

Todd Steen

4/96

I think a cover
but would be good
if the Correspondence

—

143103

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1996

7/25

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your signature are the following Congressional letters:

- 1) Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-VT), regarding his recent comments on the Senate floor supportive of our Judicial nominees;
- 2) Rep. Michael N. Castle (R-DE), requested that you sign a 50th anniversary letter for his mother and father-in-law;
- 3) Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-CA), congratulating her upon being sworn in as a new member of the 104th Congress;
- 4) Rep. Harold E. Ford (D-TN), congratulating him upon his announced retirement from the House of Representatives;
- 5) Rep. James H. Quillen (R-TN), congratulating him upon his announced retirement from the House of Representatives. During his press conference, he stressed the need to spend more time with his chronically ill wife, Cecille.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Pat:

Thank you for your kind words on the Senate floor regarding the Federal judiciary and your continued support during Judiciary Committee proceedings. Throughout my Administration, we have worked to nominate the best possible judicial candidates, and will continue to do so. I agree that the integrity of a rigorous, unbiased confirmation process should not be compromised for purposes of political expediency.

I look forward to working with you in an effort to further our shared goals.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1996

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur F. DiSabatino, Jr.
404 Brighton Road
North Hills
Wilmington, Delaware 19809

Dear Elsie and Arthur:

Hillary and I are delighted to congratulate you on your 50th wedding anniversary. Best wishes for a wonderful celebration and for many more years of happiness together.

Sincerely,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Juanita:

Congratulations on your swearing-in as a Member of the House of Representatives. I believe the people of the 37th District of California will be well served and I look forward to working together in pursuit of our common goals.

Hillary and I extend our best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Juanita Millender-McDonald
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Harold:

I want to thank you for your many years of dedicated service to the state of Tennessee and the nation. Your decision to retire from the House at the end of this Congress must have been difficult. I will always be appreciative of the support and encouragement you have given me.

Hillary and I extend our best wishes to you in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Harold E. Ford
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Quillen:

I recently learned of your decision to retire from the House of Representatives at the end of this Congress, and I want to thank you for your dedicated service to the state of Tennessee and the nation. Hillary and I were touched by your comments regarding Cecille. Our prayers are with you both.

Best wishes to you in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

The Honorable James H. (Jimmy) Quillen
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

162560

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1996

96 APR 22 08:43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your signature is a condolence letter to Senator Connie Mack (R-FL) following the death of his father from cancer.

4-25-96

OVAL

OVAL —

Judd,
OK for
BE sig.
— Helen

4/22/96
Betty Currie checking
to see if call made
C.
|

W. We sent
a call
sheet to
plane
they still
want letter?
| T.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Mack:

Hillary and I were sorry to learn of the death of your father, Connie. We hope that the love and support of your family and friends will sustain and comfort you.

Please know that you and your family are in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Connie Mack
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

162552

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1996

96 APR 22 AB: 43

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *sm*

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your signature is a response to the attached letter from Rep. Blanche Lambert-Lincoln (D-AR).

Tedd,
OK for
BE sig.
Selen

OVAL

OVAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Blanche:

Thank you for your kind letter. You can be proud of your many Congressional accomplishments on behalf of the people of Arkansas. I have enjoyed working with you and am eager to hear family stories soon! Please be assured that I will support you in future endeavors.

Hillary and I wish you and Steve well.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Blanche Lambert-Lincoln
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

1204 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202-225-4076

DISTRICT OFFICE:

615 SOUTH MAIN
SUITE 211
JONESBORO, AR 72401
501-972-4600
800-866-2701

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-0401

March 20, 1996

COMMERCE COMMITTEE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND POWER
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, TRADE,
AND HAZARDOUS MATERIALS

Bill Clinton
The President
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your kind note extending your good wishes to Steve and I on the announcement of the upcoming births of our twins. The Lord has truly blessed us, and we are anxiously looking forward to the many wonderful experiences of parenthood.

My mother always said that life is just a series of chapters in a book. I plan to close this chapter with the same enthusiasm and commitment as when it began. Before Steve and I embark on the next chapter in our lives, I want to be sure that my service to the First Congressional District is exemplary.

While I will miss representing the First Congressional District of Arkansas, I am grateful for the opportunity to serve in Congress for two terms. I helped enact a law that conveyed the Corning (AR) Fish Hatchery to the State of Arkansas, and I have been one of the principal advocates in the House of Representatives for welfare reform. I helped negotiate the final terms of the telecommunications reform bill that assures rural areas access to the information highway. And, my efforts on behalf of rural health care reform were recently recognized separately by the National Association of Community Health Centers and the Rural Health Care Association. These and other endeavors have helped make this a most rewarding experience for a young Congresswoman from rural Arkansas and, I hope, for the district I have worked to represent.

While I have withdrawn my name from the list of candidates on this year's election ballot, I am keeping my eye on the future because I know that my public service for Arkansas is not done. I hope I can always count on your advice and support.

Steve and I appreciate your taking the time to share in these happy times with us.

Sincerely,

Blanche L. Lincoln

BLANCHE LAMBERT LINCOLN
Member of Congress

*Thank you
for your
kind words
and great
leadership!*

BLL:sdw

alien cases increased by 15%, while employer cases and fraud cases decreased 34% and 17% respectively compared with February 1995.

(J) "60 Minutes" transcript on CEO salaries. Via Sec. Reich. Bud Crystal, a former compensation consultant, was interviewed by Lesley Stahl. Sec. Reich calls your attention to Crystal's comment that "the President sort of lost his nerve on this." Crystal says that although you signed a law in 1993 to take away corporations' tax deductions for executive pay over \$1 million per year, privately held companies are exempted, and the top 5 on the proxy statement of public companies are exempted. So Crystal says the law is meaningless.

(J) "The Anxiety Epidemic," Newsweek, April 8, 1996 by Robert Allen. Via Harold. Downsizing is a necessary evil, but business needs to do more to ease the pain.

(K) Guilty: The Collapse of Criminal Justice by Judge Harold Rothwax. Rahm recommends it to you.

Also see my reply
(L) Rep. Blanche Lambert Lincoln letter about her retirement. She thanks you for your good wishes on the upcoming births of their twins. She and Steve are looking forward to parenthood. She is grateful for the opportunity to serve in Congress for two terms and has withdrawn her name from the list of candidates on this year's election ballot, but she knows that her public service for Arkansas is not done. She hopes she can always count on your advice and support, and thanks you for your kinds words and great leadership.

We also received the following item:

(K) Russ Keene note about Rep. Jay Dickey event. Via Mack. Russ attended an event in Dallas for Dickey as a favor to a friend in the Crow organization. He reports that Dickey said positive things about your character and intelligence. He told a warm story about your mother too. Mack says: "Sometimes effort and personal and professional courtesy go a long way -- and sometimes they don't. In this case it appears our collective efforts helped."

Mack
One of us knows
Say something to
Paul

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1996

96 APR 24 P8:04

4125
~~signature~~
sent to RM for
signature
per Phil
C.

4-25-96

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Departure Letter for Jamuna Broadway

Purpose

To sign a letter to departing NSC staff member Jamuna Broadway.

Background

Jamuna is completing her two-year tour as secretary to the Senior Director of the NSC's Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs Directorate and returning to the State Department to assume a new position. The attached letter thanks Jamuna for her exceptional service to the NSC staff.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to Jamuna Broadway

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Jamuna:

As you prepare to depart the White House, I join your colleagues in recognizing the exceptional support you have provided to the National Security Council staff over the past two years.

I want to express my thanks for your selfless service to the Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs Directorate, particularly your invaluable contributions in preparation for my meetings with Presidents Yeltsin, Kuchma and Aliyev. You can take pride in the exceptional support you provided to this administration and to the country.

Please accept my personal best wishes for your continued success in your new appointment at the Department of State.

Sincerely,

Ms. Jamuna Broadway
Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs
National Security Council
Washington, D.C. 20504

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 23, 1996

96 APR 23 P6:53

163005
1259
all sent to PM for signature.
per Todd Stern
C.

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
LAURA D'ANDREA TYSON
JOHN HILLEY
SUBJECT: Response to 39 Members of the Senate on Russia's Ban on U.S. Poultry Exports

Purpose

To respond to 39 members of the Senate who wrote you on February 22 urging immediate action to end Russia's ban on U.S. poultry exports.

Background

Because of daily changes in the status of our trade negotiations, we felt it was preferable to keep in touch with the 39 Senators through phone calls rather respond precipitously in writing. At various points, the Vice President, Mickey Kantor, Sandy Berger, and Leon Fuerth, among others, made calls. We also coordinated with USDA, USTR and the Vice President's office to provide Congressional staff with regular updates on the negotiations.

We feel we have now reached a clear enough resolution of the key trade issues that we can respond with the confidence that our agreement with the Russians will hold. Your letter thanks the Senators for their interest in this issue and indicates that our negotiations have ensured that poultry exports to Russia continue and new licenses are being issued. You indicate that we worked closely with our poultry industry throughout the negotiations, and that we continue to work aggressively on the remaining tariff issues.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letters to 39 Senators at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letters to 39 Senators
Tab B Incoming

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear David:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable David Pryor
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0402

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Max:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Max Baucus
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2602

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Joe:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0802

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Christopher S. Bond
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2503

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John B. Breaux
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1803

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Dale:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Dale Bumpers
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0401

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Robert:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4801

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Coats:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Dan Coats
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1403

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Cochran:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Thad Cochran
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2402

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Coverdell:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Paul Coverdell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1004

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0103

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator DeWine:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Mike DeWine
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-3502

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Leader:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert Dole
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1601

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Faircloth:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Lauch Faircloth
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4103

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Wendell:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Wendell H. Ford
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1701

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Tom:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Tom Harkin
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1502

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Frist:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Bill Frist
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4205

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Howell:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Howell Heflin
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0101

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-3301

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Fritz:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Ernest F. Hollings
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4002

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Hutchison:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Kay Bailey Hutchison
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4102

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bennett:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1802

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Madam Chair:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Nancy Landon Kassebaum
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1602

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Herb:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks, and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Herb Kohl
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4903

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Lott:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Trent Lott
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2403

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1401

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator McConnell:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Barbara:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Barbara A. Mikulski
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2003

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Nickles:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Don Nickles
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-3602

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Sam:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Sam Nunn
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1001

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear David:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable David Pryor
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0402

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Charles S. Robb
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2301

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Jay:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John D. Rockefeller IV
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4802

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable William V. Roth, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-0801

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Paul Sarbanes
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2002

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Richard:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Richard C. Shelby
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-3102

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Paul Simon
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-1302

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Warner:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable John W. Warner
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-4601

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Paul David Wellstone
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2303

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter conveying your concern about the Russian Government's threat to close its markets to U.S. poultry exports. We acted expeditiously on this issue, with positive results.

Our negotiations with the Russians have ensured the continuation of U.S. poultry exports, which have accounted for 20 percent of our total exports to Russia and 20,000 jobs in more than 30 states. Russia has accepted shipments that were on the high seas during this trade dispute. New import licenses are being issued. We agreed on a new system of spot-checks and notifications to help prevent future problems. And we continue to work aggressively on pending tariff issues in order to bring them to quick resolution.

I want to assure you that we consulted closely with the U.S. poultry industry throughout the negotiations. This helped produce an agreement that the industry supports and can implement.

Thank you for your support and encouragement on this issue. We will continue to inform your staff of new developments.

Sincerely,

The Honorable J. Robert Kerrey
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510-2704

The Honorable Max Baucus
United States Senate
511 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2602

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
United States Senate
221 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-0802

The Honorable Christopher S. Bond
United States Senate
293 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2503

The Honorable John B. Breaux
United States Senate
516 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1803

The Honorable Dale Bumpers
United States Senate
229 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-0401

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
311 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4801

The Honorable Dan Coats
United States Senate
404 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1403

The Honorable Thad Cochran
United States Senate
326 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2402

The Honorable Paul Coverdell
United States Senate
200 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1004

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
Democratic Leader
United States Senate
509 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-0103

The Honorable Mike DeWine
United States Senate
140 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-3502

The Honorable Robert Dole
Majority Leader
United States Senate
141 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1601

The Honorable Lauch Faircloth
United States Senate
317 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4103

The Honorable Wendell H. Ford
Democratic Whip
United States Senate
173-A Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1701

The Honorable Bill Frist
United States Senate
565 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4205

The Honorable Tom Harkin
United States Senate
531 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1502

The Honorable Howell Heflin
United States Senate
728 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-0101

The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
403 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-3301

The Honorable Ernest F. Hollings
United States Senate
125 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4002

The Honorable Kay Bailey Hutchison
United States Senate
283 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4102

The Honorable J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senate
136 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1802

The Honorable
Nancy Landon Kassebaum
United States Senate
302 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1602

The Honorable J. Robert Kerrey
United States Senate
303 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2704

The Honorable Herb Kohl
United States Senate
330 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4903

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Whip
United States Senate
487 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2403

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate
306 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1401

The Honorable Mitch McConnell
United States Senate
361A Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1702

The Honorable Barbara A. Mikulski
United States Senate
709 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2003

The Honorable Don Nickles
United States Senate
133 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-3602

The Honorable Sam Nunn
United States Senate
303 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1001

The Honorable David Pryor
United States Senate
267 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-0402

The Honorable Charles S. Robb
United States Senate
154 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2301

The Honorable John D. Rockefeller IV
United States Senate
109 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4802

The Honorable William V. Roth, Jr.
United States Senate
104 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-0801

The Honorable Paul Sarbanes
United States Senate
309 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2002

The Honorable Richard C. Shelby
United States Senate
110 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-3102

The Honorable Paul Simon
United States Senate
462 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-1302

The Honorable John W. Warner
United States Senate
225 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-4601

The Honorable Paul David Wellstone
United States Senate
717 Hart Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510-2303

Pascual, Carlos E.

From: Friedrich, Mary K.
To: @RUSSIA - Russia/Ukraine
Cc: /N, NonRecord at A1; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Package #1259 [UNCLASSIFIED]
Date: Monday, April 22, 1996 4:43PM

T. Lake, L. Tyson, J. Hilley and Todd Stern have approved package #1259 "Response to 39 members of the Senate on Russia's Ban U.S. Poultry Exports. The additional letters and labels need to be prepared. I am returning the diskette and a copy of the package. Please return the letters, labels, and diskette to EXECSEC as soon as possible.

Thanks

Did all 39 letters

TAB B

1259

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

February 22, 1996

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

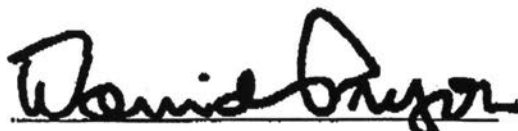
We want to call your immediate attention to actions taken by Russian officials to close their markets to U.S. poultry exports. As you know, we have recently experienced a trade deficit with Russia and current actions by them threaten to exacerbate this problem.

Russia's Chief Veterinarian, Dr. V.M. Avilov, has stated that as of Monday, February 19, he will no longer sign import permits. The result of such action is to effectively suspend all U.S. poultry exports to Russia. Dr. Avilov cites certain scientific and technical differences between the U.S. poultry inspection system/live poultry disease monitoring program and Russian requirements for the basis of his arbitrary action. It is our understanding, U.S. poultry industry scientists and U.S. government officials are working diligently and in good faith to successfully address the issues raised by Dr. Avilov.

