesses beginning to appear in Oakridge. A former mill has been developed into an industrial park. The article is attached for your review.

H.R. 1022, Risk Assessment and Cost/Benefit Act said:

"No final rule subject to the provisions of this title shall be promulgated unless the agency certifies...that [cost/benefit] analyses...are based on objective and unbiased scientific and economic evaluations of all significant and relevant information...provided to the agency..." (p.28)

President's Council on Sustainable Development Report said:

"The nation must strengthen its communities and enhance their role in decisions about environment, equity, natural resources, and economic progress so that the individuals and institutions most immediately affected can join others in the decision process." (p. vi)

H.R. 2500, Reform of Superfund Act says:

The President must "take such steps as necessary to provide for meaningful public participation in significant phases" of Superfund cleanups and creates a clear and specific role for community work groups and local governments.

President's Council on Sustainable Development Report said:

"A knowledgeable public, the free flow of information, and opportunities for review and redress are critically important to open, equitable, and effective decision making." (p.vi)

H.R. 2500, Reform of Superfund Act says:

Risk assessment provisions require EPA to make public the following information when it presents information on the risk from Superfund sites: its assumptions and alternatives it could have chosen, the basis for its decisions, and the extent to which its scientific models conform or conflict with real life data.

Sadly, the President and Vice President refuse to acknowledge how close Republicans and Democrats are when it comes to environmental protection. They refuse to acknowledge that our efforts make sense, and they refuse to admit that actually, we are not radical extremists.

But the fact is, we in Washington need to forge a smarter partnership with the private sector and with state and local officials when it comes to environmental protection.

We are working off that principle in the Republican Congress. Let me give you three ways that we build this smarter partnership.

Give More Flexibility to State and Local Officials:

The Republican revolution in the 104th Congress at its core believes we must change the current relationship between the state and federal government.

Newly elected Republicans in the House and Senate, fresh from experiences as local small business owners, state officials, and local representatives, realize that Washington doesn't always know best.

Last year, Republicans tried to give these local and state officials more flexibility to protect the environment. During the Appropriations process, we attempted to give the Great Lakes States the ability to come up with more effective and innovative ways to meet EPA's water quality standards.

We also tried to give states more authority in designing emission testing programs to maximize both participation and consumer choice. Sadly, the President vetoed our efforts.

Republicans believe that on the federal level, it is altogether appropriate to come up with national standards to protect the environment.

But we also believe that giving Americans outside of Washington the flexibility to meet those standards is not only smart politically, but also a smart way to protect the environment.

Make Regulations More Realistic:

Most Americans now understand that regulations coming from the EPA can often be unrealistic. For example, under the Clean Air Act, a small business owner can end up in jail for filling out a bureaucrat's form incorrectly.

As a former EPA general counsel wrote: "The current enforcement trend is to criminalize technical and other 'minor' violations which EPA assumes will help prevent more serious violations from

And there are other examples:

- A Taiwanese immigrant faced a year in prison and \$300,000 in fines for killing five kangaroo rats while tilling his land.
- A 60 year-old truck mechanic with no previous convictions served nearly two years in jail for filling in some of his property near Philadelphia without the necessary federal permits.
- And what the government called a wetland had been a dump for abandoned tires and rusting car bodies.

NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION PRESS STATEMENT

FOR RELEASE:
March 19, 1996

CONTACT:
EPA -- Elise Hoerath -- (202) 797-6898
Interior -- John Kostyack -- (202) 797-6879

Budget Plan Reinforces Environmental Progress

Washington, DC -- "President Clinton's 1997 budget points the way for the nation to continue environmental progress while balancing the federal budget," Lynn Greenwalt, National Wildlife Federation Conservation Programs Vice President, said here today.

"This budget shows that we don't have to sacrifice public health and natural resource protection to end deficit spending," Greenwalt said. "The plan should strike a positive chord with the vast majority of Americans."

The President's Fiscal Year 1997 budget, released today, proposes expenditures of \$7 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and \$7.33 billion for the Interior Department in an overall package intended to balance the federal budget by 2002.

"The President's priorities show the White House hears the American public when it rejects attempts to rollback a generation of environmental progress," Greenwalt said. "The American people want progress in cleaning up our air and water, and they want our public lands managed for the good of the whole country. The President's budget shares these values."

"For over a year, the congressional leadership has put forward spending plans designed to reduce the deficit by cutting back on environmental protection. Those plans have failed because the people oppose them. The President's '97 budget should serve as a rallying point for everyone who believes we can improve environmental quality in this country while achieving fiscal discipline."

"The President's EPA budget targets the highest pollution risks for priority action. It's designed to ensure that environmental laws to protect public health are enforced. It would expand the Toxic Release Inventory to give people more information about the use of pollutants in their communities."

"The President's budget would restore funding for endangered species, make a major commitment to saving the Everglades and begin the long needed job of repair and maintenance at our National Parks."

"This budget also continues the administration's strong commitment to international environmental progress."

"The President's budget reflects the environmental priorities of the American people."



People and Nature: Our Future is in the Balance®

1400 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-2266 ☐ (202) 797-6800 ☐ WWW Home Page <http://www.nwf.org/nwf>

NEWS

Contact: Will Calloway
(202) 547-9009

AUDUBON CALLS PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FY97 BUDGET PRO BIRD, PRO EVERGLADES, PRO WETLANDS

WASH., DC, MAR. 19 -- The National Audubon Society, devoted to the protection of birds and their habitats, today commended President Clinton for offering a fiscal year 1997 budget that continues protection of the nation's natural resources and seeks to restore ecosystems.

Audubon's vice-president Eric Draper said, "Increased support for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and for the National Biological Service make this budget pro bird. By investing funds in science and habitat protection, the President is helping to prevent loss of important species and the places they breed and feed."

"Within a balanced budget proposal, President Clinton has set a fine goal for spending on watersheds and wildlife," Draper continued.

Everglades restoration continues to top the President's list of priorities. New funding for restoration plan implementation, \$100 million in new land acquisition funds to restore the heart of the Everglades, and the penny a pound subsidy giveback assessment on sugar producers all made the President's priority list. "This is the best Everglades budget ever," Draper said.

Land and Water Conservation Fund dollars are up to \$262 million in the 1997 proposal. This means that the federal government will be able to continue its commitment to save the best remaining bird habitat through outright purchase.

Wetlands got a boost with a \$216 million commitment to the Wetlands Reserve Program in the Agriculture budget. The program restores previously farmed wetlands. If Congress goes along, this money will mean 600,000 acres restored to date.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contacts:

**Gawain Kripke (202) 783-7400 (ext. 212)
or Courtney Cuff (ext. 207)**

Friends of the Earth Praises Clinton Budget: "Balances the Budget, Protects the Environment"

Washington, D.C. — Friends of the Earth praised the Clinton Administration's fiscal year 1997 budget request for the Environmental Protection Agency which was released today.

"This budget request shows that balancing the budget does not have to mean gutting environmental protection," said Gawain Kripke, Director of the Appropriations Project at Friends of the Earth.

The President provides \$7 billion for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in fiscal year 1997 (FY97), a six percent increase from FY95. Funding levels for FY96 have not yet been determined.

"While Congress has been slapping EPA with drastic budget cuts, President Clinton and Administrator Browner have made a special effort to provide adequate resources and maintain the integrity of environmental protection," said Kripke.

The Clinton Administration released the fiscal year 1997 budget request today even though the fiscal year 1996 budget has not been finalized. Congress is preparing a new omnibus appropriations bill which will fund EPA and other agencies through the remaining six months of FY96.

"The FY96 budget is a mess. EPA and other federal environmental agencies have been suffering with inadequate funding and shut-downs for half the year. Congress should pass a bill to fund the government at last year's levels and get on to FY97," said Kripke.

Friends of the Earth is a non-profit environmental organization based in Washington, D.C. with affiliates in more than 50 countries.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: March 20, 1996

CONTACT: Kevin Collins, ext. 123 or Alice Rita, ext. 122.

Park Advocacy Group Applauds FY 1997 Budget Request *Land Acquisition and Habitat Restoration "Investment in the Future"*

Washington, D.C. -- The National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) applauded the main features of President Clinton's Fiscal Year 1997 National Park Service budget today, particularly its commitment to protecting Everglades and Olympic National Parks through land acquisition and habitat restoration. The total NPS budget request of \$1.5 billion is an increase of \$181 million over levels contained in the FY 1996 conference report.

"The president's commitment to restoring the Everglades and the Elwha River in Olympic National Park is the wise investment we need to make if our national parks are going to be preserved and protected for future generations," NPCA President Paul C. Pritchard said.

The proposed budget includes \$100 million for land acquisition in South Florida through the Everglades Restoration Fund, as well as \$111 million up front to purchase and dismantle the Elwha and Glines Canyon Dams in Olympic National Park. The dams currently block access by native salmon to the Elwha River.

"It's encouraging that the U.S. government is on record as being willing to go back and make amends for environmental damage done in the past," Pritchard said. However, he expressed disappointment that the overall land acquisition request is down \$13 million from the FY 1996 conference amount. "We need to be buying land today to protect parks for tomorrow," Pritchard said.

Pritchard also praised the Park Service for efforts to fund high priority needs at individual parks. The park operation budget request is \$1.2 billion, \$90.2 million more than the FY 1996 conference report level. According to the Park Service, this is enough to give each park a three percent increase and a 10 percent raise to 42 parks with the most severe budget shortfalls. Another \$13 million will be used to respond to new responsibilities at 39 park areas.

"Too many parks have gone too long with untended trails, diminished interpretive services and deteriorating buildings. NPCA supports any effort to help parks respond better to visitors' needs," Pritchard said.

The National Parks and Conservation Association is America's only private nonprofit citizen organization dedicated solely to protecting, preserving and enhancing the U.S. National Park System. An association of "Citizens Protecting America's Parks," NPCA was founded in 1919 and today has more than 450,000 members.