U.S. poultry exports to Russia, our largest poultry export customer, are valued at \$700 million and represent over 20 percent of all U.S. exports to Russia. Russian customers in recent years have developed a great preference for the quality, wholesomeness, and value of U.S. poultry products. The disruption in trade will cause Russian consumers to lose a highly preferred food product in their market and they will experience unnecessary food cost inflation because there is no substitute for U.S. chicken leg quarters.

While Administration Officials have begun the effort to resolve this trade dispute, we urgently seek further assistance in pressing our case at the highest levels of the Russian government. We know you will appreciate the economic importance of this matter to American agriculture.

Sincerely,


Pryor


Cochran

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton

February 22, 1996

Page Two

Richard Shelby

Shelby

Dale Bumpers

Bumpers

Chuck Robb

Robb

Pat McCornell

McConnell

Donnell Ford

Ford

Alvin Lugar

Lugar

Robert A. Mikolicki

Mikolicki

James Johnston

Johnston

Ray Bailey Hutchison

Hutchison

Howard Heflin

Heflin

Frank Lott

Lott

John Warner

Warner

Joe Biden

Biden

Paul Sarbanes

Sarbanes

John Breaux

Breaux

Bruce Rostenkowski

Rostenkowski

Herb Kohl

Kohl

Jesse Helms

Helms

Fritz Hollings

Hollings

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton

February 22, 1996

Page Three



Coats



Wellstone



Baucus



Nickles



Nunn



Byrd



Coverdell



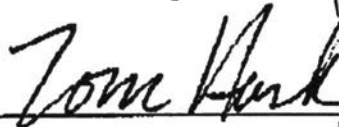
Dole



DeWine



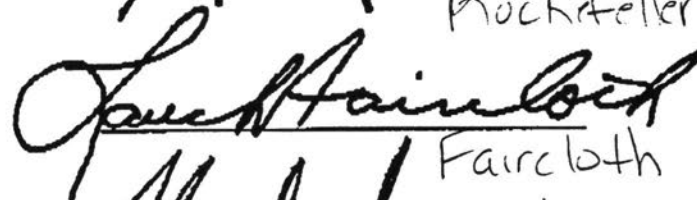
Frist



Hart



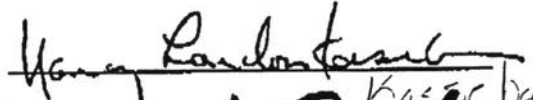
Rockefeller



Faircloth



Simon



Kissinger



Bond



Daschle

4/25
sent to PM
for signature
per Todd Stern.
2539

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1996
96 APR 24 P5:05

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Farewell Letter for Anthony Mazzuchi of
NSC Inter-American Directorate

Purpose

To wish Staff Sergeant Anthony Mazzuchi farewell and recognize his excellent work for the National Security Council as he departs for a new assignment.

Background

Air Force Sergeant Anthony Mazzuchi, who has served as administrative assistant and office manager in the Inter-American Affairs Directorate of the National Security Council for the past 20 months, is being reassigned outside the White House.

We believe a farewell letter from you would be a meaningful and fitting recognition of the excellent job that Sergeant Mazzuchi has done here.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Letter to Sergeant Anthony Mazzuchi

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Tony:

As you complete your assignment at the White House, I join your colleagues in recognizing the excellent job you have done in the National Security Council these past 20 months.

As Administrative Assistant and Office Manager in the Inter-American Affairs Directorate, you provided important support to a number of key hemispheric initiatives. Your assistance as we were preparing for the Summit of Americas and your personal role in the publication of the Summit report, "Building a Partnership for Prosperity," were invaluable contributions to our policy in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Please accept my best wishes for continued success in your career.

Sincerely,

Sgt. Anthony Mazzuchi
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20504

RES.

4/25- Mr. President - I know Steve Meyers well. He was a wonderful person. His wife Millie, who works for a insurance company, is also wonderful. Her first husband died in a whitewater rafting accident.

Both are very close to Mickey Kantor. A note to her from Steve would be greatly appreciated. Thanks

EN 4/23/96
1996

53, a Founder Market Law Firm

An accident on a winding country road continues to be investigated.

Mr. Meyers was driving his 27-year-old stepdaughter, Brooke Harmon Berryman, from New York to his weekend home in West Cornwall, Conn., when the accident occurred shortly before 7 P.M. on Route 37 near the Sherman town line. Mrs. Berryman, who lives in Middletown, Conn., suffered a broken leg and other injuries.

The death of Mr. Meyers caused shock and consternation on two coasts — in Los Angeles, where he and his U.C.L.A. law school classmate, Leonard G. Jacoby, created their innovative storefront firm in 1972, and in New York, where Mr. Meyers and his second wife, Millie Harmon Meyers, have been social leaders since they moved to the city in 1984.

The penthouse apartment in the Flatiron district of Manhattan, where the couple had entertained often and well, was transformed into a center of mourning for the prominent and the powerful yesterday as well-known friends, like Jeff Greenfield and Cokie Roberts, the television newscasters, and Mickey Kantor, the United States trade representative, came to console Mrs. Meyers, the former volunteer coordinator for the Clinton-Gore Presidential campaign. She is now a protocol officer for Madeline K. Albright, the chief United States representative to the United Nations.

In Los Angeles, Mr. Jacoby, who had recently reached what he described as an amicable resolution of a well-publicized business dispute with Mr. Meyers, recalled the days when they were two young lawyers who shook the legal profession to its genteel foundations.

Realizing that both the very rich and the very poor had ample access to the legal profession, the two lawyers set their sights on the vast middle ground of America. The storefront legal clinic they established in Van Nuys, Calif., in 1972 created an immediate local sensation, and five years later, when their innovative, high-profile practice helped lead to a Supreme Court ruling that lawyers and other professionals had the right to advertise, they became the first to make their pitch on television.

The firm eventually grew to some



David Strick, 1979

Stephen Z. Meyers

300 lawyers in 150 offices in 6 states, but their very success, which spawned a vast array of low-cost imitators, forced a significant retrenchment in recent years as the firm took a new direction specializing in personal injury cases.

Both Mr. Jacoby and Gail Koff, the firm's low-profile New York partner, said the firm was now thriving again and would continue.

In addition to his wife and stepdaughter, Mr. Meyers is survived by a daughter from his first marriage, Jessica Slack of Marin County, Calif.; two other stepdaughters, Victoria Harmon of Washington and Elise Harmon of San Francisco; his father, Frederick Harmon of Hilton Head, Calif., and a sister, Sarah Allen, of North Hanover, Vt.

Ken Doherty, 90, Longtime Penn Relays Director

By FRANK LITSKY

Ken Doherty, a track and field athlete, coach and author and the longtime director of the Penn Relays, died Friday in Lancaster, Pa. He was 90.

Doherty was tall, slim and scholarly looking. From 1956 to 1969, he served as meet director of the Penn Relays, a three-day, almost nonstop logistical marvel of running, jumping and throwing events that became the world's largest track and field rival.

He would sit on a wooden platform northwest corner of the University of Pennsylvania's Franklin Field, with telephones in front of him, listening with calls

first such assignment came in the 1935 Big Ten championships at Columbus, Ohio, where, in a 45-minute span, Jesse Owens of Ohio State broke five world records and equaled a sixth. From 1959 to 1967, he was the meet director of The Philadelphia Inquirer Games, a major indoor competition. In 1959 in Philadelphia, he was the meet director of the first dual meet between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Ed Fabricus, an associate with the Penn Relays, recalled him as "a very thorough man with a stubborn streak." "When Bruce Dern, the actor, was a Penn half-miler," Fabricus said, "Ken kicked him off the team because he wouldn't cut his

both from the University of Michigan.

In 1928 and 1929, when the 10 events that make up the decathlon were contested in one day instead of the present two, he won the national championship. In the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, he won the bronze medal in the decathlon.

He was an assistant track coach at Princeton (1929-30) and Michigan (1930-39) and head coach at Michigan (1939-48) and Pennsylvania (1948-58). His books included "Track and Field Omnibook" and "Modern Track and Field," highly regarded instructional manuals.

He conducted track clinics in the Soviet Union, Finland, Canada and

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
SUBJECT: Letter to Charlie Trie

Purpose

To answer a letter from Charlie Trie, who wrote out of concern for the direction of U.S. policy during the height of the Taiwan Strait crisis in March.

Background

Mark Middleton conveyed this letter to you from Charlie Trie, whom you have met on several occasions. In his letter, Trie asks several questions about the direction of U.S. policy toward Taiwan, based on his interpretation of the deployment of two aircraft carriers to the west Pacific area during March. Through the questions, Trie makes clear his position that the U.S. should not get too deeply involved, as war with China is the likely result.

Your reply reassures Trie that our actions were intended only to remind both Taiwan and China of the U.S. interest in stability in the region and of our wish that problems be resolved peaceably. You also note that tensions in the region have subsided considerably since that time.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A to Charlie Trie.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Charlie Trie
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

4-25-96
to OKM
for signature
DB
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2252

96 APR 24 PG: 22

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Charlie:

Thank you for the letter you sent me via Mark Middleton.

I hope that events since you wrote have clarified U.S. policy, but let me mention some additional points. U.S. policy at the time, particularly the redeployment of the *Independence* and the *Nimitz*, was intended as a signal to both Taiwan and the PRC that the United States was concerned about maintaining stability in the Taiwan Strait region. It was not intended as a threat to the PRC. Moreover, we made clear to both sides that U.S. interests were engaged in the region, and that we wished for PRC-Taiwan disputes to be resolved through peaceful means.

We all are glad that tensions in the Strait have receded since that time, and the actions we took played a part in that development. It was good to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Mr. Charlie Y. L. Trie
c/o CommerceCorp International
1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, Suite 560
Washington, D.C. 20004

2252

3/21

3/29
 fl. stuff
 to Assoc. folks
 for response
 m

Nancy -
 mark Middleton sent
 this letter over from
 Charlie Trie. As
 it's rather policy-dense,
 I wasn't so sure I
 should be the one
 to handle.

Thanks.

Send to
 Nancy
 [Signature]

Dear President,

Regarding the current situation in the Taiwan Strait Crisis and also the U.S. aircraft carriers and cruisers involvement, I would like to propose some important points to you in order not to endanger the U.S. interest based on the followings:

1. Any negative outcomes of the U.S. decision in the China Issue will affect your administration position especially in this campaign year;
2. Why U.S. has to send the aircraft carriers and cruisers to give China a possible excuse of foreign intervention and hence launch a real war? And, if the U.S. recognizes "one China" policy, don't such conduct will cause a conflict for "intervening China's internal affairs?" Therefore, won't the recent inconsistent talks by the captains and some governmental officials in the mass media cause problems for the U.S. policy of not interference of China's internal affairs?
3. With the Chinese background and the recent six years business experiences in China and Taiwan, I think the U.S. senators and Congressmen do not fully know that most Chinese don't expect the intervention from the U.S.
4. Before last June, there is no conflict between the common goal of economic growth and cooperations of China and Taiwan, Li's visit is the direct cause of this crisis.
5. Has the U.S. government considered if China starts to occupy the two small outer islands (Wu Chiu and Ma Tzu), will the U.S. proclaim war against China? or just withdraw its ships?

Won't the second choice need some explanation of today's involvement?

6. The complication of China's internal problems of military challenges to the Jiang Tze-Ming administration, together with other possible independence movements from Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Xin-Jiang and the returning of Hong Kong issue, the bluff to Taiwan Independence issue, Will U.S. be involved in such complicated internal matter by showing up the military ships at present moment?
7. Once the hard parties of the Chinese military inclined to grasp U.S. involvement as foreign intervention, is U.S. ready to face such challenge?
8. It is highly possible for China to launch real war, based on its past behavior in Sino-Vietnam war and Zhen Bao Tao war with Russia.

I hope the president will carefully consider these issues and make the decisions that are beneficial to the U.S., China and Taiwan altogether.

Yours sincerely

Charlie Y.L. Trie

COMMERCECORP INTERNATIONAL

1455 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

SUITE 560

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004

TEL: (202) 737-9308

FAX: (202) 737-9319

TELECOPIER TRANSMITTAL

Please deliver the following material as soon as possible.

TO: Maureen 395-4198

FROM: MARK Middleton

DATE: 3/21/96

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2

We are transmitting from an AT&T 3500D Automatic Telecopier. Please call (202) 737-9300 if there is a problem with this transmittal.

NOTES:

Dear Maureen,

As you likely know, Charlie is a personal friend of the President from L.E. He is also a major supporter.

The President sat beside Charlie at the big Asian fundraiser several weeks ago.

Thanks for your always good assistance.

Respectfully,
Mark

Are there any
negot headings?

Mr. Bush?

Mr. Carter?

Mr. Ford?

C-
3 former Pres.
BC sigs.

others AP
after POTUS
signs there.

I-

4/25 to O.E.M. for signature DB
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 16, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKA *R*
JOHN HILLEY *HH*

SUBJECT: Letters from Former Presidents and Members of Congress Regarding Vietnamese Asylum-Seekers in Camps in Asia

Purpose

To respond to letters from Presidents Ford, Carter and Bush and from several members of Congress on this issue.

Background

As you recall, there are 36,000 Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia who have been denied refugee status (and resettlement in third countries) but have resisted return to Vietnam. Three former presidents, members of Congress and a number of NGOs have expressed concern that many of the denied applicants were associated with the United States during the Vietnam War, would suffer in Vietnam and should not be forced to return home.

Administration Response and Proposal: In response to these concerns -- and to diminish violence in the camps as migrants resisted deportation -- we developed a proposal under which screened out asylum seekers who returned to Vietnam would, after return, be considered for U.S. resettlement. At an international meeting on this issue in Geneva last month, the Vietnamese Government agreed to the latest version of our proposal.

Incoming Letters and Suggested Response: These letters were written before the Geneva meeting and before we reached an agreement with the SRV. Thus, while expressing appreciation for Administration efforts on this issue, they urge or imply that we should shift gears and conduct U.S. resettlement interviews in first asylum camps. In each suggested response, you indicate that the first asylum countries strongly oppose reinterviews on their territories. You add that, in promoting such an effort, we might have raised unrealistic expectations among migrants that could have resulted in violence in the camps. Finally, you

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

indicate that pursuing our proposal with the Vietnamese was the more effective approach but add that we will continue to monitor the situation and respond to ongoing events in a manner consistent with our humanitarian values and objectives.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letters at Tabs A through E.

Attachments

Tab A	Proposed Response to President Bush
Tab B	Proposed Response to President Carter
Tab C	Proposed Response to President Ford
Tab D	Proposed Response to Rep. Gilman & Rep. Smith
Tab E	Proposed Response to Rep. Bereuter, et al.
Tab F	Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Bush:

Thank you for your letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia. I share your concerns about the potential for growing violence as those who have been denied refugee status resist return to Vietnam.

In 1989, your Administration made the very difficult but appropriate decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

As you know, the CPA envisions that all screened out asylum-seekers should return home to Vietnam, but 36,000 denied applicants have resisted return. We now face the challenge of dealing with this population in a humane manner that does not undermine the objectives of the CPA.