NEWS RELEASE from the Alliance to Save Energy

For Immediate Release

March 19, 1996

For More Information

Mary Ann Gourlay, 202/857-0666

Alliance Applauds Increase for Efficiency in Administration's FY-97 Budget ***Emphasis on Pollution Prevention Presages Showdown with Congress Over Environment***

The Alliance to Save Energy today threw its full support behind proposed increases to the Department of Energy budget for energy efficiency programs. Despite continuing reduction in the overall DOE budget, the Clinton Administration has asked that spending levels for energy efficiency and renewable energy be returned to FY-1995 funding levels -- \$1.1 billion for the combined programs, with energy conservation programs increasing 35 percent, from \$538 million in FY-96 to \$717 million in FY-97. The increases are sought to restore the severe cuts in energy efficiency research, development, deployment and grants programs made by Congress last year in its Interior Appropriations bill.

"We applaud President Clinton's assertive efforts to pursue increased energy efficiency for both economic and environmental reasons," said Alliance President David Nemtzw. "These are programs which help our economy grow, both more competitive internationally and in an environmentally healthy manner. There are few sectors of the federal government which so clearly produce the kind of results Americans want to see from their tax dollar."

Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary summarized her budget by saying, "The two hallmarks of this budget relate to national security and clean energy. . . . We are aggressively funding development of renewable energy technologies and increased energy efficiency to reduce dependence on foreign oil and protect the environment."

The proposed increases clearly run counter to the recent actions of Congress. Severe cuts have debilitated a number of energy programs, and the FY-96 budget resolution calls for the ultimate shutdown of federal energy efficiency efforts.

"These increases will not be received well by those in Congress so determined to slash energy efficiency," said Alliance Director of State and Federal Policy David Hamilton. "However, a party in search of an environmental program should take a closer look at what these programs are producing," Hamilton said. "These are largely voluntary programs which work with the private sector to prevent pollution, while creating jobs and saving their constituents money. It's the pro-environment answer to command and control regulation."

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American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy

WASHINGTON, DC / BERKELEY, CA

PRESS RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE UNTIL
Weds., March 20, 1996

CONTACT: Howard Geller
(202) 429-8873

ENERGY EFFICIENCY GROUP APPLAUDS DOE BUDGET REQUEST

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The American Council for an Energy-Efficient-Economy (ACEEE) applauds the Clinton Administration and the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) for its budget request for energy efficiency programs in FY 1997. DOE is requesting \$715 million, 33% more than the \$539 million approved by the Congress for FY 1996. "The substantial increase for DOE's energy efficiency programs will accelerate the introduction of innovative energy efficiency technologies, save consumers, businesses, and the federal government billions of dollars, and cost effectively reduce pollution," said Howard Geller, Executive Director of ACEEE.

"The deep cuts in energy efficiency funding approved by the Congress in FY96 will hurt consumers, businesses, and the environment. We are heartened to see the Clinton Administration reject the priorities of the Congress and propose a strong energy efficiency and renewable energy budget for FY97. We hope the U.S. Congress will recognize the broad economic and environmental benefits of these programs, and we urge the Congress to fully fund them in FY 97," said Geller.

A number of energy efficiency technologies that DOE contributed to are now yielding enormous benefits. A new ACEEE report, *Successful Government-Industry Partnership: the U.S. Department of Energy's Role in Advancing Energy-Efficient Technologies*, points out that U.S. manufacturers have already realized additional revenues of \$3.5 billion from the sale of low-emissivity windows, electronic lighting ballasts, and high efficiency supermarket refrigeration systems, three of the most important energy-saving technologies that DOE helped to develop. Consumers and businesses will save about \$10 billion over the lifetime of these technologies, based on products already produced and installed in the United States. In all three cases, DOE spent modest amounts of money to help develop new technologies and remove barriers inhibiting their adoption, working in partnership with entrepreneurial firms.

Increased funding for energy efficiency programs in FY97 is focused on implementation of the Climate Change Action Plan, the industries of the future program, the partnership for a new generation of vehicles, reducing energy waste in Federal buildings, and weatherization of low-income housing. "In our opinion, these are all very worthwhile and promising efforts that deserve increased funding. According to DOE, Federal energy efficiency and renewable energy programs will create 20,000 jobs, cut energy bills by \$20 billion annually, and cut greenhouse gas emissions by 30 million metric tons of carbon equivalent by 2000. This is not corporate welfare -- it's an investment that provides a tremendous return for taxpayers," Geller concluded.

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March 20, 1996

BECAUSE OF DOWNSIZING, OREGON'S OAKRIDGE SEES A BETTER FUTURE

By DANA TIMS

Correspondent, The Oregonian 3-20-96 A-12

OAKRIDGE - A full decade before much of America was talking about downsizing, the small Cascade Mountains timber town of Oakridge southeast of Eugene was staring it in the face.

Within the span of a few years, both of the area's sawmills slammed the doors on what had been guaranteed employment to three or four generations of residents.

By the time the second and larger mill closed in 1986, 1,100 jobs had been lost.

That would have staggered any rural community. But combined with an aging work force and geographical isolation, the loss of work for one-quarter of the community's population was devastating.

Similarly tragic dramas have played out across Oregon, where the green chains and massive wood dryers of 220 mills have gone from shaving sawdust to gathering dust in the past six years.

But in the devastation left by downsizing in Oakridge, there may be valuable lessons for other communities still trying to come to grips with the reality that life as it has always been never will be again.

Ironically, the germ of Oakridge's regenera-

tion is sprouting on a 264-acre parcel abandoned 10 years ago when Pope and Talbot Lumber Co. shut down.