I appreciated your kind comments about our proposal to consider for resettlement those among the current camp populations who return to Vietnam. As you know, we first made this proposal to the Government of Vietnam in November of last year, and we continued to press this issue in the months that followed.

At a CPA meeting in Geneva last month, Vietnamese officials indicated they would cooperate in a U.S. effort to consider returnees for resettlement based on U.S. Government criteria. We are confident we can put together a meaningful program that will both encourage voluntary return to Vietnam and identify, for U.S. resettlement, cases of special humanitarian interest.

I appreciated learning of your support for one more round of screening in first asylum countries. However, on this issue, the first asylum governments -- whose cooperation in such an enterprise would be essential -- were strongly united and unequivocally opposed. In fact, they insisted on language in the final meeting statement that took "note of the position of the countries of first asylum that direct resettlement of non-refugees from countries of first asylum is undesirable because it could generate false hopes in countries of origin and thus contribute to a new exodus." Under these circumstances, we were concerned that proposing such an initiative would create false expectations and result in increased unrest and violence in the camps.

For these reasons, we thought our energies in Geneva were better devoted to reaching a meaningful and workable understanding with the Government of Vietnam. However, we will continue to monitor the situation and will respond to ongoing events in a manner consistent with our humanitarian values and objectives.

You also raised the issue of U.S. access to Hmong refugees in Thailand who may be eligible for U.S. resettlement. I am happy to report that we have reached agreement with the Government of Thailand on this issue, and we are now registering the refugees for resettlement processing.

Finally, you expressed concern that many in Vietnam who have waited for years will be excluded from the program for former Vietnamese political prisoners due to current processing rules. I have asked the NSC staff to look into this issue, and I will ensure that it is handled in a humane and responsible manner.

Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable George Bush
10000 Memorial Drive
Houston, Texas 77024

TAB B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Carter:

Thank you for your letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia. I share your concerns about the potential for growing violence as those who have been denied refugee status resist return to Vietnam.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. In many respects, the CPA has been a success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

As you know, the CPA envisions that all screened out asylum-seekers should return home to Vietnam, but 36,000 denied applicants have resisted return. We now face the challenge of dealing with this population in a humane manner that does not undermine the objectives of the CPA.

As you mentioned in your letter, the United States proposed a program to consider for resettlement those among the current camp populations who return to Vietnam. We believe such a program would identify cases of special humanitarian concern to the United States as well as encourage voluntary return and thereby diminish the incidence of violence in the camps.

We first made this proposal to officials of the Government of Vietnam in November of last year, and we continued to press this issue in the months that followed.

At a CPA meeting in Geneva last month, Vietnamese officials indicated they would cooperate in a U.S. effort to consider returnees for resettlement based on U.S. Government criteria. We

are confident we can put together a meaningful program that will both encourage voluntary return to Vietnam and identify, for U.S. resettlement, cases of special humanitarian interest.

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For these reasons, we thought our energies in Geneva were better devoted to reaching a meaningful and workable understanding with the Government of Vietnam. However, we will continue to monitor the situation and will respond to ongoing events in a manner consistent with our humanitarian values and objectives.

Thank you again for writing to me on this very important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
The Carter Center
One Copenhill
453 Freedom Parkway
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Ford:

Thank you for your letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia. I share your concerns about the potential for growing violence as those who have been denied refugee status resist return to Vietnam.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

As you know, the CPA envisions that all screened out asylum-seekers should return home to Vietnam, but 36,000 denied applicants have resisted return. We now face the challenge of how to deal with this population in a humane manner that does not undermine the objectives of the CPA.

To respond to this challenge, the United States proposed a program to consider for resettlement those among the current camp populations who return to Vietnam. We believe such a program would identify cases of special humanitarian concern to the United States as well as encourage voluntary return and thereby diminish the incidence of violence in the camps.

We first made this proposal to officials of the Government of Vietnam in November of last year and we continued to press this issue in the months that followed.

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For these reasons, we thought our energies in Geneva were better devoted to reaching a meaningful and workable understanding with the Government of Vietnam. However, we will continue to monitor the situation and respond to ongoing events in a manner consistent with our humanitarian values and objectives.

Thank you again for writing to me on this very important issue.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
40365 Sand Dune Road
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your recent letters regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

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For these reasons, we believed our energies in Geneva were better devoted to reaching a meaningful and workable understanding with the Government of Vietnam. However, we will continue to monitor the situation and will respond to ongoing events in a manner consistent with our humanitarian values and objectives.

Finally, you raised the issue of U.S. access to Hmong refugees in Thailand who may be eligible for resettlement. I am happy to report that we have reached agreement with the Government of Thailand on this issue, and we are now registering the refugees for resettlement processing.

Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Smith:

Thank you for your recent letters regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

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At a CPA meeting in Geneva last month, Vietnamese officials indicated they would cooperate in a U.S. effort to consider returnees for resettlement based on U.S. Government criteria. We are confident we can put together a meaningful program that will both encourage voluntary return to Vietnam and identify, for U.S. resettlement, cases of special humanitarian interest.

I appreciated learning of your support for one more round of screening in first asylum countries. However, on this issue, the first asylum governments -- whose cooperation in such an enterprise would be essential -- were strongly united and unequivocally opposed. In fact, they insisted on language in the

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Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Christopher H. Smith
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Bereuter:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

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Let me add that we did review other options, such as one more round of screening in first asylum countries. However, on this issue, the first asylum governments -- whose cooperation in such an enterprise would be essential -- were strongly united and unequivocally opposed. In fact, they insisted on language in the

final meeting statement that took "note of the position of the countries of first asylum that direct resettlement of non-refugees from countries of first asylum is undesirable because it could generate false hopes in countries of origin and thus contribute to a new exodus." Under these circumstances, we were concerned that proposing such an initiative would create false expectations and result in increased unrest and violence in the camps.

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Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Douglas Bereuter
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Hunter:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

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For these reasons, we believed our energies in Geneva were better devoted to reaching a meaningful and workable understanding with the Government of Vietnam. However, we will continue to monitor the situation and will respond to ongoing events in a manner consistent with our humanitarian values and objectives.

Finally, you raised the issue of U.S. access to Hmong refugees in Thailand who may be eligible for resettlement. I am happy to report that we have reached agreement with the Government of Thailand on this issue, and we are now registering the refugees for resettlement processing.

Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Duncan Hunter
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Gunderson:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

As you know, the CPA envisions that all screened out asylum-seekers should return home to Vietnam, but 36,000 denied applicants have resisted return. We now face the challenge of dealing with this population in a humane manner that does not undermine the objectives of the CPA.

I appreciated your kind comments about our proposal to consider for resettlement those among the current camp populations who return to Vietnam. As you know, we first made this proposal to the Government of Vietnam in November of last year, and we continued to press this issue in the months that followed.

At a CPA meeting in Geneva this month, Vietnamese officials indicated they would cooperate in a U.S. effort to consider returnees for resettlement based on U.S. Government criteria. We are confident we can put together a meaningful program that will both encourage voluntary return to Vietnam and identify, for U.S. resettlement, cases of special humanitarian interest.

Let me add that we did review other options, such as one more round of screening in first asylum countries. However, on this issue, the first asylum governments -- whose cooperation in such an enterprise would be essential -- were strongly united and unequivocally opposed. In fact, they insisted on language in the

final meeting statement that took "note of the position of the countries of first asylum that direct resettlement of non-refugees from countries of first asylum is undesirable because it could generate false hopes in countries of origin and thus contribute to a new exodus." Under these circumstances, we were concerned that proposing such an initiative would create false expectations and result in increased unrest and violence in the camps.

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Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Steve Gunderson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Dornan:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding Vietnamese asylum-seekers in first asylum camps in Asia.

In 1989, the Bush Administration made the very difficult decision to agree to the Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees (CPA), designed to stem massive outflows by boat while maintaining basic principles of refugee protection. The CPA has been a considerable success, as it established refugee determination processes that resulted in the resettlement in the United States and other industrialized countries of more than 80,000 persons. In addition, some 70,000 "screened out" asylum-seekers have returned voluntarily to Vietnam. Most importantly, "push-offs" of asylum-seekers throughout the region diminished considerably.

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Thank you again for writing to me on these very important matters.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert K. Dornan
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

TAB F

THE
CARTER CENTER



February 14, 1996

To President Bill Clinton

In the 1970s America's proud record of protecting and admitting Indochinese refugees began. Under American leadership, over 1.5 million refugees were protected and resettled in over 20 countries, including the U.S. There was, and still is, strong bipartisan support for Indochinese refugees.

About 40,000 Vietnamese asylum seekers remain in camps in the region. The last chapter in this saga is about to be written, and all odds are that it will end violently and with loss of life, unless swift action is taken.

At a recent UN conference, the ASEAN countries decided to send all these boat people home, by force if necessary. Two weeks ago, in Malaysia, there was a raid on a camp by Malaysian security personnel who killed one refugee and wounded 17 others. Just yesterday, Philippine troops forced a group of boat people onto a plane bound for Vietnam, separating families and provoking an attempt by hundreds of other Vietnamese to block the plane's take off.

There is a way for the U.S. to help promote voluntary repatriation of the bulk of the refugees, while helping those with close ties to the U.S. As originally conceived, interviews for Vietnamese asylum seekers would have been carried out in Vietnam. This could have been done through an adaptation of a program already adopted by your Administration to provide INS interviews to all the remaining boat people in the camps, on the basis of generous standards and using liberal criteria. Unfortunately, the Vietnamese government has rejected this procedure.

What is needed now, without delay, is to conduct the INS interviewing in the countries of first asylum. ASEAN countries will require persuasion, but this could be done, and in a way that is helpful to them also. Not only is this the best humanitarian course, it is the right thing for our relations with the ASEAN countries which otherwise almost surely will be driven

Page 2

to use unacceptable levels of force to get the boat people to return to Vietnam. Such actions will put the U.S. in the position of having to protest the mistreatment of a population of special interest to us, which includes some of our former comrades-in-arms.

I know that you will want this last chapter of the Indochinese refugee crisis to close, under your tutelage, in a dignified and honorable way. I believe your personal intervention could be instrumental in achieving this.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jimmy". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "J" and a cursive "immy" following it.

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

GEORGE BUSH
February 28, 1996

107001
1582

Dear Mr. President:

96 MAR 7 P2:59

I am concerned about the growing violence in Southeast Asia as the Vietnamese boat people, especially those with U.S. connections, resist being forced back to Vietnam. This threatens to be a growing humanitarian tragedy and a setback for our political relations in the region as we are forced to protest such violence against a population for which we have long had special concern.

Your Administration formulated an innovative proposal to permit interviewing of all boat people who apply when they return to Vietnam and the resettlement of U.S.-connected boat people on an expedited basis. The Vietnamese government has, unfortunately, not agreed to this proposal and the ASEAN countries are moving to force the boat people back to Vietnam.

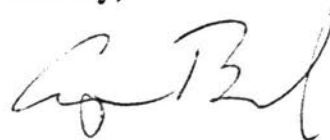
I urge you to move ahead quickly to offer exit interviews in the countries of first asylum as boat people are being returned to Vietnam. This would allow those with U.S. connections a final chance to present their cases. This will likely require a strong push from you if the proposal is to move forward with the speed necessary to head off a bitter end to one of our most extraordinary humanitarian programs which has had broad bipartisan support.

There is a similar need for leadership in closing the program for former Vietnamese political prisoners in a fair and generous manner. The details are complex, but the bottom line is that many who have waited for years will be excluded from the program by arbitrary new rules being applied by the State Department. Again, a speedy review is needed, before the program is shut down in an unjust manner.

Finally, there is a need to approach the Thai government at a very high level to get concurrence in resettlement interviews for the final batch of Hmong refugees in Thailand. The Thai government has been considering this for over a year.

Mr. President, I hope that you will be able to personally ensure that the U.S. leads in bringing these refugee issues to a humane and just resolution. Yours is the fifth U.S. Administration to deal with the program and you have the opportunity to close the books in a way which all Americans will honor.

Sincerely,





1620

96 MAR 4 P 4:28 GERALD R. FORD

March 1, 1996

Dear President Clinton:

I am deeply concerned about the growing violence in Southeast Asia as the Vietnamese boat people, especially those with U.S. connections, resist being forced back to Vietnam. This threatens to be a growing potential humanitarian tragedy and a setback for our political relations in this critically important region.

Under these circumstances, I strongly urge you to move ahead quickly to offer exit interviews in the countries of first asylum as boat people are being returned to Vietnam. This would allow those with U.S. connections a final chance to present their cases.

In the 1970s, especially during my Administration, the United States government initiated the policy of admitting significant numbers of Vietnamese refugees. In the past twenty-five years, under bipartisan leadership, over 1.5 million Vietnamese refugees have been resettled, mainly in the U.S.

Approximately 40,000 Vietnamese remain in various Asian Camps. These asylum seekers deserve immediate assistance. If prompt relief is not granted there is the distinct possibility of an humanitarian tragedy.

I strongly urge that our government move immediately to grant exit interviews in the countries of first asylum. This action is the right policy for the United States and is in the best interest and tradition of America.

I earnestly hope you will give this critical issue your personal attention and affirmative action.

Sincerely,

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

Pres has
not seen -

BEN JAMIN A. GILMAN, NEW YORK
CHAIRMAN

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MATT SALMON, ARIZONA
AMO HOUGHTON, NEW YORK

RICHARD J. GARON
CHIEF OF STAFF

One Hundred Fourth Congress
Congress of the United States
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

1338
LEE H. HAMILTON, INDIANA
RANKING DEMOCRATIC MEMBER

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JAMES P. MORAN, VIRGINIA
VICTOR O. FRAZER, VIRGIN ISLANDS (IND.)

MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN
DEMOCRATIC CHIEF OF STAFF

February 23, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

This is to thank you again for the recent proposal by your Administration to offer asylum seekers who are scheduled for repatriation to Viet Nam under the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) a final refugee status interview by United States personnel --- and to suggest the urgency of pressing a modified version of this proposal at the meeting of the CPA parties which will take place on March 5 in Geneva.

In response to concerns expressed by members of Congress and others that the asylum seekers scheduled for repatriation might include a substantial number of genuine refugees --- including many who had fled on account of persecution for their anti-Communist activities and associations during the war --- your administration proposed a "Track Two" program whereby United States immigration officers would interview boat people who had been returned to Viet Nam, and would offer resettlement in the United States to those who are refugees under U.S. law.

Unfortunately, by the time of the last meeting of CPA parties in Bangkok this January, it had become clear that the government of Viet Nam would not accept the U.S. proposal. Instead, Viet Nam arranged with the first asylum countries to conduct expedited "orderly" (that is, involuntary) repatriation of the 38,000 remaining boat people.

It soon became clear that this massive "orderly" repatriation program would entail levels of force, and even of violence, unprecedented in the history of the CPA. Only three days after the Bangkok meeting, on January 18, Malaysian security officers opened fire on protesters at the Sungei Besi camp, wounding seven asylum seekers and killing one. (We are informed that the man who died was an asylum seeker in a nearby cell block who had taken no part in the protest.) A forced repatriation exercise conducted by the government of the Philippines produced levels of violence so high as to result in an outpouring of protest from human rights advocates,

96 FEB 27 A8:43

including the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Phillipines, and a promise by President Ramos to discontinue such exercises.

We are also informed that the "orderly" repatriation flights are being paid for at least partly with funds of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) supplied by donor nations including the United States. If so, it would be the first time that UNHCR funds have openly been used for involuntary repatriation --- a clear violation of the UNHCR's mandate, of the agreements comprising the CPA, and of the understanding on which the United States and other donor nations supplied these funds.

It is important that the United States not give up now. The refusal of the Vietnamese government to allow Track Two interviews in Viet Nam makes it necessary that the United States adopt an alternative plan.

Fortunately, such a proposal has recently been developed by a number of non-governmental organizations. Under this proposal, the United States would conduct refugee status interviews in processing centers located in countries of first asylum, with the understanding that unsuccessful applicants would be required to return to Viet Nam. This would serve the twin goals of Track Two: protection of refugees and voluntary repatriation of non-refugees. It would thereby address the concerns of first asylum countries without compromising American values.

This proposal was widely discussed at the January meeting in Bangkok. The typical reaction from first asylum country delegations, according to International Relations Committee staff members who were in Bangkok during the meeting, was that it was a good plan that might well have been accepted had it been offered earlier. Unfortunately, it was never formally proposed or endorsed by the United States delegation to the Bangkok meeting. On balance, therefore, the proposal appeared to delegates from first-asylum countries as yet another "distraction" that would have no effect other than to delay repatriation.

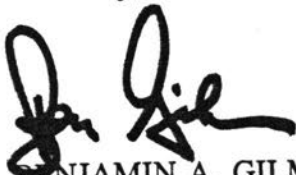
In light of the severe practical and moral difficulties that have already surfaced in the ongoing forced repatriation program, we believe that at least some first asylum countries would now be receptive to the modified Track Two proposal if it were offered clearly and forcefully by the United States at the Geneva meeting.

Not only would this proposal avoid further killings, it would also have the practical advantage of clearing the refugee camps far more quickly than forced repatriation. Asylum seekers would have a strong incentive to participate in the program, in part because the criteria developed by your Administration in connection with its earlier proposal would result in protection for a substantial percentage of the people remaining in the camps. In particular, careful application of the criteria would result in resettlement for thousands of "old soldiers" and their immediate families. It would also protect those who have survived re-education camps or suffered religious persecution but who have nevertheless been "screened out" by the CPA.

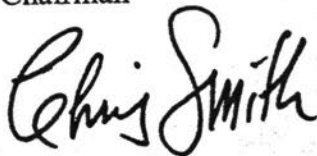
The proposal will also be enthusiastically endorsed by refugee advocates and Vietnamese-American organizations, including those who have expressed deep reservations about the CPA. We ourselves would be willing to join in the effort to convince asylum seekers, through public announcements as well as counseling, that the program is their final opportunity (aside from existing in-country immigration and refugee programs) to seek resettlement in the United States.

The United States and our CPA partners have nothing to lose and much to gain by adopting a modified Track Two program that is genuinely calculated to identify and protect refugees, and to resettle in free countries of all those who are found to be refugees. We urge you to ensure that our delegates to the Geneva meeting press vigorously for the adoption of this proposal.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Ben Gilman", written in a cursive style.

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Chairman

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Chris Smith", written in a cursive style.

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH
Chairman
Subcommittee on International
Operations and Human Rights

WILLIAM F. GOODLING, Pennsylvania
JAMES A. LEACH, Iowa
TOSY ROTH, Wisconsin
HENRY J. HYDE, Illinois
DOUG BEREUTER, Nebraska
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey
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MATT SALMON, Arizona
AMO HOUGHTON, New York

RICHARD J. GARON
Chief of Staff

One Hundred Fourth Congress
Congress of the United States
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

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ALCEE L. HASTINGS, Florida
ALBERT RUSSELL WYNN, Maryland
MICHAEL R. McNULTY, New York
JAMES P. MORAN, Virginia
VICTOR O. FRAZER, Virgin Islands (Inv.)

MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN
Democratic Chief of Staff

December 22, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

This is to thank you for the efforts of your Administration to devise a "Track Two" system in which asylum seekers who are scheduled for repatriation to Viet Nam under the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) will be afforded refugee status interviews by United States personnel. We would also like to suggest some principles that seem important to the success of such a system.

First, it is absolutely essential to ensure the safety of the asylum seekers during the process of adjudicating their refugee claims. The best way to do this, and perhaps the only way, is to secure a processing center to which asylum seekers could be taken directly upon arrival in the country, without being placed in the hands of the Vietnamese government, and from which those who were found to be refugees could leave the country safely and directly.

We were deeply distressed to learn that the Vietnamese government has turned down a United States request for a safe processing center. The only apparent alternative --- requiring returnees to submit to processing by the very government they risked their lives to escape, and then to live unprotected in Viet Nam for weeks or months before being interviewed by United States personnel --- would place at serious risk both goals of the "Track Two" program. Because it would not attract nearly as many applicants as a system that assured the safety of applicants during the interviewing process, it would not have the desired effect of encouraging non-refugees to return home. Even more important, it could render the "Track Two" system futile or even dangerous to the very asylum seekers who need it most: those who really do have reasonable fears of political or religious persecution in Viet Nam, but who were erroneously found to be non-refugees.

It is important that the United States not give up on the central principle of safety during the application process. We must either secure the agreement of the Vietnamese government to a secure facility, or consider options that do not require such agreement.

96 JAN 3

P12

Second, the system must allow asylum seekers a sufficient period of time to make an informed decision. Even a safe and fair process for interviewing in Viet Nam would be greeted with great initial skepticism on the part of asylum seekers. Only after the process had resulted in the resettlement in free countries of a credible number of genuine refugees --- and in few or no rejections of asylum seekers who were known to have been victims of persecution --- could such a process be expected to attract very many applicants. This process would take several months. The imposition of an earlier application deadline could well result in the failure of the program.

Third, the system must protect those who are refugees under United States law. Although the universal standard for refugee processing is to protect persons with a well founded fear of persecution on account of political opinion or one of the other grounds specified in international law, nations sometimes differ in their interpretations of this standard. United States law presumes, for instance, that people who served on our side in the war, or were otherwise closely associated with the war effort, and who were later sent to "re-education camps" on account of this association or activity, have a well founded fear of persecution. A process that denied protection to people who served less than a certain number of years in these death camps, and which then turned such people over to the same Communist government that had persecuted them before, would be a failure. We therefore wish to congratulate the Administration on its work thus far on the Track Two protection guidance. In particular, it appears that careful implementation of this guidance would result in the protection of "old soldiers" and their immediate families, as well as victims of religious persecution.

Fourth, the system must be staffed by people who are suited by training and disposition to the identification and protection of refugees. We are impressed with the integrity and commitment of some of the senior INS officials who have been involved in planning for the Track Two program. It is also essential, however, that the people who actually conduct the interviews have extensive training as refugee adjudicators. Although not every asylum seeker will qualify as a refugee, interviewers should be especially sensitive to the reasonable fears of those who fled the Communist regime. It is also important that the interviewers not be dependent on interpreters or other support staff employed or selected by the government of Viet Nam.

If a program can be devised and implemented that is consistent with these principles, we will join in the effort to convince asylum seekers, through public announcements as well as counseling, that the program is their final opportunity (aside from existing in-country immigration and refugee programs) to seek resettlement in the United States. We are confident that this effort will also be joined by non-governmental organizations and refugee advocates, including those who have expressed reservations about the CPA.

Finally, we are heartened at the prospect that Hmong refugees --- pro-American combat veterans and their families who have been found to be refugees under the CPA but who have nevertheless been detained indefinitely in closed camps --- will soon be processed for resettlement in the United States. We understand that there is agreement in principle between the United States and Thailand that resettlement processing in Ban Napho and Sikhieu will begin soon after the first of the year. We urge you to do whatever is necessary to ensure that the

chance to save these people is not lost. In particular, it may be important to reiterate the assurances already given to the Thai government that the United States will not exclude Hmong refugees unless they are clearly ineligible under U.S. law.

The United States and our CPA partners have much to be proud of in their twenty-year relationship with the Indochinese asylum seekers. A "Track Two" program that is genuinely calculated to identify and protect refugees --- and speedy resettlement in free countries of all those who are found to be refugees --- will end this relationship as it began, in the spirit of honor and decency.

Sincerely,



BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Chairman



CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH
Chairman
Subcommittee on International
Operations and Human Rights



DUNCAN HUNTER
Member of Congress



ROBERT K. DORNAN
Member of Congress



DOUG BEREUTER
Chairman
Subcommittee on Asia and
the Pacific



STEVE GUNDERSON
Member of Congress

DO NOT SEND
TO GILMAN +
Bereuter -
they are
got other
letters.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW SENS
NSC Executive Secretariat

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
SUBJECT: Presidential Correspondence

Attached are copies of letters sent to the President from various members of Congress. Since these letters address national security issues, we would appreciate your assistance in drafting a response.

Thank you very much for your assistance. If you have any questions, please feel free to call Jocelyn Jolley at x7500.

The following is a brief description of these letters:

- 1) Rep. Edward Markey (D-MA), Rep. James Leach (R-IA), and Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA), concerning European Atomic Energy Community and efforts by Iran to acquire nuclear technologies;
- 2) Rep. James Hansen (R-UT) concerning the United States space launch policy;
- 3) Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) concerning the procurement of B-2 bombers;
- 4) Rep. John Spratt (D-SC) concerning President Yeltsin's visit to the United States in April of 1996; and
- 5) Ben Gilman (R-NY), Douglas Bereuter (R-NE), and 4 others, concerning Vietnamese asylum seekers.

Attachments

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-26-96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1996

MR. PRESIDENT:

This is the package of waivers you need to sign to prevent the objectionable language in the Omnibus Appropriations bill on the Tongass Forest, the Mojave Desert and the Endangered Species Act from taking effect.

Each waiver is supported by an attached letter from either Secretary Babbitt (Mojave and ESA) or Secretary Glickman (Tongass). **You should review these letters before signing the waivers, since the letters provide factual predicate for the waivers.**

In the case of the Tongass, there is also a very brief Message to Congress, required by the relevant provision in the bill, that you should sign.

Todd Stern

X
163540 ✓
Bill HR 3019
Signed
4/26

426-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-26-96

April 26, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN ^{7/81}

SUBJECT: H.R. 3019 -- The Omnibus Appropriations Bill

Attached for your signature is the Omnibus Appropriations Bill, together with four short documents allowing you to waive objectionable environmental language regarding the Tongass National Forest, Mojave Desert and Endangered Species Act.

This legislation provides funding for the rest of FY 96 for those agencies in the Federal Government not already funded. It represents a significant victory, with 60% (\$5.1 billion) of your original \$8.1 billion addback request funded, your priority programs saved, and most of the problematic riders removed or neutralized. It passed 399-25 in the House and 88-11 in the Senate. Key provisions:

Department of Education. Funded at \$22.8 billion, \$2.1 billion above amount in original House bill. Goals 2000, Safe and Drug Free Schools and Education Technology are funded at or near FY 95 level. School to Work funded at \$105 million above FY 95. Bill ensures that colleges can select Direct Student Loan Program if they choose and students can use most flexible repayment provisions, including income contingent loan repayment.

EPA. Funded at \$6.5 billion, \$0.8 billion above level in VA/HUD bill you vetoed. We succeeded in getting over 80% of addbacks for EPA, with funding for its operating budget, for Clean Water and Drinking Water State Revolving Funds and Superfund at or above FY 95 levels. Bill also provides \$50 million for Boston Harbor.

COPS. Funded at \$1.4 billion. This is \$482 million below your request, but the Commerce, Justice, State bill you vetoed provided *no* funding. The \$1.4 billion plus commitment to future funding ensures you can achieve goal of 100,000 cops on the street by 2000.

Legal Service Corporation. Funded at \$278 million, compared to \$400 million for FY 95. Several objectionable provisions were deleted from the bill you vetoed. For example, recipients of LSC grants will be able to use non-LSC funds to respond to requests for information or testimony from the Government.

Commerce -- ATP. Funded at \$221 million, a cut of \$79 million from the FY 96 level contained in our FY 97 Budget. But program was terminated in bill you vetoed. Also, language restricting use of funds for grants has been deleted.

National Service. Funded at \$402 million, \$68 million below FY 95, but it was terminated in bill you vetoed.

Other funding highlights. Other programs funded that were terminated in earlier bills -- CDFIs; Ounce of Prevention Council; Summer Youth program; Office of Consumer Affairs; CEQ. Other programs with funds restored to near FY 95 level that were slashed in earlier bills -- contributions to International Organizations/Peacekeeping; Head Start; DOL enforcement programs.

✓ **HIV.** Bill repeals Dornan amendment requiring discharge from military of all HIV-positive personnel -- a major victory.

Language problems fixed. *Education* -- bill eliminates 40% cap on Direct Loan program and mandated scorekeeping that makes direct loan program appear more expensive.

Environment -- bill eliminates or neutralizes riders on wetlands, timber and Columbia River Basin. Bill contains objectionable language on Tongass, Mojave and Endangered Species Act, but authority for you to waive such language. (Waivers attached.)

Remaining language problems. Bill includes some objectionable language, such as abortion accreditation provision for medical schools and onerous fundraising limitations for international family planning.

Supplemental Appropriations. Bill contains \$2.1 billion in supplemental appropriations, including \$0.9 billion for Bosnia peacekeeping, \$70 million to finance F-16s for Jordan, \$50 million for counter-terrorism assistance to Israel; \$3.4 million for staffing of ONDCP (conferees agreed to consider your \$250 million supplemental drug request in the FY 97 appropriations process), and \$1 billion for disaster relief from flooding, blizzards and hurricanes. Bill provides \$3.5 billion in rescissions and other offsets, including \$1 billion from FEMA Disaster Relief, \$500 million across-the-board cut in administrative, contractual and personnel costs, and sale of U.S. Enrichment Corporation and a portion of the strategic petroleum reserves.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

96 APR 26 AM 10:01

April 26, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Per your request, I am forwarding information to assist you in your determination regarding the effect of implementing the authority provided to you to suspend the provision of H.R. 3019 restricting the use of funds to implement Subsections (a), (b), (c), (e), (g) or (i) of Section 4 of the Endangered Species Act of 1973.

The protection of the species that constitute the biological resources of this Nation is of critical economic, scientific, cultural and ethical importance. It is clearly appropriate and in the public interest to ensure that species that meet the criteria for protection under the Act are in fact protected. As reported by the National Research Council in Science and the Endangered Species Act (1995), the protection of species, habitats critical to their survival, and the ecosystems upon which they depend is essential to provide for sustainable use of biological resources, the basis of sound environmental management and protection of cultural interests.

The moratorium and funding constraints, which have been ongoing since April 1995, have resulted in a large backlog of species awaiting the protection of the Act. Currently, 243 species have been proposed for listing under the Act, but final determination of their status has been blocked by the moratorium. Approximately 200 additional candidate species require evaluation and processing of proposed rules which the Department has not been able to accomplish due to the FY 1995 funding rescission and by the funding constraints in FY 1996. Some of these species could become extinct or slip closer to the brink of extinction if the moratorium is not lifted. Extinction is irreversible. In addition, recovery of these species will be made increasingly difficult and expensive the longer the Nation waits to start the process, thus placing an unnecessary expense upon the American people. Recovery plan development and implementation cannot be started until the moratorium is lifted and final listing determinations are made.