The mill's dark, hulking shell remains, while the 600 men and women who earned a living there for decades are mere memories. Yet several small, thriving businesses are sinking new roots for the future.

Even more ironically, the hottest products coming off the assembly line are made of wood.

"We found out the hard way that relying on a single giant to keep you going puts the whole town in the graveyard when they pull out," said Bob Atkins, owner of Wilderness Wood Products Inc. "For years we talked about diversity. Now we're making it happen."

"
You won't see a lot of crying and moaning around Oakridge. We have too much work to do.
"

Bob Atkins,
owner of Wilderness
Wood Products Inc.

Atkins, who labored 16 years in Oregon's forests and mills, started his business more than seven years ago on spit and gumption. He moved to an industrial park on the old mill site in 1991.

Today, his crew of eight makes 45 products for national distributors. They range from decorative fencing and garden trellises to birdhouses and bird feeders. A 2,000-square-foot greenhouse ships bedding plants to nurseries nationwide.

"You won't see a lot of crying and moaning around Oakridge," said Atkins, 37. "We have too much work to do."

Outdoorsman Paul Kemp's efforts to revitalize the town are entirely different from Atkins'. But they are paying handsome dividends.

Kemp, a relative newcomer to the area, envisions Oakridge as a magnet for mountain bikers. He operates the town's only bicycle shop and puts on a bicycle excursion lasting several days that this year is expected to attract as many as 400 participants.

He plucked a special plum recently when the National Off-Road Bicycle Association tapped Oakridge as one of the sanctioned stops on its new American Mountain Bike Challenge tour. An estimated 700 top riders from around the country, along with more than double that number of spectators, are expected to make cash registers sing for an entire weekend.

Kemp has clashed often with what he considers the town's old guard. But even in that conflict, he said, there is a sense of energy and immediacy promising good things for the future of Oakridge.

"Too often, the Chamber of Commerce has its head in the sand," Kemp said. "But if we can get together and just agree on some things, we'll be poised to make some really interesting things happen around here."

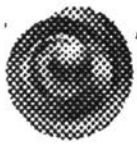
Former Oakridge Mayor Ron Paddock vividly remembers the trauma that resulted from the mill closures. But as a lifelong resident who made his first backpacking trip to nearby Waldo Lake at the age of 10 months - "They had to tether a cow along to make sure I had milk" - Paddock said he always felt that total reliance on big timber was dangerous.

"Even as the area was developed by the timber industry, it also lost its ability to be a viable economy because of that industry," Paddock said. "A lot of people were badly hurt by the closures. But I can tell you this: We may be evolving slowly, but when we're finished, we'll be stronger than ever."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-26-96

76 VP
Interacting with
can you have a response
direct for me - to Janaguer
PK



March 15, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-26-96

Dear President Clinton,

In conversation with Jean Houston the other night about the new telecommunications bill, she asked me to write you and share some of my thoughts after 30+ years in the computer industry. At the risk of libel suits, I will be blunt.

Most of my career has been spent on the front lines, developing software and training people in business, industry and education how to program as well as use computers and applications software. Since the early 1980s I believe that Bill Gates and Microsoft have harmed the productive potential of this country more than any other influence.

In mainstream business it is virtually impossible to work without using some Microsoft product today, be it operating systems, development tools, word processors, spread sheets, and so on. Yet these 'productivity' tools have been written for the convenience of programmers and the profit of their owners, not for ease of use or improved productivity. Their architecture reflects narrow, linear thinking and is difficult to learn. Users spend massive numbers of hours in the learning curve, assuming the products work at all. When they don't work, users are required to *pay for the privilege* of finding out how to fix them. I know, because I earned a good living for several years helping them.

Microsoft is a monopolistic trust, despite legal constraints that say otherwise. On many occasions when I have recommended changes that would make products easier to use, I have consistently been told that those changes would cost too much to program. And this from people who work for the richest man in the country! The gist is that Microsoft does not have to make changes because it controls most of the computer industry and therefore the productivity of our society. *There is no real competition.*

Yet it does not have to be this way. Microsoft decided to 'fix' DOS with Windows. Now it has tried to 'fix' Windows with Windows 95. Our collective investment in seeing it work is similar to what we have in the internal combustion engine. Unfortunately, the original architecture was no more environmentally sound and cannot be 'fixed.'

One of the main problem I see is at the university level. Computer engineering colleges and business schools depend on grants from companies like Microsoft, Xerox and Intel, who have a vested interest in not changing the status quo. The brightest of our young minds come out brainwashed to work using only existing technology (i.e. Microsoft dominated). I have worked with many computer engineers, young and old, who never learned in college or graduate school the skills needed to *envision innovation*. They are actively discouraged, through their courses and the equipment available to them, from looking for ways to make the foundations of computer technology better.

I am not a computer engineer but I've worked almost every day for the last 30 years with the results of their work and I truly believe that, without a concerted effort to broaden the industry and make room for innovation, the creative productivity of this country will continue to fill the pockets of a few greedy people with no commitment to making the future better.