Sincerely,



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

WASHINGTON

96 APR 26 All : 01

April 26, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

Per your request, I am forwarding information to assist you in your determination regarding the effect of implementing the authority provided to you in section 119(b) of the Omnibus Consolidated Rescissions and Appropriations Act of 1996 to suspend the provisions of section 119(a) of such Act concerning the Mojave National Preserve. I make this recommendation because I consider that such suspension would be in the public interest in sound environmental management, sustainable resource use, and protection of cultural, biological and historic resources.

The Mojave desert area possesses, among other features, outstanding natural, cultural, and historical values. The Congress has mandated the protection of these values by means of the Mojave National Preserve. 16 U.S.C. § 410aaa et seq. This is consistent with the policies and mandates of the administration of areas of the national park system.

The statutory mission of the National Park Service is to conserve the natural and historic features of park areas and to provide for their enjoyment in a manner which will leave them unimpaired for future generations. 16 USC § 1. In contrast, the statutory mission of the Bureau of Land Management is to administer public lands under policies which make them available for a variety of uses, some of which are not compatible with the higher standard of care mandated for areas of the national park system. 43 USC § 1701 et seq.

Unless section 119(b) suspension authority is exercised, the Mojave National Preserve will be subject to the broader range of uses permissible under Bureau of Land Management policies. Among other matters, the Preserve will be subject to substantially greater off-road vehicular traffic, resulting in severe damage to plant and animal life, and collection of rocks, mineral, cacti, arrowheads, and other resources of cultural, historic, and biological significance, activities which are not generally permitted in areas of the national park system.

If these and similar activities occur, it will be to the detriment of the cultural, biological and historic resources of the Mojave National Preserve, and otherwise will not be in the public interest in sound environmental management and sustainable resource use.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Fred B. Burt". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "F" and a stylized "B".

163540

X
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1996

96 APR 23 P5:42
4-25-96ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Letter to Dimon Liu of the Committee for Policy Studies re China

Purpose

To reply to a letter and analytical papers on China's internal political situation written by Ms. Liu.

Background

Dimon Liu is a figure in the Chinese dissident movement who travels extensively to both Taiwan and China to consult on political developments. Her papers, although written in somewhat fractured English and not academically rigorous, are replete with information about the kind of informal, interpersonal relations that make Chinese politics run -- and make it so hard for outsiders to follow.

Your reply thanks Ms. Liu for her letter and urges her to stay in contact with the NSC.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Dimon Liu

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

One

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Ms. Liu:

Thank you for your letter and papers on the political situation in China. They provide helpful background to our policy discussions on issues related to China and Taiwan.

I hope you will continue to share your views with us.

Sincerely,

Ms. Dimon Liu
Committee for Policy Studies
141 Eleventh Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

TAB B

COMMITTEE FOR POLICY STUDIES

February 18, 1996

141 Eleventh Street, SE; Washington D.C.; 20003 USA; Tel:202-547-7833 Fax:202 543-4443

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

Total pages - 7 - inclusive

Dear Mr. President:

On the eve of Chinese New Year, I am writing to you again, and hope that you will forgive me for encroaching into your time. Mr. Tony Lake had graciously written to thank me for my letter of July 31, 1995 to you, and asked me to continue to pass on my thoughts to your staff. My letter this time concerns Taiwan.

Recently, there have been quite a number of "alarming" reports in the Western press concerning Taiwan; although, in China, the issue has been relatively calmed since the end of last year. There is really no need to be misled by former US government officials who now want to convert their experience in to capital, and in need of seeing their own names in the press. These men are painting Taiwan as the rogue in this triangular drama of China, Taiwan, and the United States. But Taiwan is not the problem. What we are seeing is the effects of a succession struggle in China. China has cleverly redirected the spotlight to Taiwan, and away from their most serious succession crisis in 50 years, while managing to get puppets, both conscious and unconscious, to fight their psychological warfare, as China itself quietly takes a back seat. This rather amazing performance, one must recognize, is the play of a very weak hand brilliantly. Sun Zi would have approved.

Taiwan is one of the most successful societies, economically, democratically, and culturally, that have emerged since World War II. For the sake of so many suffering peoples in the world, one would wish there are more "problems" like Taiwan. Many have derided Taiwan for its chaos, yet a similar kind of chaos in Washington, D.C. has been lauded as democracy. The truth is that Taiwan's so called "chaos" is not destructive, not to itself and not to any of its neighbors; instead its chaos is alive, full of vigor, and favorable to creative efforts. This kind of chaos is both good and necessary, for societies do make enormous progress with it. Many have castigated Taiwan for spending large sums of money to lobby for international recognition, especially at the US Congress and the UN. Taiwan may well be wasting its money, but is that the worst crime in the world? One surely can empathizes with Taiwan's psychological

need for international recognition, for their sense of honor and survival demands it. Indeed, how can Taiwan resist in seeking international guarantee when so many are cavalierly predicting their end, even with all that they have achieved?

The question remains is why, after living with Taiwan's de facto independence for nearly 50 year, China finds Taiwan's independence suddenly so vexing? If one looks pass all the Chinese shadow boxing, one will find the answer in the succession crisis. This is the last leg of the first generation revolutionaries who are still governing China. These men converted to Communism in their teenage years, and most still retain their unshakable emotional attachments to the faith, but they will all have passed from the scene with the final passing of Deng Xiaoping. Younger Chinese have no such emotional attachment to a failed idea. In fact, Communism is ideologically dead with them, and can no longer serve as a hold for dictatorship. In the current succession, it will not simply be a generational transition, but, in the wake of failure, ideological and structural as well. However, these old men, now in the winter of their lives, are impelled to safeguard the political system they have created, and complete their life's task of "unifying" China. After Tiananmen in 1989, they have been able to play on the fear of chaos in China to hold on to their system; and now, what else have they left to employ except to pour kerosene on the fire of nationalism? Hence, Taiwan's "independence" becomes the issue of the day.

Regardless of the rhetoric, in the near term, a full scale aggressive war remains minimal, because no Chinese general can guarantee a victory, or that Taiwan will be governable after a war. More importantly, there would be little need of an invasive war if China's short term goals could be achieved by other means. China's short term goals were defeated and there appears to be two: 1, to stop the democratization of Taiwan, and 2, to stop international legitimization of Taiwan. China seems to have conceded defeat on the first goal, for Taiwan's democratization is a resounding success with the legislative election held on Dec. 3, 1995, and the presidential election on March 23, 1996; and there has not been evidence that China is doing anything further on this score. Taiwan's democratization can not and will not be aborted at this point, and that is a credit to both Taiwan's people and their leaders. But on Taiwan's international legitimization, China has prevailed for the moment, with helps from the ASEAN countries, and elements within Taiwan, Japan, and the US societies. In the long term, the best guarantee for Taiwan's international legitimization is, of course, its very own continuing success, because legitimacy of government can not simply rely on power or ideology, for success counts. But China can, and will, undermine Taiwan's international legitimacy with psychological warfare. There is no reason whatsoever for the United States to retreat in the face of China's unreasonable

demands, because on this issue, as you have eloquently put it in a speech on foreign policy, Oct. 19, 1995: "...our values and our interests are the same".

However, it is simply not prudent to rule out war, for there remains a potent reason for war -- one or several factional pretenders to power in China may use war as a means to preserve its current political system, eliminate rivals, and consolidate power. There has been two historical parallels which may be employed as guides: Mao's Korea War in 1953, and Deng's Vietnam War in 1979. If one follows the conventional analysis of war -- threats and dangers from abroad, military preparedness, hardware quality and quantity, territorial ambition and gains, win-loss equation, casualties suffered, etc... none of these really adds up, unless one takes into account the domestic situations. By 1953, millions of landlords and rich peasants were murdered, land reform was a failure, business activities had virtually come to a stop, and there were mounting opposition in the cities, and revolts in the countryside. It was unlikely that Mao could have been manipulated by North Korea, or obeying an order from Stalin, because that simply did not fit Mao's personality; but by entering war, Mao was able to marshal patriotic feeling behind him, muffle opposition, and complete the construction of one of the most centralized and top down political system ever devised by man; even though, in the process, he sent millions of young men to their death, including his own sons, without gaining any territorial and international advantage, or even a clear victory. Similarly, was Vietnam a threat to China in 1979? Hardly, but by "teaching Vietnam a lesson", Deng got rid of his rival Hua Guofeng, muzzled the nascent democratic movement which Deng himself had used to undermine his political enemies, and bundled Wei Jingsheng off to jail; even though in the process, Deng sent hundreds of thousands young men to their death, again without any apparent gains, or a clear victory.

Would Jiang Zemin, or other factional leaders, emulate Mao or Deng in their battle to preserve the system and emerge as the new "paramount leader"? The answer is yes, if they could marshal the forces to do so. Would they choose a war over the Taiwan Straits, and if not the Taiwan Straits, somewhere else? The answer is again yes, but somewhere else is more likely, because over the Taiwan Straits, the leaders will have to deal with the politically volatile consequence of "Chinese attacking Chinese", and the economic consequence of the lost of investment from Taiwan and the world market, even temporarily, which would likely incur strong opposition from the coastal provinces. More importantly, China is not unaware that a war waged over the Taiwan Straits would give Japan a clear excuse to change its American ordained pacifist constitution, and remilitarize the region under Japanese terms, an undesirable development from China's perspective, and from the United States' and Asia's perspectives, too, because Japan's military extremism had only

been subdued, not eradicated, since Japan's defeat in World War II. But given the survival of the system and Chinese leaders' political lives at stake, conventional and rational analysis will not necessarily apply. There is a window of time left, because it will take time to marshall the necessary forces to mount an aggressive war. But the reason that the rhetoric have been, and will continue to be strong from all factional contenders is because no one would, or could afford to, allow themselves be eliminated over the issue of "national territorial integrity".

This is one case where the prevention of war is paramount, strategically, tactically, and pragmatically; for once war starts, it is too late -- there will be no controlling the fire of nationalism, which will surely perpetuate the current system a while longer. China's political system is at its weakest during leadership transition, but once the leadership struggle is over, it tends to be stable for the duration, because the system is designed against challengers. During leadership transition, it is difficult to ascertain who are the factional leaders advocating war for it is the surest way to preserve the system and eliminate rivals, or who are those doing it because it is necessary as defensive tactics. The Chinese call this phenomenon as "raising the red flags to beat off the red flags", and only years later will we ever know the truth of who is who.

However, conventional wisdom on China in the United States is off course on a number of key issues. For instance, many renowned strategists have directed their attention on preserving the old alliance with China by slighting human rights abuses, Taiwan, proliferation, weapon transfer, and other issues that might distress the Chinese Communists or hinder trade. But the basis of that old alliance, "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", is gone. Without a mutual enemy, the amount of "accommodation" will obliterate the fact that conflicting values can seldom be translated into shared interests. However, these strategists have been representing their wishful thinking as cold-eyed realism in their efforts to preserve the alliance with China on old terms. Sun Zi would have approved this stratagem, except the ones who get deceived are really ourselves.

The other misconception is the widely held assumption that China's development will be in a straight line forward that is both rapid and inevitable. Such rosy scenarios about China's rise have been around since the time of Napoleon, and this one may not pan out any better than the previous ones. It is true that the Chinese with their Confucian ethics of family, education, hard work, and loyalty have done well in lands with democratic governments, or even with less repressive or incompetent governments; and whenever the Communists slackened their repression, the Mainland Chinese have always rebounded with alacrity. But that can not efface the sad reality that for 150 years, China's leaders have failed to understand the process of

development, and have continued to devise political systems and policies which have hindered, deterred, and even devastated development. China's future development will very much hinge on its ability to transform its current political system, which, as expected, is an extremely difficult task. In the near term, both political and social instabilities are certain and inescapable in China, and these may well render the current rosy predictions not only irrelevant, but dangerously so.

Concomitant to the expectation of China's development is the fear of a stronger China, leading many to sprouting policy proposals of "containing China", "balancing China", "detering China", and "a new cold war", etc... A country is dangerous to its neighbors because it chooses to carry out its dangerous beliefs. A passing glance around the world will demonstrate that those countries which choose to endanger others would do it regardless of their conditions of poverty, wealth, weakness or strength. But, a country capable of creating wealth in a stable environment and on a steady basis is less likely to hold, or carry out dangerous beliefs. In the post Cold War environment, it behooves upon us not to continue the "zero-sum" game of the Cold War Era, or to create a "new cold war", but we do need to devise a strategy that can enable many more nations to eschew the "zero-sum" game for the "win-win" game, for that is the only way for us to enjoy the peace dividends.

"Engagement" is the right policy, but it requires an underlying strategy of "transformation" of China's political system; for without it, as Chamberlain had found out, it is appeasement without prospect of change. Unfortunately, "strategic ambiguity" gives not only the appearance of policy drift, but cedes policy initiatives to others as well. The United States does not now enjoy a national consensus on policy towards China, or on US-Sino relations, which gives room to others seeking to take advantage of the situation. For a policy to be effective, there has to be a national consensus backing it; to build up a new consensus, it will require clarity of direction, determination, and time. However, the United States must seize back its policy initiatives in Asia, for the alternatives are not only undesirable, but also unthinkable. In the near term, there are a few things which can help the process of building up an underlying strategy of "transformation".

1. Human Rights:

Human rights can not be slighted or abandoned without long term repercussions, for human rights in today's terms is less about the rights of individual, but more about limiting "the rights of governments" to disregard the laws of the land and abuse their own people. If the democracies were to acquiesce, or even tolerate such bogus "government rights", we may as well forgo any chance that primitive capitalism can be transformed into modern capitalism, or that the building of rule-of-law, and

free market democracies are possible in developing countries. However, human rights should be changed from a bi-lateral issue between the United States and China, to a multilateral issue involving all nations. The forum should also be changed from the U.S. Congress to the various councils, commissions and committees in the United Nations, because human rights abuse is a problem of many nations that is in dire need of remedy, and because if human rights became mired in domestic contentions and election politics, it would lose some of its strategic effectiveness.

2. Model:

The only figure on the world stage currently who understands that China is seeking models to emulate is Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, and he has aggressively offered his tiny city-state as the "perfect model." Certainly, Singapore's politically repressive brand of "managerial capitalism by the state" appeals to China's authoritarian leaders, but can a model that works for a medium size city of three millions also work for a continent of 1.2 billion? Not likely. Taiwan, on the other hand, is a much better model for China -- its economy is freer, its politics democratic, and its people more creative and entrepreneurial. As long as Taiwan thrives, it gives lies to the inane and baseless, but widely accepted assertion that Chinese culture and the Chinese are incapable of democracy. Indeed, would the world not be better off if China eventually choose the route of Taiwan? Why then, are there so many strategists in the United States denigrating Taiwan with such passion? Aren't they helping to perpetuate tyranny in China by doing so, and how can more tyranny possibly be in the United States' interests? Being the only super power left, the United States retains in its grasp the ability to set agenda and tone of discussions for the world, and it should use it at this stage in to change the course of current discussions on Taiwan and future of China. Instead of treating Taiwan as an embarrassment the United States should praise it, judiciously, for its many achievements, especially its political achievements. However, the United States should avoid getting bog down over what is or is not China, or that Taiwan should or should not be independent, Taiwan and China will sort that out themselves; but if the United States gets involved, it would only feed into the needs of Chinese leaders who want to use "nationalism" to perpetuate its current system. The greatest safety and prosperity, for Taiwan, as well as for the region and the world, rests with the possibility that China can successfully transform its current political system.

3. Timing:

It would be better, for the world and for China, if China is able to transform itself from its current system into a society of entrepreneurial capitalism ruled by law, in an incremental fashion, and at pragmatic doses, because gradual change remains the least disruptive, and therefore more acceptable and endurable. The United States can certainly help along, but at the least,

should do no damage to this already on-going process of change. Keeping in mind the succession crisis, there are simply some things that would be better to avoid now, but may be possible at a later time. For instance, anything that can stoke the fire of nationalism should be avoided, as that surely is the best way to perpetuate the current system. For another, the loud and active promotion of democracy is not the best course of action for now, because some leaders in China fear it greatly, and because democracy is, in Churchill's famous opinion: "the worst system there is, except for all the others." Democracy may just be the least bad of systems, but the point is, democracy can offer no immediate panacea to China's myriad of problems, and therefore, promoting it as "the answer" would only offer false hope, which will likely prove not only misleading but disruptive as well. Though the Chinese are keenly aware of their many problems, but they are not so aware what directly caused them, because analyzing China's problems clearly and lucidly would swiftly place those who do so in jeopardy. Frank discussions, and timely focus, on some structural flaws of the Chinese system, by Western leaders and the international community, can certainly help the Chinese in their efforts to amend their system, as China's leaders are well aware that their survival depends not simply on repression, but also on their ability to solve China's problems.

China remains a big challenge to the United States, but it is a challenge that is yet to be faced and seized upon. The United States brought peace to Europe and Japan by helping to transform these troubled lands after World War II, and these successes have insured the United States' status as the leader of the world. How did the United States managed to succeed after World War II, while the collective judgment of Europe that crafted the ignominious Versailles Treaty after World War I failed so conspicuously? Generals Marshall and MacArthur, the two old war horses, understood that lasting peace must be earned, by the act of honoring the dignity and mores of the peoples whom they both fought with and against. The period after the Cold War, which is our time, is no less momentous and difficult than the periods after both World Wars, but the lessons of the World Wars must be heeded, and the wisdom of the old Generals absorbed. The United States can, and should play the role of peacemaker on the Taiwan Straits, and to do so the dignity (honor or face, or whatever the cultural equivalence) of both China and Taiwan must be understood and respected. If the United States succeeds in helping to transform China, the United States will not only insure peace and prosperity for the largest region in the world, but the U.S.'s status as the leader of the world will also be earned and insured, not just for now, but for the next one hundred years.

Sincerely

THE POWER STRUCTURE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AND THE CONSEQUENCE FOR TAIWAN, AND THE SUCCESSION
STRUGGLE

January, 1996

By Dimon Liu, Committee for Policy Studies

Content:

1. The Government and the Party
2. Decision Process for Emergencies and Special Plans
3. The Party and the PLA
4. Taiwan
5. The Linkage Between the Party and Provincial Government
6. How Power is Implemented and Maintained
7. The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Governing Structure
8. The Current Succession Crisis

Bibliography

Appendix - biographies

1. The Government and the Party

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China upholds that all political power belongs to the people, and that the National People's Congress (NPC) exercise this power in the name of the people. Theoretically, the NPC is the most authoritative body in the Chinese government. It has not only the power to legislate and decree all important policy decisions, but also the duty of oversight on all other branches of government, including the administrative, judiciary, and constabulary branches.

But the Chinese Constitution is customarily ignored, and the NPC has never exercised its power or duty as put forth in the Constitution. The truth is that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has the absolute power of the state, over and above the constitution and laws of the land. Political power is actually held and exercised by the Standing Committee of the Politburo of CCP, which currently has seven members. They are:

Jiang Zemin -- Secretary General of the Party, President of the Country, and the Chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission (CMC), and the State's National Defense Commission.
Li Peng -- Premier, State Council
Qiao Shi -- Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC)
Li Ruihuan -- Chairman of the National Political Consultative Assembly
Zhu Rongji -- Vice Premier, State Council
Liu Huaqing -- Vice Chairman, Central Military Commission
Hu Jintao -- Chairman of the Disciplinary Committee of the Party, and Secretary for Party Affairs

In the Chinese Communists' pyramid of power, the Politburo is at the top, and Jiang Zemin is, structurally, at the very apex of the pyramid. These seven men, theoretically, have absolute power over the lives of the 1.2 billion Chinese. But we must not forget the Paramount Leader, Deng Xiaoping. For as long as Deng is alive, even though he holds no Government or Party position, all essential decisions of the Party and the State still have to have his blessing. However, succession is very much on Deng Xiaoping's mind. Deng Xiaoping said in 1989 that the Chinese Communist Party's first generation of "Core Leadership" was Mao Zedong; second generation was himself; and third generation is Jiang Zemin. A "smooth" succession is what Deng has in mind; though in reality, the third generation of "Core Leadership" can not be finalized until after Deng's death. Hua Guofeng, who was anointed by Mao before his death in 1976, did not survive Mao's death. It remains to be seen if Jiang Zemin can survive the death of Deng Xiaoping.

Currently, Jiang has amassed the leadership positions of the

Party, the state, and the army. Jiang has amassed as many positions as Mao at the height of Mao's domination, and more positions than Deng ever had. It is doubtful, however, that Jiang has, or ever could amass the kind of power that Mao or Deng had. For one, that kind of absolute power is no longer possible with the success of economic reform. For another, as long as Deng is alive, he remains the final arbiter of power.

Between the Government and the Party, it is the Party that has total control of the Government. The structure of the government, staffing, policy orientation, all these are decided by the Party's Standing Committee of the Politburo. The State Council, which is the administrative organ of the government, is headed by Li Peng and Zhu Rongji, both are members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. Their responsibility is to carry out the party policies within the Government.

The Government still follows the form of the Constitution, and every year, the Government makes its report to the National People's Congress, and its proposals of economic plans and government budgets for the NPC to rectify. As a rule, the NPC approves all the government plans and proposals, acquiring the epithet of "rubber stamp" congress. In September of 1980, unexpectedly, the representatives of the NPC chose to exercise NPC's duty of oversight, and questioned the government over the sinking of an oil-exploration ship. Shortly after this incident, the Party simply stripped the NPC's duty of oversight, without any amendment to the Constitution.

Since Qiao Shi became the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC in 1993, the NPC has become more active, and may even shed its epithet of "rubber stamp" day. In a meeting with a U.S. Republican group visiting China, Qiao Shi stated on September 22, 1994 at the Great Hall of the People that: "...in the Chinese Constitution, supreme authority is vested with the National People's Congress. However, there has been draw-backs in implementation. It is necessary to enhance the role of the National People's Congress, but there is still a long way to go before the NPC can become in fact the supreme organ of the government."

However, it is clear that there are strong advocates that this is the direction which China should be heading, and in time, these pragmatic, and cumulative efforts may well corrode the single-party control of the state and government.

2. Decision Process for Emergencies and Special Plans

It is the explicit policy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that in national emergencies, or preparing special plans, it is the Party's Standing Committee of the Politburo which will take over the decision making process, and direct all policies and proposals.

For example, the "9th 5-year Plan" (1996-2000) and the "15-Year Long Term Goals" (1996-2010), during the two years of their planning, it was the Party which made all the decisions. In fact, the government took no part. Li Peng, Zhu Rongji and others who were instrumental in the planning, were acting in their roles as Party functionaries rather than government representatives. In introducing these plans to the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress which approved the aforementioned "9th 5-year Plan" and "15-year Long Term Goals" for economic and social development in China, Li Peng stated that he was acting from the "directions of CCP's Standing Committee of the Politburo", and not on behalf of the government. The process of decision making is as follows:

a) After the Standing Committee of the Politburo had made the basic policy decisions and directions, it would appoint special committees to draft policy papers for further deliberation.

b) The draft policy papers prepared by the appointed special committee would be re-evaluated by the Standing Committee of the Politburo. Important policy matters would go through many rounds of discussions.

c) When a consensus is reached in the Standing Committee, the draft papers would be discussed by the full Politburo and Central Committee. Questions and suggestions would be directed at the special committee. Further consultation would be solicited from party leaders at the levels of province, city and autonomous regions. Internal party discussions and dissensions at this level of consultation can sometimes be vigorous.

d) The special committees would gather all the discussions and suggestions for study in order to amend the original draft papers. The amended papers are then sent back to the Standing Committee.

e) If the Standing Committee approves the amended papers, then they are sent to the Central Committee for approval. For example, the aforementioned "9th 5-year Plan" and "15-year Long Term Goals" had gone through this process, and represents the compromise between the provincial and central powers. Jiang Zemin's speech introducing the plans to the 5th Planum of the 14th Party Congrass on the "12 points" of relationship is the result of this compromise.

The handling of emergencies go through the same process. For example, the uncommon dismissal of Chen Xitong, the Party Secretary of Beijing, from the Politburo had gone through the process of Standing Committee to the full Politburo, Central Committee and provincial and city levels then back to the Standing Committee for final decision. But the ultimate deciding factor, both at the beginning and at the end of the process, rests with the Standing Committee of the Politburo.

3. The Party and the PLA

According to the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) principle and tradition, power must derive from a "single source", which is say the Party. Whoever has control of the Party, has absolute control of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

Historically, the chairman of the Party controls not only the Party, but the state and the army. In Mao's Era, Mao was chairman of the Party, chairman of the Central Military Commission (party's body), and chairman of the National Defense Commission (state's body). During the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao attempted to usurp power through the PLA. Lin stated that the PLA was "sponsored directly by Chairman Mao", and "lead directly by Vice Chairman Lin." Mao's angry reaction was: "If I sponsor, I can not lead?" Even though Lin Biao had his cohorts in the airforce, army, and navy, but he never had control of the Party, which remained in the hands of Mao and Zhou Enlai. Mao and Zhou were not the army, but had the power to move the army. Lin had the loyalty of the all three branches of military force, but had a hard time moving a single plane for his escape in his hour of need, for without the signature of Zhou Enlai, the chiefs of all three forces can not move any military equipment on their own.

Deng's Era is a little different in form. Deng was the chairman of the Party's Central Military Commission, but he was not the chairman of the Party. He did not want the job, but he didn't want anyone else to have the job either. Deng eliminated the job of party chairman, but retained the job of party secretary general. He didn't want the job of party secretary general either, but the fact is, he retained, and still retains the power of these positions. Because of this change in form, there is a fairly wide misunderstanding among PLA specialists that the "single source" of power is the Central Military Commission. The fact is, Deng is the party chairman without title. After the Beijing Massacre in June of 1989, he finally stated honestly that the second generation of the party's "Core Leadership" was himself, although Deng deposed Zhao Ziyang for spilling this open "state secret" to Gorbachev during the latter's visit to Beijing in the midst of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Demonstration. Deng never ceded his power to the two secretary generals of the Party, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang. Deng could, and did, dismiss Hu and Zhao with a wave of his hand.

Now, Deng gives the appearance that he has transferred power to his anointed successor Jiang Zemin, whom Deng characterizes as the third generation of "Core Leadership". Jiang has amassed the positions of Party Secretary General, President of the country, and the chairmanships of the Party's and the state's military commissions. In terms of the concentration of positions, it is comparable to Mao Zedong's from 1949-59, (Mao passed on the Presidency to Liu Shaoqi in 1959, but kept the chairmanships of the Party, and the Party's and State's military commissions.) Jiang is

fundamentally different from Mao and Deng. Jiang has no charisma and no military experience. The old PLA generals do not look kindly towards him, and often make cruel jokes against him. But that doesn't necessarily mean that the military is prepared to pitch itself against the Party, for the power structure is designed against this kind of challenge. And as long as Deng is alive, his wishes will be obeyed by the military. During the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress in the Summer of 1995, several younger members were added on to the Central Military Commission without retiring any of the old generals. Liu Huaqing, age 79, and Zhang Zhen, age 81, retain their positions, while Zhang Wanlian and Chi Haotien are appointed as vice chairmen, Wang Ke and Wang Weilin are added as members. All these personnel changes had the blessing of Deng Xiaoping; without it, no change could have been possible. But these changes do not point to any challenge from the military to the Party. Historically, military challenges to the Party had been few and weak, and always ended in failure; the most famous one being Lin Biao's. Unsubstantiated reports that 50 military officers had written to the Politburo proposing an invasion of Taiwan, and that Zhang Zhen had a table pounding dressing-down of Jiang Zemin, remain unverifiable.

The "absolute leadership" of the Party over the military is evident from the way which the Standing Committee of the Politburo controls all matters military. Jiang Zemin and Liu Huaqing, members of the Party's Standing Committee of the Politburo, are the embodiment and presence of the Party's control in the CMC. The power of command in the PLA is highly centralized, and CMC has direct control of all military regions. Provincial Party leaders have only "contacts" with the commanders of the military regions, with no formal structural relationship. This system works to prevent provincial linkage with military regions against central power structure.

However, the Lin Biao incident during the Cultural Revolution had alerted Mao Zedong's attention to the movement and challenge from military regions. The Canton Military Region was chosen as the showcase example for other regions, and Mao sent Deng Xiaoping to Canton to prevent disloyalty and to take charge of personnel changes. This kind of frequent personnel change directed by the Center prevents regional power base from solidifying. The tradition of control from the Center is continued to this day. The conclusions are:

a) It is unlikely that the military have the wherewithal to challenge the Party on fundamental policy issues. The military may create, and use the tensions on the Taiwan Straits and the South China Sea to increase their military budgets, but it is unlikely that the military can take upon themselves the power to wage an aggressive war, for a very simple reason that no PLA general can guarantee a victory on the open sea. This is not to say that an aggressive war by China can be ruled out, it is simply that the

power to wage war rests with the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and not with the military.

b) The Party has absolute control of military personnel, budgets, and the movement of troops. It is highly unlikely that "warlordism" of the 1920's can be recreated in today's system.

c) The relationship between the CCP and PLA is structurally stable and unlikely to breach in the near future. The possibility of a military take over of the government is virtually nonexistent.

1. Taiwan

The tension over the Taiwan Straits must be addressed in relations to the PLA. Since 1949, the goal of waging war by China has always been political. Once the political purpose is achieved, China has always withdrawn back into its border. The recent saber rattling over the Taiwan Straits is, of course, political in nature. However, despite China's rhetoric, it isn't independence that the PRC can not tolerate, for the fact is that the PRC has tolerate Taiwan's de facto independence for close to 50 years, but it is the more intangible notion of honor at stake, both Taiwan and the PRC's, in representing "China" to the world, and in the competition of their governing systems, that is driving the tension. The real danger of war over the Taiwan Straits is not intention, but miscalculations, from Taiwan and from the PRC. With a young democracy in Taiwan, and with a highly centralized and rigid political system in China, mistakes simply can not be ruled out. Miscalculations by Japan, the United States, and the ASEAN countries are also possibilities that can magnify the tension.