The biggest problem lies in "compatibility." PC technology is about 85% of the market (the other 15% being Apple-based). I would guess that significantly less than 1% of those computers are free from some Microsoft product. That means that all developers of new products must conform to the Microsoft architecture in order to be economically viable.
Developers have no choice!

I will give you one small example. I wanted to go 'online' with my bank in order to save time and effort. My bank (US Bank) only allows me to use Microsoft Money as the software for their online service. I bit the bullet and paid (under \$30) for it. However, when I installed the system and paid my bank for the service, it didn't work. I called Microsoft for technical support. After waiting on hold for over an hour long distance, then working with the rep for another hour, I was told I couldn't use my existing modem software (cost - \$198) with their product but I could use Microsoft Fax software. Again I bit the bullet because being online with the bank was a real productivity saver for me. When the new software still didn't work, I called for tech support again. Again I was put on hold for over an hour. Once again, the fix did not work.

At this point, I have close to five hours of long distance charges, \$350 dollars in software charges, two months of bank subscription charges and 15 hours in lost productivity trying to fix the problem, and I'm still not online with my bank accounts! Despite the fact that I *like* my bank, my next step is to change to a bank that allows me to use some other software!

This is one very small example out of hundreds I have witnessed and experienced over the years. I tell my clients that for every dollar they pay for a Microsoft product, they will lose an hour of productive time figuring out how to make it work.

Microsoft is the biggest and therefore the easiest to take potshots at but there are others in the same position of control. If the stranglehold over technology development is not loosened and real innovation encouraged, the Superhighway will also be controlled by a few who do not care about the time users lose to frustration and wasted effort.

Thank you for your attention. I appreciate the chance to share my perspective on this issue and I hope you have the opportunity to improve the situation. I wish you well and you continue to have my vote. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,
Brigitta E. Olsen, PhD



COALITION TO STOP GUN VIOLENCE

100 Maryland Avenue, NE, Suite 402, Washington, DC 20002-5625
(202) 544-7190 • fax: (202) 544-7213 • e-mail: noguns@aol.com

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National Association of Social Workers
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Urban League, Inc.
North American Federation of Temple Youth
Pan American Trauma Association
Presbyterian Church USA
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association
UNITE
United Church of Christ
United Federation of Teachers
United Methodist Church
United States Conference of Mayors
United States Student Association
United Synagogues of America
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Woman's National Democratic Club
YWCA of the U.S.A.

March 21, 1996

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As a coalition of 44 national organizations dedicated to the reduction of gun violence in America, The Coalition to Stop Gun Violence would like to thank you for your opposition to the conference report on H.R. 956, the misnamed "Common Sense Product Liability Legal Reform Act of 1996."

The Coalition opposes H.R. 956 because its provisions would make it more difficult to hold the gun industry accountable for firearms-related injury caused by their defective and dangerous products. Currently there is no government agency with significant power to regulate firearms. Therefore, litigation is the only way to ensure that the gun industry takes responsibility for products that threaten consumer safety.

H.R. 956 rewards manufacturers and restricts efforts to reduce gun violence. For example, the statute of repose would free gun manufacturers from liability for dangerously defective firearms produced prior to 1981. The legislation would also reward gun dealers who knowingly sell firearms to high-risk individuals, such as felons and minors, by allowing these dealers to take advantage of punitive damage caps, restrictions on joint and several liability, and other limitation on recovery contained in the legislation.

The Coalition to Stop Gun Violence commends you for pledging to veto H.R. 956. Your courageous action will help continue the fight to reduce gun violence in America.

Sincerely,

Michael K. Beard
President

Mr. President

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B-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-26-96

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Res must be
ingrained in the
RC

3-25

from oval ofc.

TODD:

To Dorskind for reply? OR NSC?

YES _____ NO

to: NSC

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W
WALTERS POWER
INTERNATIONAL

March 21, 1996

96 MAR 25 P 5 : 45

*Staff sent
to coordinator
Kryly
Patricia sign*

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am pleased to tell you that I have now formed my own enterprise to develop electric power projects internationally. Walters Power International is partially owned by a New York investment group so I now have substantial funding to pursue a variety of international projects. You have been kind to ask about my "post-gubernatorial" work and I wanted you to know of this exciting development for Rhonda, the family, and I.

Last year Mr. President, I traveled to 9 countries during 17 international trips covering over 200,000 miles. These travels put me in Pakistan, India, Dominican Republic, Haiti and China, repeatedly; Hong Kong, Thailand, Vietnam and Ecuador at least once. I frequently have occasion to visit with the top officials of these countries and am pleased to not infrequently explain, defend or just discuss U.S. policy and politics. My travels this year will take me to Columbia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Egypt, Jordan and back to China, Pakistan and India.

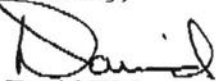
Having served as a U.S. Governor, now involved in international work, I have an opportunity to see many global and some regional issues up close and personal. I certainly don't want to be presumptuous to suggest that I could tell you something you don't know about global developments, but my guess is that in some cases my perspective would be different than from those you frequently hear. I think I may have an interesting view of Prime Minister Bhutto's future and I have found a hard to perceive tidal wave in the making in India. In addition, I believe Renee Preval bared some of his soul to me recently and my long held view of the danger of China is now conventional wisdom.

It was great to see you in December at the Hay Adams. Rhonda and I may not have gone to New Hampshire with you this election cycle, but rest assured we are working hard for a President we believe in and for a first family we are very proud of.

We're a phone call away and will be happy to serve the campaign, you or the nation in any way that you ask.

You have my very best wishes.

Sincerely,


David Walters
President

3/25

(from OVAI Ofc)

~~TOOD~~

~~TO~~ NSC for reply?

TO

Munroe

✓ Lewis - yes — no

Coordinate

W/ NSC

S

March 22, 1996

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

96 MAR 25 P5:41
REVISED

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. We all are aware of your leadership and passion regarding a ban on the production and distribution of these weapons. You may remember, in 1994 during a UNICEF trip to Bosnia, Louis and I had the opportunity to visit a mine awareness class for seven year old children. Here I experienced first hand the damaging effects of the mines on the children and also learned what was being done to educate and raise awareness among children. As an international spokesperson for UNICEF, I am particularly disturbed by the dangers of these mines to children around the world. 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, the idea of educating children with animated, identifiable characters was introduced. 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:

page 2

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 with the underlying theme focusing on 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.

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

page 3

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 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.

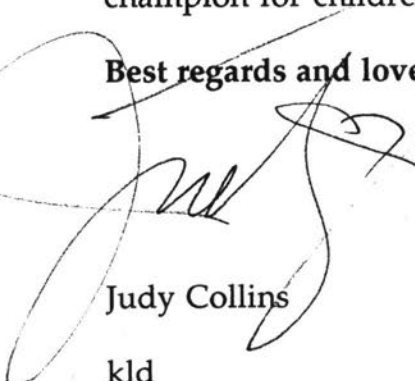
4. There are many other things we could do if we had underwriting for this campaign. For instance, the comic books and poster could be translated into other languages for distribution in those countries where land mines are killing and maiming our children. The animation too, could be dubbed. However,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

page 4

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?

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?

3/25 from OVA1 OFC

TODD:
TO NSC for reply?

~~8/24/51~~

✓ yes — no

S.



DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
Office of the Deputy Secretary

*Potter
has not
seen*

3-21

19 96

SUSP: _____ 19 _____

THRU Nancy Hennrich
TO President Clinton

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ PREPARE REPLY FOR MY SIGNATURE | ☐ COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS |
| ☐ REPLY-COPY TO ME | ☐ FOR STAFF DISTRIBUTION AND FILE |
| ☐ SIGNED | ☐ FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND FILE |
| ☐ FOR NECESSARY ACTION
(Staff Coordination)
(Staff Distribution) | ☐ PLEASE NOTE AND RETURN |
| ☐ APPROVED-PROCEED | ☐ PLEASE SEE ME/PHONE ME |
| ☐ SPECIAL HANDLING-EXPEDITE | ☐ NOTED-THANK YOU |

COMMENTS

I thought POTUS might like to read the attached regarding why Vietnam Veterans (Veterans of the Vietnam War Act.) support her Bosnia policy.

Hahl

03/17/1996 08:25 7173832377
Veterans of the Vietnam War, Inc.
760 Jumper Road
Wilkes-Barre, PA 18702-8033

Phone: (717) 825-7215
(800) VIETNAM



"SERVICE WITHOUT REWARD — DEDICATION TO BROTHERHOOD" MAR 25 P5:42

March 18, 1996

218 Third Street
Blakely, PA 18447
(717) 489-6164

The Honorable Hershel W. Gober
Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs
810 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20420

Dear Hershel,

Thank you for taking the time to write personal notes to those that were so helpful to me in a difficult admission late one night at the Lyons DVAMC.

Enclosed you will find the text of an editorial I wrote for the our newsletter, the LEADER, regarding VVnW support of the Bosnian Peace Initiative. We are taking quite a bit of heat from the membership for our letter of support. In particular, my resignation as Commander has been demanded.

In any case, I hope you find this editorial a balanced and clear representation of the Bosnian question. I am sending you an advanced text for your information and possible use should you find a need. All that I ask is that you withhold any use of this editorial until after publication.

I will be in Washington making my rounds of the Hill during the week of April 1. Should you wish to see me, talk with me on any subject or have a copy of the VVnW agenda for this trip, please don't hesitate to ask. My schedule for the week is fairly tight but flexible as I will have the VVnW Vice Commander with me.

As always, thank you for all you have done for the VVnW and for all you have done for veterans.

Sincerely,


James M. Charles
National Commander

cc: Commanders Personal Files

"People Who Care"
NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
•23-2151579

VVnW Support of the Bosnian Peace Initiative

In this column, I'm going to comment on a letter that was sent to President Clinton with my signature by direction of the VVnW Board of Directors. The letter has caused some controversy within the organization because we, as a Board, supported the decision to send troops into Bosnia. Some of our membership supported and applauded this position by the VVnW while others roundly denounced this letter.

Therefore, I want to explain to you the reasoning behind the decision of the Board to send this letter of support for the Bosnian Peace Initiative and how we, as a Board, arrived at the decision. Please read this column with an open mind. As always, after reading and thinking about this, the Board and I welcome your feedback.