5. The Linkage Between the Party and Provincial Government

The central government's relationship with provincial and local governments is based on the principle of "democratic centralism", which means subordinates obey their superiors, and local governments obey the central government. But since the reforms of Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, and in order to develop a limited form of market economy, some of the power over budget, personnel and economic policy was devolved from the Center to the provincial and local levels, thereby expanding the area of operation for the local governments, and creating many new features in the relationship between the center and the regions.

a) Increased the independence of the localities and the vociferous level of dissension against directives handed down from the Center. In the Eras of Mao and Deng, directives from them were known as the "slapping boards" which can only be obeyed and not questioned. With the power of purse string and the improving economy, it is often that localities have chosen to disobey the Center. The provincial and local governments not only voice their opinions on domestic issues of budget, economic policy, taxes, and

personnel, but on foreign policy and security issues as well. Because the benefits of foreign trade, the coastal provinces have voiced strong dissension against the central government's strong-arm tactics against Taiwan. The recent dramatic drop in investment from Taiwan over the missile exercises have drawn strong objections from provincial governments. The Center can no longer ignore the provinces as in the days past.

b) There is a profound change of governing style from the Center towards the regions, from unchangeable directives to consultative compromises. For example, the Center demanded that the provinces hand over their tax revenue in 1994, but the provinces refused; Zhu Rongji, the Vice Premier in charge of economy, had to go from province to province in order to strike compromises suited to the individual province. For another example, the draft "9th 5-year plan" and the "15-year long term goals" for social and economic development infringed upon many local interests. Li Peng, Zhu Rongji and the "think tanks" that work for them advocate increase control from the Center, and abolish all the special economic zones, but were met with strong and vocal resistance from the coastal provinces and localities. The conflicts were so intense that they became public, and published by many local newspapers. The resulting compromise was, special economic zones will remain on the plans, but the localities agree to the tax reform proposed by the Center to enable fairer competitions among the regions.

c) The Center is exploiting the difference in wealth, interests, and speed of development among the coastal and interior provinces as the means to protect its own power. The Center is forcing the coastal provinces to hand over more of their wealth to the Center by claiming that the wealth will be transferred to the poorer interior provinces.

d) Frictions between the Center and the regions, and among the regions are indicative of the fundamental conflict between the forces of re-centralization and decentralization. Li Peng and Zhu Rongji are strong advocates of re-centralization, and their obvious advantage is that they have the control of the vast government apparatus in the State Council. Li and Zhu, with supports from some of the Chinese students educated in the United States who are now staffing their think tanks and writing their papers, are pushing for central planning, centralized economic policies and budget, and central control of all provincial appointments. They consider it imperative that central power be protected, and view their efforts in "safeguarding central authority" with pompous piety. Qiao Shi and Li Ruihuan, representing respectively the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Assembly, are pushing to continue the decentralization of government power. Qiao and Li advocate the rule-of-law, adherence of the Constitution, local elections, and that the power of oversight on the government be restored to the NPC and the people. Jiang Zemin

personally leans toward the re-centralization faction; but to maintain his current positions, he can not ignore the interests of the provinces and factions that are advocating reform. The speech he made in the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress on the "Twelve Relationships" is the result of compromise and balance of power among the factions and between the Center and the regions. In form, Jiang's speech was a copy of Mao's 1956 speech on the "Ten Relationships", but Jiang's speech was actually heading in a different direction than Mao's. Mao was attempting to soften Stalin's totalitarian system in that speech, sincerely meant or not, which launched, for a brief moment, the "Let A Hundred Flowers Bloom" campaign; while Jiang was attempting to protect the totalitarian system, which he is now the nominal head. Jiang was forced, in fact, into softening his totalitarian impulse.

The factional conflicts are, however, not simply over personal ambitions, but over substantive issues relating to the directions and models of society which China should follow in the coming century. No faction will give in lightly, for the differences are irreconcilable and fundamental. It is unlikely that China will break up, as so many commentators are predicting or wishing; but politically, China will be unstable until these issues of principle and substance are resolved in the coming years.

6. How Power Is Implemented and Maintained

Jiang Zemin still presides over a pyramidal power structure. But totalitarian control has been seriously curtailed, and there are now many challenges, both theoretical and practical, to this mode of governing.

a) The pyramidal power structure with Jiang Zemin as the nominal head of the third generation "Core Leadership", is still standing impressively, but the foundation has been eroded. Its instructions and decrees can no longer command the kind of urgency and submission they once did. Now, the popular sayings are: "No opportunity would be left untaken", "No forbiddance would be left unbroken", "There are policies from the top, and there are counter-policies from the bottom", and many more in similar vein.

b) Even though the foundation of the power pyramid has been eroded, it hasn't been eroded so substantially that it is likely to topple soon. Should factional struggle intensify, and no compromise can be reached, there are still many methods in the system which the "core leadership" can employ in disposing challenges. For example, the Center can order sudden change or dismissal of leaders at provincial and local levels. The Center can order these personnel changes without consulting provincial People's Congresses, or obtaining their approval. The Center needs only the "rubber stamp", after the deed, of the National People's Congress when the NPC are next in session.

c) Obviously, Jiang Zemin can not overuse these sudden dismissals without gravely upsetting the system. His current method is to systemize the rotation of personnel in the Party, government, and PLA in the Center, and at provincial and local levels, switching them routinely from point A to point B, or from localities to the Center, and back again. Both Mao and Deng had employed this method when their power was weakened, but Jiang has been employing this much more frequently.

d) Provincial and local party leaders have also changed their manner in maintaining their positions. In the past, all party leaders derived their power and positions solely from the "top", and they needed only to satisfy the "top" to keep their jobs and privileges. In Mao's Era, during the three years of Great Leap Forwards (1958-1961), people were starving to death by the tens of millions in virtually all the provinces and regions; still, the local party leaders were following fantasy "directives" from the Center in not allocating relief, and ignoring the appalling sufferings all around them, for that was the way to survive. But now, provincial party leaders must take care both the "top" and the "bottom"; they have to satisfy demands from the Center, while protecting local interests, or they simply can not govern. This change has altered the principle of "single source" of power, and weakened the pyramidal power structure. Now, local party leaders can, and will negotiate over demands from the Center. This phenomenon was unthinkable when Mao and Deng were presiding at the apex of the pyramid.

e) Once the pyramidal structure has been weakened, new challenges to the Center crop up like bamboo shoots after spring rain. Example 1: Provincial and local People's Congresses have increased their demands for independence; some have even refused personnel nominated by the Center, and have gone on to appoint their own personnel. Example 2: Some Provincial People's Congresses have insisted on the power of legislation, and policy over budget and economy. Guangdong Province have allowed their localities to legislate on matters of local concerns which are in advance of the laws enacted by the National People's Congress, with the only proviso that the new legislation enacted are not in conflicts with the Constitution. Example 3: By the accounting of the Department of Basic Level Government, Ministry of Civil Affairs, fully 80% of rural villages and counties have carried out some forms of election for village chiefs and county leaders. Under the leadership of Yan Mingfu, the Ministry of Civil Affairs has shed its old reputation as a doddering bureaucracy that handles marriage licenses and disaster reliefs, but have become the vanguard of democratic election reforms. All these are fundamental challenges to the pyramidal power structure, albeit in an incremental fashion and at pragmatic doses, but nonetheless this represents the commencement of the building of constitutional democracy.

7. The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Governing System

The strengths of the system are its efficiency and speed of decision making, organizational discipline, focus and intensity. Its very efficiency and speed depend on its ruthless and disciplined organization in controlling criticism and overcoming both potential and existing opposition, and its enactment of massive social engineering plans depend on its formidable organizational discipline, focus and intensity. For example: the aforementioned "9th 5-year Plan", and the "15-year Long Term Goals" are both enormous and ambitious undertakings, but once the Standing Committee of the Politburo approved the plans in the August, 1995 meeting at Beidahe, it was quickly approved in September, 1995 by the Central Committee, and now, the plans only need to await the "rubber stamp" of the National People's Congress, which meets in March, 1996 for their immediate enactment. It does not matter if the plans work or not, for their quality is not of the utmost importance, the government apparatus simply have to carry them out. If the plans needed changes, a simple directive from the Politburo would suffice. If the Paramount Leader is not satisfied with the Politburo's policy direction, he needs only to take a trip "North", or "South", (as Deng did in February, 1992 to Shenzhen, which altered the economic policy of Jiang Zemin and Li Peng), to change any existing policy directions.

The weaknesses of the system lie in its very strengths. Because of its speed and roughshod nature of decision making, approved plans are rarely well thought out, and horrendous mistakes are often made. Because of its efficiency and ease in controlling criticism and overcoming opposition and tradition, mistakes, no matter how stupid or lacking in common sense, can seldom be stressed, corrected, or stopped. Because of its organizational discipline, intensity and focus, and its awesome ability in mobilizing massive government apparatus to carry out its plans, mistakes made can never be limited in scope or size. The glaring result is that despite the enormous strides that China had made since the Communists came to power in 1949, their colossal mistakes -- the Anti-Rightist Movement, the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution -- have made life simply miserable, and directly costed tens of millions of deaths, setting China back for decades, and enabling other Chinese societies -- Taiwan, Hong Kong, and almost all other Chinese communities around the world -- which are far less focused, more chaotic, and often undirected, to overtake the Mainland in achievement.

8. Current Succession Crisis

Despite repeated assurances from Beijing that the "core leadership" have been smoothly transferred to the third generation, and even though most newspapers and commentators have been trumpeting the same in recent months, the system's in-built ease in smashing existing pattern have always prevented it from achieving

an orderly succession.

As long as Deng Xiaoping is breathing, succession struggle will be muted in China; but factions are clearly discernable, all are busily lining up their ducks, and occasionally disputes have broken into the open. Despite Deng's claim to the contrary, this still is Deng Xiaoping's reign. In all 46 years of Communist rule in China, there really have been only two leaders, the Great Helmsman, and the Paramount Leader. Mao Zedong, the Great Helmsman, disposed his two anointed successors, and coincidentally, Deng Xiaoping, the Paramount Leader, did the same to his anointed successors as well. Mao's heirs Liu Shaoqi died an agonizing death in jail, and Lin Biao's abrupt disappearance is still cloaked in mystery. Deng's anointed heirs Hu Yaobang was unceremoniously removed, and Zhao Ziyang was not just deposed, but house-arrested. Mao's final anointed successor Hua Guofeng survived Mao because Mao died, but Hua didn't managed to survive long after.

A case can be made that Jiang Zemin is enjoying the best time of his rule now -- Deng is too ill to interfere much, and as long as Deng is alive, no one else dares to move against Jiang precipitously. Jiang Zemin's position was never very secure, for he can lose it as easily as Hu and Zhao did. In fact, Jiang almost lost it in 1992, when Deng opposed Jiang's economic policy, and traveled to the Special Economic Zone in Southern China to denounce it. Jiang has since toted Deng's lines carefully, which are, in a nutshell, economic liberalization, political repression, and international cooperation. When Deng was reported to be very ill last year and earlier this year, Qiao Shi, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, had a much higher profile. But with reports of Deng regaining his health, Qiao and other possible contenders have receded quietly.

The differences among potential contenders will not go away, however, for the differences are real and substantive, and based not simply on personality and ambition. Since Chen Yun's death, and the displacement of Chen Xitong, the former mayor of Beijing, from the Politburo, the hardliners have been weakened considerably. Now, Li Peng, Deng Liqun and Zhu Rongji, who continue to advocate for the iron hands of Central government, have no place to go but be aligned to Jiang, for the Hardliners no longer can mount credible challenges on their own. Meanwhile Jiang Zemin has been forced to shift his positions on a host of issues, including the economy, Taiwan, and US/Sino relations, in his high wire act of balancing different factions. However, it is not only the potential contenders who are biding their time now, none of the provincial power houses, nor the military, have committed their allegiance to Jiang, for there is no need to do so as long as Deng is alive. All that will have to wait until Deng's final passing.

The first generation revolutionaries, many have converted to Communism in their teenage years, and most still retain their

unshakable emotional attachments to the faith, will have all passed on with the death of Deng Xiaoping. However, younger Chinese have no such emotional attachment to a failed idea. In fact, Communism is ideologically dead with them, and can no longer serve as a hold for unity or dictatorship in China. In current succession, it will not simply be a generational transition, but, in the wake of failure, ideological and structural as well. But the Leninist pyramidal structure offers the unparalleled intoxication of unfettered power and privilege, and there will always be those who yearn for it and attempt to perpetuate it in any way they can. The adroit use of Chinese nationalism, and the understandable fear of chaos of the long suffering Chinese people, might just suffice to extend dictatorial rule.

When Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were around, and the dream of International Communism was still alive, Mao and Zhou could afford to barter away territories, (and did, to Burma, Soviet Union, and Nepal,) for international prestige and strategic alliance. Indeed, Mao and Zhou were much more flexible on Taiwan and Hong Kong than Deng Xiaoping, who renounced the claim of International Communism, but compensated with the claim of "national territorial integrity". Seen in this light, the post-Mao China actually poses less of a security threat than during the Era of International Revolution, because the scope of concern became smaller.

Currently, no one who has claims to the post-Deng leadership can afford to be seen as "weaker" than Deng on territories where China had historical claims. Therefore, the untimely, and rhetorical discussion of independent Tibet, Taiwan, or Hong Kong, amid a volatile succession struggle, can be used by the hardliners as kerosene on the fire of nationalism. There are, however, disagreements on political and economic reforms, development, democracy, human rights, and how to deal with the West. The United States should recognize, and work with those who work on structural reforms; for politics being the "art of the possible," there are simply more possibilities working with the reformers. The West had been very astute in picking the right reform leaders in the Soviet Union and China to work with in the past, (UK on Gorbachev, and US on Deng Xiaoping); but there are fewer Western leaders now who have the right combination of interest, knowledge, insight, and confidence to continue this admirable tradition.

China is now facing the most critical succession crisis in 50 years, but it is simply not well recognized or understood.

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Biographical Data, Selected Leaders

JIANG ZEMIN

Born August 1926, in Jiangsu Province

Education

Electrical Engineering Department, Jiaotong University, Shanghai

Military Career

1950 Director, Military Engineering Department, Northeast Military Region

Party Career

1982- Member, CCP 12th, 13th, Central Committee
1985-87 Deputy Secretary, Shanghai Municipality CP
1987- Member, Politburo, CCP 13th Central Committee
Secretary, Shanghai Municipality CP

Government Posts

1950-55 Commercial Counselor, Embassy in USSR
1956-59 Assistant Minister, Machine Building Industry
1971-79 Director, Foreign Affairs Bureau of the First Ministry of Machine Building
1980-82 Vice Minister, State Administrative Commission for Import and Export Affairs
1981-82 Vice Minister and Secretary General, State Foreign Investment Commission
1982-83 Vice Minister, Electronics Industry
1984- Deputy Head, State Leading Group for Electronics Industry
1985-88 Mayor of Shanghai Municipality
1986-88 6th National People's Congress, Shanghai
1992- Politburo Standing Committee
Chairman, Central Military Commission
1993- President, People's Republic of China

Remarks

The weakness of Jiang Zemin is that he lacks both military experience and charisma. He also lacks strategic foresight and the spirit of exploration. He has little appetite for political reforms, but does have the strength for compromise and power balance.