On Monday, November 27, 1995, President Clinton addressed the people of the United States and announced his decision to send U.S. combat troops into Bosnia to keep the peace. Some of the Board members met on Tuesday, November 28, 1995, and discussed the Bosnian situation. We agreed the VVnW should take a position regarding the President's decision to send troops into Bosnia. We agreed we should take a leadership position and respond as soon as possible - within 24 hours if a consensus could be reached.

After some discussion and a rewrite or two, the following letter was agreed upon by four of the members of the Board of Directors. At home later that day, I contacted four more members of the Board of Directors and read the letter to them. Of the four contacted, one was opposed to the position that was being taken and said so. The ninth member of the Board could not be contacted that day. Since seven (7) Board members supported both the language and the letter, I sent it to the White House. This was done by 11:00 PM on November 28th. As one Board member stated, the sooner we went on the record, the better.

In any case, the following is an exact reprint of the letter the National Board sent to the White House.

November 28, 1995

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

Dear President Clinton:

The Veterans of the Vietnam War, Inc., a nationally recognized veterans service organization, recognizing the very real threat to world peace posed by continued or expanded hostilities in Bosnia; realizing the leadership role the United States must take in ensuring world peace; understanding and agreeing with the rules of engagement outlined on November 27th: offer our full support in agreement with the Bosnian Peace Initiative and the commitment of limited United States ground forces.

PAGE 87

Bosnia may be a mess, the peace might not hold; but I believe as a great majority of those on the Board agreed that we have to try to enforce the peace. With the specter of a far greater war looming over us and far greater casualties, the Board agrees this peace initiative must be given a chance. Unfortunately, we believe that U.S. troops must be used for the peace initiative to have any chance at success.

Yet, **should things change**, we, as a Board, will have no problems writing to President Clinton and the members of Congress withdrawing our support for this policy. If, say for example, the President or NATO were to change the rules of engagement and our troops would not be allowed to fight back, the Board would immediately write a letter to the President withdrawing our support. **Our support is conditional.** If those conditions are not met, our support turns to active opposition.

I hope this answers any questions you might have regarding the letter sent by direction of the VVnW Board of Directors on November 28th, 1995, in support of the Bosnian Peace Initiative. If you have any further comments or questions, please do not hesitate to send them to me.

Thanks for keeping an open mind and thank you for your support.

In Brotherhood,

James M. Charles
National Commander

To this, we would respectively request that it be made known to the world and to the leaders of the respective warring factions that the United States is determined to enforce the Peace Accords and will not waiver in its commitment to see this initiative through to a successful resolution.

By direction of the Veterans of the Vietnam War, Inc., Board of Directors:

Sincerely,

*James M. Charles
National Commander
Chairman: Board of Directors*

To reach the decision to support the Bosnian Peace Initiative was not an easy one for any of the Board members - myself included. A great deal of soul searching went into this decision and a great deal of thought. You, as a member of the organization, have a right to know how we reached this decision.

First, we divorced the players from the policy so that we could make a decision regarding the policy and not the personalities involved. This was not easy for many of us. We reviewed the history of the region and the current state of the hostilities. We did our best to look into the future and try to anticipate what may happen in the region. Finally, liking none of the alternatives, we chose what we thought was the best for the country and the world.

This region has had a long history of ethnic and religious conflict. World War I started in the Balkans from the same type ethnic and religious conflict. The European powers took sides in the conflict and it escalated into World War I.

During World War II, the region was divided with some of the peoples supporting the Nazis and some supporting the Allies - as did much of Europe. While the peoples of the Balkans were not major players in the war, there was a sharp division within the area.

Since World War II, the area was united and became Yugoslavia under President Tito, a communist. The breakup of the Soviet Union and the breakup of the communist bloc brought a corresponding breakup to Yugoslavia. Since then, the various factions within the former country of Yugoslavia have been warring against each other.

This war has brought new terms into the forefront of current vocabulary such as "ethnic cleansing". Ethnic cleansing is only a new term for genocide.

In any case, a particularly foul war has been going on in this country for the last several years with war crimes being committed on all sides. Much of the war seems to be directed at the various civilian populations as well as at the armed warring factions.

Throughout recent years, many attempts have been made to end the war through diplomatic measures. There have been numerous "cease fires" and numerous attempts to get the warring factions to reach some sort of peaceful agreement. All attempts have ended in failure and the war has continued unabated.

In recent months, a change has come upon the diplomatic scene beyond the war. The various powers of the region and others beyond the region have begun to take sides reminiscent of the months preceding World War I.

001271550 00125 175052577 JAMES M. CHARLES PAGE 05

In response to these developments, the United States took a leadership role in securing a peace agreement by the initiation what many have called "the last, best hope" for peace in the region. With United States leadership and participation, the warring factions were gathered in Dayton, Ohio, and remained there until a Peace Agreement was reached. By all accounts, all of the warring factions got "less" than they wanted but all were - more or less - satisfied with the agreement. What remained to be done after the agreement was signed was the implementation and enforcement of the peace agreement and its conditions. The warring sides need to be separated to enforce the tenuous peace.

To this end, President Clinton decided to send U.S. troops as part of the forces being supplied by the UN and NATO to keep the peace.

We, as a Board, reviewed this history and President Clinton's decision. Looking to the future, we asked ourselves the following questions.

"What happens if the peace is NOT enforced?" If history is any guide, the Board agreed, the peace will fall apart and the war will begin again.

"Can the peace be enforced?" This was a harder question and no clear answer developed. The Board agreed that only an attempt at enforcing the peace can answer this question. If no attempt is made clearly the peace will fail.

"What happens if the peace fails?" The Board believes that this would be a disaster. We feel that, should the war begin again, other nations will be pulled into the conflict and it will be only that a matter of time before the United States gets pulled into a far greater war.

"Should U.S. Troops be used to enforce the peace?" Reluctantly, we came to the conclusion that without U.S. involvement the peace is bound to fail. And, fearing a far greater war to come, we agreed that U.S. troops should be used to enforce the peace.

The United States was instrumental in securing the peace agreement. Therefore, we, the United States, must be instrumental in keeping the peace agreement.

When we reached the above conclusion, we agreed that, as a responsible veterans organization, our view needed to be known to the White House and to all others that questioned our position.

However, there was one more stumbling block. We needed to be assured that our troops were not just "sitting ducks" with no ability to fight back should they be attacked. This problem was removed when President Clinton outlined the "Rules of Engagement" in his speech on November 27th. He said, "... American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO. They will be heavily armed and thoroughly trained. By making an overwhelming show of force they will lessen the need to use force. But unlike the UN forces they will have the authority to respond immediately and the training and equipment to respond with overwhelming force to any threat to their own safety or any violations of the military provisions of the peace agreement." President Clinton further refined this by saying, "But anyone contemplating an action that would endanger our troops should know this: America protects its own. Anyone - anyone - who

13001071 JAMES M. CHARLES PAGE 08

takes on our troops will suffer the consequences. We will fight fire with fire, and then some."

From this speech, the Board agreed the "Rules of Engagement" were clear. American troops would be commanded by an American general and have the "authority to respond immediately . . . to any threat to their own safety." And, "we will fight fire with fire, and then some."

The Board will never support any decision that would not allow our troops to fight back. President Clinton gave us and the nation the promise that our troops could and will fight back should they be attacked or threatened. We will hold the President to that promise.

Therefore, when you look at the letter and its wording, you will see we are supporting the policy regarding the peace initiative. We recognized "the very real threat to world peace posed by continued or expanded hostilities in Bosnia." The diplomatic support of the various countries on one side or another posed that "very real threat." We realized "the leadership role the United States must take in ensuring world peace." We believe that without U.S. support the peace mission is bound to fail. We understand and agree "with the rules of engagement outlined on November 27th." As stated above, without the ability to fight back, we of the Board could never have supported the Peace Initiative. It was then and only then that we offered our support.

To further make our position clear, the Board agreed we had to make a statement about pulling out. If this is worth doing - and we believe it is - then it is worth doing even if there is a cost. We believe the world should know that we are determined to enforce the peace and will not waiver in that commitment.

As stated earlier, some have supported the Board position and some haven't.

From Pennsylvania, a member wrote, in part, "I . . . support your backing of sending our troops to help bring peace to Bosnia. We must stop the bloodshed."

Another Pennsylvania member wrote and asked, "How can you support . . . Clinton." To this person, I would say that we didn't support an individual, we supported the policy. We did **NOT** support the policy that lifted the embargo on Vietnam and wrote to the President stating that we did not support that political move. We did **NOT** support normalizing relation with Vietnam and we wrote a letter to the President stating our "non-support." However, for the reasons stated above, we do support the Bosnian Peace Initiative and the use of limited U.S. troops.

Finally, a Post Commander in Ohio wrote and asked, "You do remember VietNam don't you Mr. Charles." To this man and all those that believe that I might have forgotten Vietnam, I will answer that in two ways. First, no, I haven't forgotten Vietnam. I teach a class at a university on the Vietnam War and remember Vietnam and the lessons of Vietnam every term. And, second, yes, I remember Vietnam: every morning when I put on an artificial leg, I remember Vietnam; every time I see my boys running and playing and pray to God that - just once - I could run with them, I remember Vietnam; every time I lose part of a conversation because I lost the hearing in one ear, I remember Vietnam; and with every step I take, I feel the pain shooting throughout my body, and I remember Vietnam.

Bosnia may be a mess, the peace might not hold; but I believe as a great majority of those on the Board agreed that we have to try to enforce the peace. With the specter of a far greater war looming over us and far greater casualties, the Board agrees this peace initiative must be given a chance. Unfortunately, we believe that U.S. troops must be used for the peace initiative to have any chance at success.

Yet, **should things change**, we, as a Board, will have no problems writing to President Clinton and the members of Congress withdrawing our support for this policy. If, say for example, the President or NATO were to change the rules of engagement and our troops would not be allowed to fight back, the Board would immediately write a letter to the President withdrawing our support. **Our support is conditional.** If those conditions are not met, our support turns to active opposition.

I hope this answers any questions you might have regarding the letter sent by direction of the VVnW Board of Directors on November 28th, 1995, in support of the Bosnian Peace Initiative. If you have any further comments or questions, please do not hesitate to send them to me.

Thanks for keeping an open mind and thank you for your support.

In Brotherhood,

James M. Charles
National Commander