QIAO SHI

Born Dec. 1924

1940 Joined CCP
1947 Appointed Deputy Party Secretary of a district party committee, Shanghai
1950 Secretary, Youth Committee, Huangzhou Municipality CP
1956 Deputy Head, United Front Work Section Youth Committee, East China Bureau, CCP Central Committee
1965 Named Deputy Director, Africa and Middle East division, International Liaison Department

1978-82 Deputy Director, International Liaison Department, CCP Central Committee
 1982-83 Director, International Liaison Department, CCP Central Committee
 1982- Member, CCP 12th, 13th Central Committee
 1982-85 Alternate Member, Secretariat, CCP, 12th Central Committee
 1984-85 Director, Organization Department, CCP Central Committee
 1985- Member, Politburo, and Secretariat, CCP 12th, 13th Central Committee
 Secretary, Political and Law Commission, CCP Central Committee
 1986-88 Vice-premier, State Council
 1987- Member, Standing Committee, Politburo, CCP 13th Central Committee
 Secretary, Central Discipline Inspection Commission, CCP 13th Central Committee
 1993- Chairman, National People's Congress

National People's Congress
 7th: Shanghai

Other Posts

1958 Director, Capital Construction Section, Anshan Iron and Steel Company
 1960-63 Director, Research Institute, Jiuquan Iron and Steel Company

Remarks

Qiao Shi has the most complete experience of all the contenders currently vying for the top leadership, and is probably the most interesting political figure in China at the moment. He leans towards speeding up political reforms, and the rule-of-law. His method appears to be following the current constitution to enlarge the power and influence of the National People's Congress, including the Provincial and local party congresses, particularly in legislation and oversight duties. He has substantial support from the reform section of the Communist Party, the provinces, military elders, and the intellectuals at large. His weakness is that he is careful to a fault, despises open conflicts, and his age, as he is past seventy. But he is known to seize on political opportunities only and when the opportunities are ready.

LI PENG

Born in 1928, Chengdu, Sichuan

Education

1948-54 Attended Moscow Power Institute, USSR

Party Career

1946 Joined CCP
 1982- Member, CCP 12th, 13th Central Committee
 1985- Member, Politburo, CCP 12th, 13th Central Committee
 (Elected at National Party Conference)

1985-87 Member, Secretariat, CCP Central Committee
1987- Member, Standing Committee, Politburo, CCP 13th Central Committee

Government Posts

1980-81 Vice Minister, Power Industry
1981-82 Minister, Power Industry
1982-83 Vice Minister, Water Conservancy and Power
1983-87 Vice Premier
1984-87 Chairman, State Environment Protection Committee
Head, State Leading Group for Electronics Industry
1985-87 Head, State Nuclear Power Leading Group
1985-88 Minister, State Education Commission
1987-88 Acting Premier
1988- Premier
Minister, State Commission for Restructuring Economy

National People's Congress

7th: Beijing

Remarks

Li Peng grew up in Yanan, and is the king of the princelings. He is a Moscow-trained technocrat, and has been customarily underestimated, to the distress of many of his political rivals, particularly Zhao Ziyang. His ten years of premiership ends in 1998. According to the Constitution, he cannot take a third term, but because of the current political instability in China he cannot be counted out. His recent moves have indicated that, like Princess Diana, he is refusing to go quietly, but unlike Princess Diana, he lacks the public appeal to stay in the pictures. Even in a dictatorship, public appeal is important during a succession struggle.

Li YOUWEI

Born, January 1938 in Liaoling

1966 Joined the Communist Party
1967 Technical Manager, No. 2 Automobile Factory
1979 Party Secretary, No. 2 Automobile Factory
1983 Party Secretary, 17th District, Hebei Province
1989 Deputy Provincial Head, Hebei Province
1990 Party Deputy Secretary, Shenzhen City, Guangdong
Chairman, Standing Committee, City's People's Congress
Party's Standing Committee, Guangdong Province
1992 Member, Preparation Committee, 14th Party Congress
Voted Mayor of Shenzhen by the 1st People's Congress of Shenzhen
Party Secretary, Shenzhen

Remarks

He is a Provincial Leader who has been most effective in counterbalancing the power from the center. Before the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress he used his local newspaper, "Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Post" to criticize Li Peng and Zhu Rongji's

central economic plan, and was able to force them to back down. Li Youwei was not only able to protect the status of Special Economic Zones, he was also able to keep his job, which is unprecedented. His future is unpredictable; he could either be a hero or a victim of the current central power struggle.

LIU HUAQING

Born Oct. 1916, Hubei Province

Education Abroad

1951-53 Attended Naval School, USSR

Military Career

Rank: Full General

1932 Joined a guerilla unit under the 25th Red Army

1935-37 Director, Political Department, 15th Red Army Corps

1937-46 Service in the 358th Brigade, 129th Division, 8th Route Army

1946-48 Political Commissar, 8th Division, 3rd Column, Central Plains Field Army

1949-50 Deputy Political Commissar, 11th Army, 2nd Field Army

1950-51 Transferred to PLA Navy

1954-58 Service at the PLA Naval School

1955 Orders: "Liberation"

1958-65 Deputy Political Commissar, South China Sea Fleet

1965-67 Deputy Political Commissar, PLA Navy

1967: Member, PLA Revolutionary Group

1968-78 Vice Chairman, Scientific and Technological Commission for National Defense

1978-80 Assistant to the chief of the PLA General Staff

1980-82 Deputy Chief, PLA General Staff

1982 Commander, PLA Navy

1992- Politburo Standing Committee

Party Career

1982-85 Member, CCP 12th Central Committee

1985- Member, Central Advisory Committee

1987- Deputy Chairman, CCP Central Military Commission

Government Posts

1978 Vice-minister, State Scientific and Technological Commission

Remarks

He is a first generation revolutionary, personally close to Deng Xiaoping. He is the eye, so to speak, with which Deng keeps Jiang Zemin in Check. He is ready to retire after the 15th Party Congress. However, the more active he is, the shorter is Jiang Zemin's leash.

ZHANG WANNIAN

Born August, 1928

1982 Alternate member 12th CCP Central Committee
 1982-87 Commander

1985 Standing Member, Party Committee, Guangzhou Military Region

1987 Deputy Secretary Party Committee, Guangzhou Military Region

1987-92 Member, 14th Central Committee

1990 Commander, Jinan Military Region

1992- Chief of General Staff, PLA

1992- Member, Central Military Committee
 Deputy Military Commander Wuhan Military Region
 NPC Deputy, PLA

1995 Appointed Vice Chairman, Central Military Commission by the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress.

Remarks

He is a cohort of Jiang Zemin. He was appointed to the Central Military Commission in preparation for the retirement of Liu Huaqing, aged 88, and Zhang Zhen, aged 90.

WANG RUILIN

Born Dec., 1929, Shandong Province

1947 Joined CCP

1983 Deputy Director of Central Office, CCP Central Committee

1988 Ranked as Lieutenant General

1987-92 Member, 13th CCP Central Committee

1990 Secretary, Committee for Discipline Inspection

1991- A Vice-President, China National Medicine and Health Products Import and Export Corporation

1992- Member, 14th CCP Central Committee

1993- PLA General Political Department

1995 Appointed to the Central Military Commission by the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress

Remarks

He was Deng Xiaoping's secretary; he actually had no military or leadership experience. His appointment to the Central Military Commission have puzzled many, as it puts into question his loyalty is to Jiang Zemin, or to Deng Xiaoping.

WANG KE

Born August, 1931

Educated at Technical School

1944 Joined local militia in Anwei Province

1947 Joined the Communist Party

1953 Joined the Korean War
 After the War, he entered in the PLA Military School, Beijing

1980 Graduated, PLA Military Affairs Institute
1986 Deputy Commander, Xinjiang Military Region
1992 Member, Central Committee, 14th Party Congress
 Director, Logistics, PLA
1995 Appointed to the Central Military Commission

Remarks

Wang Ke and Zhang Wannian have similar experience. They are both cohorts of Jiang Zemin.

CHI HAOTIAN

Born, July 1929, Shandong Province

Military Career

Rank: Full General

1958 Major of a unit, Nanjing Military Region
1975-77 Deputy political commissar, Beijing Military Region
1977-82 Deputy Chief of Staff, PLA
1985-87 Political commissar, Jinan Military Region
1987- Chief, PLA General Staff
1988- Member, Central Military Commission
1993 Ministry of Defense
1995 Sept., Appointed Vice Chairman of the Central Military
 Commission by the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress

Party Career

1977 Deputy editor-in-chief, Renmin Ribao
1985- Member, CCP 12th, 13th Committee
 (Elected at national Party Conference)

Government Posts

1982- Member, Central Greening Committee

National People's Congress

2nd, 3rd, 7th: PLA

Remarks

Chi Haotian is known for his role in the smashing of the Gang of Four. He is the current minister of defense, known for his close relations with the reformers.

ZHU RONGJI

Born October, 1929, Hunan Province

Education

Electrical Engineering, Qinghua University

Party Career

1949 Joins CCP

1987- Alternate Member, CCP 13th Central Committee
 Deputy Secretary, Shanghai

Government Posts

1951-74 Served in the State Planning Commission
1979-88 Served in the State Economic Commission
1982-83 Director, Technical Transformation Bureau, State
 Economic Commission
1988 Named Mayor of Shanghai
1991- Member, Politburo
1992- Head of Economic and Trade Office
1993- Governor, People's Bank of China

National People's Congress

7th: Shanghai

Remarks

He is erroneously known internationally as the economic reformer. He was actually the disciple of Chen Yun, the father of Chinese central planning. He is currently pushing, with the help of many US trained Chinese students, for a dressed-up version, with Western terminologies, of central neo-authoritarianism.

LI RUIHAN

Born in 1934, Tianjin

Education

Beijing Architectural Engineering, Spare-Time Institute

Party Career

1982- Member, Standing Committee Tianjin Municipal CP
 Youngest Member, CCP 12th, Central Committee
1982-85 Secretary, Tianjin Municipality
1985-87 Deputy Secretary, Tianjin Municipality, CP
1987- Secretary, Tianjin Municipality CP
 Member, Politburo, CCP 13th Central Committee

National People's Congress

5th: Beijing, Member, Standing Committee, 6th, 7th: Tianjin

Mass Organizations

1973 Vice-chairman, Trade Union, Beijing Municipality
1980-81 Vice-chairman, Youth Federation
1980-82 Secretary, Communist Youth League

Provincial Administration

1981-82 Vice Mayor, Tianjin Municipality
1982 Mayor, Tianjin Municipality

Remarks

He was a carpenter known for his love of books and his charisma and

intelligence. He is allied with Qiao Shi as a leader of reforms.

HU JINTAO

Born Dec. 1942 in Anhui Province

1959	Graduated from Qinghua University
1982	Secretary, Gansu Province branch, Communist Youth League
1982-83	Deputy Director, Construction Commission, Gansu Province
1982-84	Secretary, Communist Youth League
1982-85	Alternate Member, CCP 12th, Central Committee
1983-85	President, Youth Federation
1983-88	Member, Standing Committee, 6th CPPCC
1985-88	(Leading) Secretary, Guizhou Province CP
1984-85	1st Secretary, Communist Youth League
1985-	Member, CCP 12th, 13th Central Committee (Elected at National Party Congress)
1988-	Secretary, Tibet Autonomous Region CP
1992-	Member, Politburo Standing Committee and Secretariat

Remarks

He has no known enemies and no clear political standing. The wind faction, so to speak, but likely follows Deng, as long as Deng is alive.

FU QUANYOU

Born November, 1930

Military Career

Rank: Lieutenant General

1985-	Commander, Chengdu Military Region
1946	Joined the PLA
1947	Joined the Communist Party
1953	Joined the Korean War
1960	Graduated from the Military Affairs Institute, Beijing After graduation had a steady rise in the PLA
1985-	Deputy Secretary, Party Committee, Chengdu Military Region
1987	Appointed Member, 13th Central Committee (Elected at National Party Conference)
1992	Appointed Member, Central Military Commission
1995	Appointed Chief-of Staff of the PLA, by the 5th Plenum of the 14th Party Congress

Remarks

Fu Quanyou, a professional military man, took over from Zhang Wannian as Chief-of-Staff of the PLA. He has no known political view, but loyal to Deng.

QIAN QICHEN

Born Jan. 1928

Party Career

1942 Joined CCP
1953 Worked as a researcher for the Communist Youth League
1954 Studied at the Young Communist League School in the Soviet Union
 Second Secretary, Chinese Embassy, Moscow
1982-85 Alternate Member, CCP 12th Central Committee
1985 Member, CCP 12th, 13th, Central Committee
 (Elected at National Party Conference)

Government Posts

1960-62 2nd Secretary, embassy in USSR
1974-76 Ambassador to Guinea
1974-75 Ambassador to Guinea-Bissau
1977-82 Director, Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
1982-88 Vice-Minister, Foreign Affairs
1988- Minister, Foreign Affairs
1991 Named to State Council
1992 Elected to Politburo
1993- Member, Preparatory Committee of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
 Appointed Vice-Premier, State Council

Remarks

Qian Qishen, like Jiang Zemin and Qiao Shi, began his political career with the student movement in Shanghai in the 1930s and 40s. He is competent, but he neither makes mistakes nor explores new areas.

WEI JIANXING

Born Jan. 1931

Education abroad

USSR (1950s): Graduation in machine building at an unknown university

1982-85 Alternate member, CCP 12th Central Committee
1982-83 Deputy Secretary, Harbin Municipality CP
1984-85 Deputy director, Organization Department, CCP Central Committee
1985- Member, CCP 12th, 13th Central Committee
1987- Minister of Supervision
1992 Became a Member of the Politburo

National People's Congress

7th: Heilongjiang

Mass Organizations

1983- Secretary and Vice-President, Federation of Trade Unions

Provincial Administration

1988 Mayor, Harbin Municipality

Remarks

He is known to be close to Qiao Shi. He was appointed as Beijing Party Secretary to replace Chen Xitong, the Politburo member who was dismissed for corruption.

ZHAO ZIYANG

Born 1919

1938	Joined the Communist Party
1947	Secretary, Provincial Party Affairs, Guangdong Province
1971	No. 1 Party Secretary, Guangdong Province
1975	Sichuan Province, No. 1 Party Secretary
1979	Member, Politburo
1980	April, became Vice-Premier, State Council Sept., became Premier, State Council
1982	1st Plenum of the Party Congress, became Member of the Standing Committee, Politburo
1987	Acting Party Secretary General 1st Plenum of the 13th Party Congress, became Party Secretary General
1988	Became Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission
1989	4th Plenum of the 13th Party Congress, fired from all positions

Remarks

He opposed the Beijing massacre and refused to buckle even after he lost power. His refusal to concede wrongdoing on this matter has enabled him to maintain considerable goodwill and influence among the population. He may have considerable influence after the death of Deng Xiaoping, especially as the kingmaker. He is known to keep in contact with Wan Li, Yang Shangquan, and Qiao Shi.